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CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

Cocoanut—The Kalpabriksha—(illust.) *Murari Prosad Guha, M.A.* ... 131

An Old Man's Last Hope—*Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, Hony. D.Litt.* ... 142

Reminiscences Of Prof. Carlo Formichi—*Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya* 144

India's National Income—*Dr. R. M. Agarwal, M.A., Ph.D.* ... 145

Inaccuracies In Official Statistics In West Bengal—*Jatindra Mohan Datta, M.Sc. B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.)* ... 147

The Gospel Of Krishna—*Sudhir Chandra Majumdar* ... 150

Vinobaji In Telangana—*Suresh Ramabhai* ... 151

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वार्षिक चन्दा १)

छमाही ५)

एक प्रति ॥)

विदेशके लिए

वार्षिक चन्दा १४)

छमाही ७)

एक प्रति ११)

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—मनेजर

THE **Modern Review**

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER :
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

VOL. LXXXX. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JULY TO DECEMBER
1951

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 12-8 Foreign Rs. 20.

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1951

VOL. LXXXX, No. 1

WHOLE No. 535

NOTES

A.I.N.E.C.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held a two-day special plenary session in Bombay on June 23 and 24 to consider the problems arising out of the amendment of Article 19 of the Indian Constitution. The Conference resolved to suspend the working of all its committees functioning in an advisory, consultative or associated capacity with Government both at the Centre and in the States. The Conference placed on record its emphatic condemnation of the amendment to Article 19 as a threat to the freedom of the Press and a restraint on freedom of expression, and called upon the newspapers in the country to suspend publication for one day on July 12 as a mark of protest against the unwarranted and uncalled-for encroachment on freedom of expression.

The plenary session adopted six resolutions relating to the attitude of the Press to the passing into law of the amendment to Article 19(2) and its line of action. The following is the full text of the resolutions :

Resolution 1 : "This special plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference convened to consider the situation arising out of the passing into law of the Constitution of India (Amendment Bill), places on record its emphatic condemnation of the amendment to India as a threat to the freedom of the Press and a restraint on freedom of expression. It endorses the representations made by the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference to the Prime Minister and also the resolution of the Standing Committee on the matter, and desires to make it clear to all concerned that the Press, in the interest of the public, will not rest until the amendment so hastily and ill-advisedly placed on the statute book

is repealed and freedom of expression restored without the qualifications now imported into Article 19(2)."

Resolution 2 : "This special plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference is of the considered opinion that, in order to impress on the public the fact that what is at stake is not the question of any special privilege to the Press, but something of direct and immediate concern to them and that the amendment imperils the exercise of their right to freedom of expression. Newspapers and periodicals published in the country should, in exercise of their responsibilities to the public, publish in every issue prominently on top of the leading article the following caption, namely,

"Freedom of expression is our birthright and we shall not rest until it is fully guaranteed by the Constitution."

Resolution 3 : "This special plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference calls upon the newspapers of the country to suspend publication for one day on July 12, 1951, as a mark of protest against the unwarranted and uncalled-for encroachment on freedom of expression."

Resolution 4 : "This special plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference urges on the electorate to demand from every candidate standing for election to Parliament and State legislatures a pledge to work for and to secure repeal of the amendment to Article 19(2) of the Constitution and restoration of freedom of expression"

Resolution 5 : "This special plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference appeals to all newspapers in India and to all organisations seeking to serve the interest of the Press to continue to offer determined resistance to the grave threat of freedom of expression contained in amendment to Article 19(2)."

Resolution 6: "This special plenary session of the 'All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference resolves to suspend the working of all its committees functioning in an advisory, consultative or associated capacity with Government both at the Centre and in the States.

"This Conference authorises the Standing Committee to review the position in the light of the decisions of the plenary session, if a situation calling for such a review arises.

"This Conference remits to the Standing Committee for necessary consideration and action the proposal to refuse its co-operation with all committees and enquiries instituted by the Government on matters relating to the Press and the Press laws of India."

The protest seems to be rather too late. It would have been much better to hold this Conference in New Delhi when the Bill was introduced. Considering the present quick means of communication and the urgency of the matter, it would have been quite possible to do so only if the leaders of the A.-I. N.E.C. so desired. The weakness the Standing Committee had shown at that critical period was responsible for bringing this slight upon the entire Press. The deliberations that have been held now in Bombay would have had far greater force had they been called for at the right moment.

The reason adduced for bringing fresh fetters upon the entire press is that a small portion of the press in India has indulged in scurrilous attacks upon the administration. We must consider why they are so popular that even the Central Government seems to be helpless? Quite often they retract much that they had said. But still they continue to enjoy a large measure of popularity because they cater the kind of news the people now want to read. Readers are not satisfied with cooked up agency messages, they want to know what is going on inside. Had the daily newspapers taken steps to supply true stories of inside happenings, inside the Parties as well as in the Administrations, it would have served the double object of satisfying the people as well as acting as a corrective to many of the Ministerial or official delinquents. Publication of well-verified, true and unbiassed inside news in the various dailies would have pushed the sensation-mongers out of existence.

We would have been glad if the A.-I. N.E.C. leaders had taken upon themselves the responsibility of bringing these weeklies to sense instead of keeping silent and permitting the Government to come down upon the entire press for the fault of a negligible few. The Bombay Conference has demanded restoration of the previous Article 19 by scrapping the Amendment to the Constitution. Their argument would have assumed greater force had they passed a resolution condemning these newspapers who, no doubt, have at times crossed the limits of honest and decent journalism.

Regarding the resolutions as they stand, we cannot but view them with mixed feelings. Honestly we feel

that the Government of India has tried to cover its weakness and inability to punish those who are really guilty—for it cannot be denied that a Section of the Press has deliberately practised methods of journalism that are questionable in the extreme—by taking steps to curtail the liberties of all. On the other hand, the resolutions show that reactionary and disruptive elements got the upper hand in the heat of the moment.

For example, *Resolution 2* will show us up in a curious light to the whole world. We think the directive given at the bottom of *Resolution 2* is not only ludicrous but positively injudicious. It may serve the purpose of our disruptionist friends but it will do us harm in the eyes of the democratic world.

Resolution 4 is a fetter on the press and as such should be repudiated by all right thinking editors. Why should the A.-I. N.E.C. convert itself into a political platform? Every paper should have the right to support any candidate it considers fit, without having any conditions imposed on it by any outside body.

Resolution 6 virtually asks for the abolition of the A.-I. N.E.C. for if it suspends its liaison functions with the government, it does not need to exist. This is considered desirable by reactionaries and thoughtless scribes, but we consider that such a step would be undesirable in the extreme. We who are in a border province have to think of emergencies which do not affect Bombay papers.

Manbhum Satyagraha

The second phase of the Manbhum Satyagraha is over. The people have extended full support to the Satyagraha. It is a pity and a tragedy that due to lack of agitation in the Press, neither the Central nor the Bihar Government have come forward to undo the grave wrong and injustice done to the seven Satyagrahis by sending them to jail on a palpably unbelievable charge of rioting. Advantage has been taken of the fact that Satyagrahis as they are, they would not defend themselves. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, or Pandit Nehru or Babu Srikrishna Sinha could easily verify the truth in this case and throw their weight on the side of justice. The truth of the situation can be understood from the statement of Sri Atul Chandra Ghosh, Director of the Loka Sevak Sangha which is given below. He is a co-worker of both Dr. Rajendra Prasad and also of Babu Srikrishna Sinha.

A public meeting convened by Smta. Labanya-prabha Ghose by disobeying the Maintenance of Peace and Law and Order Act was held at Raghunathpur on the 25th May, 1951. Such a meeting was originally fixed for the 8th May last, but its holding was postponed for the time being as there prevailed great excitement among the public of the locality towards the goondas engaged by the police for creating disturbance in the Satyagraha functions held in that locality just before that time. For some days prior to the meeting small groups of Satyagrahis made tours in the villages of the locality

and discussed with the villagers about the implications of the Satyagraha, and succeeded in bringing home to them the paramount necessity of observance of non-violence on the part of the people assembled at the functions of Satyagraha.

During their tours the Satyagrahis have realised that the present Congress Government of Bihar have entirely forfeited the faith of the people reposed on them, and that the local Government officers are carrying on the administration by mere threats and offer of temptations. In fact, a suppressed but strong discontent among the public is rapidly increasing.

Before the meeting was held, a procession of the Satyagrahis and others, led by Smta Shailabala Ghose, the former President of the Kashipur Thana Congress Committee, and Smta. Labanyaprabha Ghose went round through the streets of the town with slogans against the Food Orders of the Government. The residents of the town, male and female, young and old, stood calmly on both sides of the streets, and greeted the processionists.

The meeting began at 6 p.m. at the local Durga Mela. Though they knew that the meeting had been convened by disobeying the Maintenance of Peace and Law and Order Act, and though the police tried to prohibit them with threats from attending the meeting, a large number of people attended it. Without minding the scorching heat of the summer, representatives from 15 to 20 neighbouring villages joined the meeting. At the commencement of the meeting Smta Satyakinkar Mahato, who has recently resigned from the Chairmanship of the Local Board, fully explained to the assembled people as to why the Loka Sevak Sangha had started Satyagraha against the present food policy of the Bihar Government. Thereafter different speakers spoke on the autocratic policy pursued in the district by the Bihar Government. Several Adibasi workers fully exposed the failure of the attempt of the local authorities to engage the Adibasis on temptation of wine and posts in service against this movement for the freedom of the people. Though drizzles set in during the latter part of the meeting, the audience remained calm and quiet, and eagerly listened to the speeches delivered. At conclusion Smta Labanyaprabha Ghose asked the assembled people whether the Satyagraha had their support or not. The audience in one voice expressed their faith in, and support to, the Satyagraha and condemned the autocratic rule of the Government. In the midst of national slogans the meeting ended. As there was no direct disturbance by the police or the hired *goondas* in that day's meeting, the meeting was peacefully conducted. It is to be noted here that the Ministers of the Bihar Government were cordially invited to attend the meeting in order to directly face the popular verdict but none of them thought it necessary to do so.

It should be further noted here that the police, certain Government officers and the hired men of the Government stopped near the police station some Harijans who were coming to attend the public meeting of the Loka Sevak Sangha, and got, by way of a counter-meeting, a so-called meeting of the Harijans to be held with those Harijans on a false propaganda and that several big leaders were coming to that meeting for the redress of their miseries.

In spite of repeated threats and prohibitions, the residents of Raghunathpur and the neighbouring villages made the last function of the Second Phase of the Satyagraha of the Manbhumi Loka Sevak Sangha successful by helping the Satyagrahis with boarding, lodging and travelling expenses.

Anti-Social Activities

Anti-social activities have become rather too common. The menial staff of the R. G. Kar Hospital of Calcutta gave a strike notice which led to a virtual closing down of the hospital causing great suffering to the patients. Medical aid had to be denied to a large number of ailing people desiring admission. Public criticism has, however, injected some sense into their obdurate leaders and the strike has been abandoned. The gas strike has been equally bad. A quarrel between two workers, over the payment of a private loan, led to this lightning strike which not only plunged the entire city into darkness but brought all operations in the hospitals to a standstill for want of gas in their sterilizers. The whole galaxy of our "labour leaders" rushed to the scene and made a mountain out of a molehill. The newspapers played a most ignoble role by encouraging these anti-social men with publicity in their columns without any condemnation. Another phase of such anti-social acts may be found in the recent train hold-ups by a group of the refugees led by disruptionist parties. Still bigger pictorial publicity is being given to them by the "Nationalist newspapers." Anti-social elements will always be found in every society, but we doubt if any other nation encourages them in their nefarious activities as is done in this country where rabid anti-social action masquerades under the garb of patriotism. We quite realise that it is difficult for the government to tackle them, because any application of an extraordinary measure may be disliked by a large section of the public. We believe that the greatest check on their activities can be administered by the newspapers if they view such actions in their true perspective and refuse to encourage them by publicity and comments. Social welfare is certainly much more valuable than a dubious increase in circulation.

Patna Convention and the New Party

The Patna Convention, on which many eyes were fixed, has come and gone. There is little doubt now that this assembly of dissident Congressmen, including many of our veteran fighters for freedom, has failed to raise as much hope in public mind as was expected by some. A new party has emerged out of this Convention, named Kisan Praja Mazdoor Party.

We have read the Manifesto of the New Party with much care. It has no point of fundamental difference with the Congress. The objective of the Party is the "establishment of a casteless and classless society free from political, economic and social exploitation." But the name of the Party includes three classes of the people only, all others having been left

out. To what class does Acharya Kripalani and Dr. Ghosh belong? Organised labour has been pampered to such an extent that it is in danger of becoming parasitic on the rest of the population including middle-class workers and the landless agricultural workers. Leaders like those who have just been mentioned are also tending to become parasites on these parasites. The Manifesto says, "Our first task will be to overhaul the administrative machinery so that the services instead of acting as masters of the people act as their helpers and servants." So far as we know, no political thinker has dared declare that he could bring about a casteless and classless society by reforming the administrative machinery. We have yet to learn that a social revolution of the kind they have put forward can be brought about and steered through by Government officers.

Defining its economic objective, the Manifesto says that there is a general recognition of the fact that the great mass of our people live at a sub-human level. The New Party believes that the "situation can be improved only by radical changes brought about with the full and enthusiastic co-operation of the people." The Party is silent about the concrete objectives, the reason and the method of this co-operation they claim to get from the masses. It has merely stated that "the miserably low standard of life of our masses is to be appreciably raised. This can be done by increased production in all the fields." We concede this statement. But then where is the difference with those who, from official chairs, have been crying themselves hoarse by repeating the same catch-phrase? The definitions of scientific farming, co-operative farming, etc., enumerated in the Manifesto has no point of difference with what has been repeatedly uttered by officialdom *ad nauseum*.

The Manifesto is silent about abolition of Zemindari but speaks of peasant proprietorship "with necessary safeguards against its misuse."

The most serious challenge the Manifesto must get from all sections of progressive thought is on its attitude towards nationalisation. It has dismissed the demand for nationalisation of industry as "inimical to democracy" since it would mean "State capitalism." It says, "While some defence and key industries must be nationalised, we do not believe in the necessity of the Government directly undertaking and conducting all industrial enterprise. This often creates State monopolies, indifferent to efficiency and cost of production and hence to the consumers' interests. . . . Under nationalisation, labour too fails to get a square deal." This form of limited State intervention has nothing socialist or progressive in it. In every backward country where the capitalist class controls the Government, they utilise State resources and State machinery to manage these industries which private capital is too weak to operate.

From the standpoint of the New Party's declared objective, this approach seems contradictory. They have declared that a classless society will be formed but at the same time they say that industries will not be nationalised because in that case the workers will suffer. In plain words, they want the capitalist class to remain as milch cows for the leaders of organised labour although they refrain from saying so in plain language. This confusion is found worse confounded in a post-Patna speech of Dr. P. C. Ghosh whose idea of a Kisan Mazdoor Praja raj has been borrowed by Acharya Kripalani. Addressing the Jute Workers' Federation on June 21 in Calcutta, Dr. Ghosh said, "If the jute industry was to flourish, it should be socialised which meant that the management of the industry should be entrusted to the workers. Socialisation of industries was better than nationalisation." Dr. Ghosh, in the same breath, was decriing nationalisation, accepting as its synonym socialisation and was advocating syndicalism. Wonderful indeed! Dr. S. C. Banerjee, President of the Federation and President of the K. P. M. Party of Bengal, in his presidential address at the very same meeting said, "It was essential that the whole jute industry should be nationalised."

The whole Manifesto seems to be a mixture of self-seeking, muddleheadedness and frustration. Anxiety to safeguard the interests of their landholder and capitalist friends under a clever camouflage is betrayed in every paragraph of the Manifesto. The Patna stalwarts have talked of honesty and incorruptibility. We doubt whether these two virtues will be any more in evidence if and when these people come to office!

Indeed it seems to us that, like many other labour organizations, this New Party is also trying to cash in on cheap labour slogans and maxims. We have not seen any evidence of sincerity, on the part of the leaders of the K. P. M., to serve the nation as a whole, or to look to the interests of the common citizen in preference to that of the party.

Supersession of the Punjab Government

The Government of the Punjab has been superseded and taken over by the Centre. Failure of the Central Parliamentary Board to resolve satisfactorily the Bhargava-Sachar rivalry has led to this extraordinary step which to most people, has appeared to be somewhat undemocratic. Whenever any supersession of a local body takes place, it is desirable that the superseding authority should take the people into confidence and explain to them that the step has been taken in their interest. This explanation ought to be such that the general public understand it without the help of any commentary and approve of it generally. But in practice this is never done. Municipalities, District Boards have been superseded by Local Governments without the least regard to public sentiments

and now in its turn a State Government itself comes to be superseded. If corruption can be a point for supersession, we wonder who is going to take over the Central administration, for some departments sink.

Supersession had been anathema to the Congress so long. It was out of this sentiment that the Congress deleted Section 93 from the Government of India Act 1935 as adapted under the Independence Act 1947, in spite of the fact that Pakistan retained it. Congress in office however has radically changed its mind and in the Republican Constitution, Article 356 had been inserted. Within less than two years of the beginning of our Republic, that Article had to be invoked.

We believe that the President's proclamation has failed to prove that the people's cause has been served by this action. Until and unless the Central Government or the Central Parliamentary Board fail to remove from public mind the idea that this action has been undemocratic, they cannot claim to have popular support for the President's proclamation. The people must be frankly told the precise reason that forced the Central Government to take this extraordinary and drastic action on the Punjab administration.

Select Committee Report on Constitution Bill

The Select Committee on the Constitution (First) Amendment Bill made two important changes in respect of the amendment to Article 19 by adding the word "reasonable" to qualify "restrictions" proposed to be imposed on the freedom of speech and expression, and in respect of the amendment to Article 31 by providing that any State Legislation for acquisition of estates shall require the assent of the President. Six of the 21 members of the Select Committee appended notes of dissent. They are Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Sardar Hukum Singh, Sri Durgabai, Prof. K. T. Shah and Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed.

In his comprehensive note of dissent Dr. S. P. Mookerjee dealt with the objectionable features of the Amendment to Article 19 and 31 even as these have emerged out of the Select Committee and opposed in principle the hasty amendment of the written Constitution without a fair trial simply because some judicial interpretations and decisions are not liked by the Government.

"A better and more honourable course," observed Dr. Mookerjee, "would have been not to have a written Constitution at all and make Parliament the Supreme body."

Referring to Article 19, Dr. Mookerjee in his note points out: "The addition of the word 'reasonable' before 'restrictions' in Article 19 (2) is a very wholesome change. It makes 19 (2) justiciable and I do not wish to minimise the importance of this change in the protection of civil liberty in this country.

"Fundamental Rights are never absolute anywhere.

There are limitations flowing from the citizen's obligations and duties without which organised society cannot function. But these limitations should never be such as to take away the substance from these rights or to curb the expression of free opinions of the people, which is the very essence of a really democratic Government. The tyranny of laws sponsored by a majority party may be as oppressive as those arbitrarily imposed by a despot.

"Fundamental Rights act as a deliberate check to this tendency. From this viewpoint, the existing limitations on freedom of speech and expression, as provided in the Constitution, are more than sufficiently restrictive and no fresh addition to them is justified. The only lacuna which may be thought to exist in the provisions of Fundamental Rights is that the limitations do not cover incitement to violence. If this is a lacuna, it may be removed; but beyond this there is no justification for forging fresh fetters. Incitement to any offence is of the widest connotation and may be abused by any Government to curb honest expression of views.

"The terms 'security of the State' and 'public order' have been added and left undefined in the amendment, thus further restricting the liberty now given. 'Public order' should be definitely subject to the 'clear and present danger test' that is 'the substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high.' This is the accepted interpretation of the term 'public order' everywhere, particularly in the United States of America.

"There is no justification for bringing in the unrestricted provision of 'friendly relations with foreign States' which is too wide a term and may include any act or expression of free opinion adversely affecting foreign States, friendly and unfriendly. At the most, the phrase should not extend beyond defamatory attacks on heads of foreign States or similar acts. Government agrees to this principle, but is not prepared to make it clear and unambiguous in the Constitution itself.

"It should not be forgotten that many of the law-making powers may be exercised by the State Legislatures on matters affecting people's rights and liberties. There may thus be conflicting approaches in different States, influenced by local considerations at the will of the majority party. These laws, at least those relating to restriction of Fundamental Rights, should be framed by Parliament and not by the State Legislatures.

"Retrospective effect is being given to the laws that have been declared inconsistent with Article 19 of the Constitution. This is most undesirable and may theoretically clothe Government with the authority to launch prosecutions for alleged offences committed during a period when the laws were void according to decisions of courts. Both the Prime Minister and the

Home Minister have assured that this is not Government's intention and instructions would be issued to the State Governments accordingly if necessary. Still, the dangerous implication of such retrospective provision cannot be minimised.

"Article 31 of the Constitution gave rise to bitter controversy when it was under discussion. The policy ultimately approved was to the effect that private property could not be expropriated and that acquisition of property could be made on payment of compensation which should be settled by law. The amount of compensation, or the principles on which compensation should be paid, or the manner in which payment is to be made were left to be decided by Legislative enactment according to Article 31. It was further laid down that such laws would require the President's assent.

"Since the passing of the Constitution, several State Legislatures have enacted laws for the abolition of Zamindari. Only one of such laws has been declared invalid by the High Court of Patna, not for any infringement of Article 31, but for violation of Article 14 of the Constitution. Obviously, the appropriate course in such a case must be for Government to appeal to the Supreme Court, and find out if the said law was actually unconstitutional.

"If the Supreme Court gave a verdict which Government was not prepared to accept on the ground that it was a violation of the basic principle of acquisition of property for public purposes as laid down in the Constitution, there could have been a justification for amending the Constitution in order to make the point at issue clear beyond any doubt.

"Without doing this, Article 31(A) seeks to validate all future laws even though they may be inconsistent with the provisions in the entire chapter dealing with Fundamental Rights. Nothing has as yet happened which would justify our taking away the jurisdiction of the Judiciary in this sweeping manner. Even if it is considered necessary that the Judiciary should have no voice with regard to the laws for abolition of Zamindaries the wording of Article 31(A) should be suitably modified and the responsibility for ensuring the compliance with the provisions of Article 31 in respect of this class of property should at least be vested in the President. This will at least be some guarantee that the State Legislatures follow a uniform policy in accordance with the principles laid down under Article 31 which is not proposed to be abrogated.

"Regarding Article 31(B), it appears that some of the laws sought to be validated are today pending before the Judiciary. To include particular laws in the Constitution itself as valid, which have been deliberately declared to be invalid and unconstitutional, is an extraordinary procedure. These laws should, at least, be carefully tested by the President once again with a view to ensuring that none of them violates

the provisions of the Constitution and only after this has been done, should the laws be declared valid. This alone can give the President the constitutional right to secure an amendment of such laws, where such amendment is called for in order to make them conform to our Constitution."

Dealing with the broader question of amending the Constitution Dr. Mookerjee observes:

"The Constitution of India was framed by the Constituent Assembly after several years of devoted labour and deliberations. It has been given a trial only for 16 months. I do not suggest for a moment that under no circumstances should the Constitution be amended within such a short period. In fact, so far as the amendment relates to any formal matters, there can be no serious objection to the same.

"But the onus of proving the imperative need for making fundamental changes lies heavily on the proposers of such changes. That onus in my opinion, has not been satisfactorily discharged in the present case. The procedure adopted indicates how the Constitution is being denied its inherent sanctity and sacredness.

"The main reason given for altering the provisions is that the Judiciary has pronounced its opinion on some Articles affecting the validity of certain laws—opinions which are disfavoured by the Government in power. Incidentally, we have not been furnished, though we repeatedly asked for it, with a list of such laws, which, having been declared invalid, have created difficulties for Government.

"We have deliberately clothed the Judiciary with the duty of ensuring that our laws do conform to the Constitution. It is essential that nothing should be done to impair the independence of the Judiciary, or to lower its prestige. Government is too impatient even to wait for the verdict of the Supreme Court, and the novel procedure has been followed in declaring several laws as valid under the Constitution which High Courts have pronounced as void or unconstitutional. In our country under the old regime, many laws were formulated which were repressive and retrograde in character. Their object in many cases was to restrict freedom of the individual, or of the Press. Government has made no effort to revise these laws. On the other hand, we have meanwhile passed our Constitution which guarantees certain Fundamental Rights to all citizens.

"Instead of amending the 'lawless laws' and making their provisions consistent with the Fundamental Rights, we are following the strange procedure of adhering to such reactionary laws and changing our Fundamental Rights as to make such laws valid and constitutional.

"Changes in Fundamental Rights affecting freedom of speech and expression have been proposed, curtailing them in material respects. To do so without giving the public the fullest opportunity to express their views thereon and to hurry the enactment through

at the fag-end of Parliament's life, when after six months, the first General Elections under the new Constitution will be held, naturally give rise to serious misgivings in public mind and are considered improper and arbitrary."

Nehru's Speech on the Amended Bill

Moving for consideration of the select Committee's report, Sri Nehru said that the Select Committee, in its deliberations had found a common ground, greater than had been expected. The committee had approached the question, not in any partisan spirit but in a spirit of attempting to reach an understanding. An attempt had been made to use a language which would give effect to their intentions.

He had already stated that the amendments put forward only clarified and amplified the clauses but did not change any part of the Constitution. The contention, that only 16 months had passed since the Constitution began working and it should not, therefore, be amended, had no bearing.

If there was a necessity for amendment, it did not matter whether the Constitution had been working for 16 weeks, 16 months or 16 years. No doubt, they would be in a better position to judge after 16 years, but "we shall all be dead." If the amendment was necessary the time and period did not count at all.

Referring to the "relatively minor amendments" to the Constitution proposed, Sri Nehru said if necessary he was willing to change the phraseology here and there to make the position clear.

Referring to the amendment to Article 15 Sri Nehru said that by an oversight they had forgotten to cover in the original Bill Article 29(2) also. They had intended to say that in the original Bill but had left it out "unfortunately due to a slight error."

Putting in Article 29(2), Sri Nehru claimed, "It is not an after-thought. It is to remove an error, for which I take full responsibility." Many eminent people considered that in the particular context considered by them, Article 29(2) would not affect them at all. But because certain doubts had arisen in people's minds, it was thought that the doubt should be removed.

Explaining "the basic approach of the Government to this problem," Sri Nehru said that the Madras Government had issued A.G.O. making reservations for certain classes and communities.

A Member: "For all classes and communities"

The Madras High Court, Sri Nehru continued, had declared that the G. O. was not in order. He did not challenge the right of the High Court and indeed from a certain point of view their argument was sound. If communities as such were brought into the picture, it did go against certain explicit and implicit provisions of the Constitution.

Nevertheless, Sri Nehru continued, they could not forget the existing situation. For a variety of causes for which the present generation was not to blame "there are groups and classes of individuals, and communities if you like, who are backward in many ways—economically, socially and educationally."

If these people were to be encouraged, something special had to be done for them. There was no doubt that all individuals were not equal and the State could not make them equal. But every individual should be given equal opportunity. If anything came in the way of this objective, it must be removed. It was true, as one member had pointed out in his minute of dissent, that 80 per cent of the country's population were backward. But that could not be a reason for their keeping quiet and not tackling the problem.

When the Government tried to tackle the problem they were told that some provisions of the Constitution dealing with equality and non-discrimination were coming in the way. When they tried to remove inequality, they had to change the present status and necessarily it involved some kind of discrimination. If this argument was correct, there could be no major change in the *status quo* at all.

The society was divided into a large number of groups, castes and religious communities. Apart from the religious or philosophical aspects, these fissures and divisions must be removed. These divisions were gradually disappearing and there were no hard and fast dividing lines now.

One had to strike a balance between the existing state of things and the objectives. They had to be realistic and find a middle way.

The Select Committee had discussed the matter and no member of the Select Committee was opposed to giving special facilities for the backward classes. But some members were afraid that the provision might be abused and utilised for the accentuation of caste and communal division which they sought to do away with. The Committee had found a middle way. The Committee had expressed the view that the provision was not likely to be and could not be misused by any Government. There could, of course, be no guarantee that the provisions could not be misused or used in an undesirable way. They could only create conditions in which it could not be misused.

Sri Nehru said: "So far as we are concerned, may I say that certain members, including the Chief Minister of Madras, have assured us that they realise our difficulties and appreciate them and they have no desire to function in the way people fear. So I would commend the amendment to the House."

As regards the laws which the amendment to Article 19(2) would revive Sri Nehru said that ultimately, the matter could only be decided by the courts. The amendment tried to remove a certain obstruction created by court interpretations.

For instance, there was Section 153, which dealt with promotion of hatred and enmity between communities. Certainly, if the amendment was passed, preaching of communal hatred could be dealt with.

Then there was law relating to sedition. The law was highly objectionable and obnoxious and for both practical and historical reasons. It should have no place in any law the House might frame. The sooner that was got rid of, the better.

"We may, in dealing with this particular matter, deal with it in other and more limited ways, as every country does, but as it is, it should have no place. All of us have had enough experience of it in a variety of ways. Quite apart from the logic of the situation, all our urges are against it. I do not myself think that the changes that we are bringing about validates that thing to a very large extent."

Many people, said Sri Nehru, had said that the Press Laws Enquiry Committee's recommendations had been rejected in toto by Government. The fact of the matter was that many of these recommendations became completely pointless if the interpretation of certain courts was correct. The Committee's recommendations could only be considered after passing this amendment. Personally I felt that in some matters the Committee went rather far and in others did not go far enough.

Sri Nehru said that any desire to curb or restrain the freedom of the Press, generally speaking, was a feeling which was far from the minds of Government. That, of course, was no excuse if the words used in the amendment had that effect. Nevertheless, he would repeat that there was no desire to curb or restrain the freedom of the Press. "We are dealing with a particular situation, I think a difficult situation, which grows more difficult for a variety of reasons, national and international." It was not in terms of curbing the Press but in these wider terms that the amendment was proposed.

The Government of India, Sri Nehru said, did not wish any State Government to take unfair advantage or any advantage of this amendment to curb the freedom of the Press, generally speaking.

Great exception had been taken to some of the additional phrases in Article 19(2) but the Select Committee had made a major change by introducing the word "reasonable," which made the issue patently justifiable. As a matter of fact, even if the word "reasonable" was not there, it was often to the courts to interfere if some fantastic thing was done. Certainly, the introduction of the word "reasonable" gave the court direct authority to consider this matter.

The word "reasonable" was not put in at an early stage because Government wished to avoid, not so much the courts coming into the picture to give their interpretation, but to avoid excess of litigation which might hold everything up and create mental confusion in people's mind at a time when such confusion might do great injury to the State.

"So far as I am concerned and so long as I have

anything to do," said Sri Nehru, "I can assure you that you can criticise the foreign policy of my Government or the foreign policy of any country to the utmost limit. I may like it or dislike it but nobody will be allowed to come in your way," Sri Nehru added.

"But suppose you do something which seems to us to incite to war, do you think we ought to remain quiet and wait for that war to come? I am sure no country will do that. We cannot imperil the safety of the whole nation in the name of some fancied freedom, which puts an end to all freedom. Naturally, we would like you not to indulge in defamatory attacks on leading foreign personalities. That is never good. But in regard to any policy, you can criticise it to the utmost limit, if you like, either our policy or any other country's policy."

He had "complete, hundred per cent" sympathy for Srimati Durgabai's argument that any law passed under this head should be made by Parliament alone and not by the State. But he was told that there were certain legal difficulties in the way.

As a matter of fact, he said, the Central and State Governments today had, naturally, a good deal of power and if they misbehaved, they could do mischief in a hundred ways. Ultimately, the only check was the check of that particular Government falling out with Parliament or the people and being pushed out. "The only check is that you should choose the right persons who are likely to behave in a reasonable and wise way."

As regards the provision for validating zamindari legislation, Sri Nehru said, "If we delay in dealing with the agrarian problem, as we have delayed, we will get entangled in all manner of difficulties out of which we might not be able to extricate ourselves, quite apart from its intimate relationship with the food problem. There is a fair amount of litigation and in fact it is due to that litigation that some of these difficulties have arisen.

"I cannot blame people who go to the law-courts to get such protection as they think may be given to them. But I would like to put to them and to others that their security ultimately lies in a stable economic system, not in the law-courts or in anything else. If there is lack of peace between the vast agrarian population and them, then they have no security. Then the system cannot continue. It just does not matter what the fundamental rights may say or the Constitution may say or the courts may say, because then you arrive at a revolutionary situation which ignores all these things.

"For my part, I would advise on the one side the State Governments concerned that if this amendment is passed and they have a certain power to go ahead with laws they have already made, they should exercise that power with restraint and wisdom. They should examine any hard cases that come to them and we shall help them in examining and dealing with them. They should, if necessary, amend their laws here and there, so as to deal with those hard cases because nobody wants injustice or hardship. But the fact remains that when you change a social system or an agrarian system, the burden must fall

on somebody. I should like the representatives of the zamindars also to look upon it from the point of view of not trying to get something from prolonged litigation. They may gain a point here or there but the only party to gain will be the lawyers."

Sri Hanumanthaiya: It is the judicial system that is responsible and not any particular individual or class.

Sri Nehru: I know that. I am not blaming anybody. It is always the system, or lack of system sometimes, that is responsible.

Constitution Bill Passed

The Constitution (First) Amendment Bill was passed by Parliament on June 2, by a majority of 228 against 20 votes. Three members of the A.I.N.E.C., namely, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Sri Ramnath Goenka and Sir B. Shiva Rao remained neutral. At the third reading of the Bill Government accepted one amendment by Sri Kamath that non-Indians should not be appointed as Chief Justice or a judge of the Supreme Court. The Law Minister announced that government would appoint a committee with retired High Court Judges to consider what laws have to be adapted or modified in terms of Article 372 of the Constitution.

"Hindustan Hamara"

These words formed the burden of Iqbal's "national" song. It has been adopted as their name and their war-cry by a new political party the birth of which was announced from Pakistan's capital, Karachi, on May 3 last. The *Press Trust of India* sent this news on that date summarizing the party objectives and purposes. We publish it below:

"Hindustan Hamara Party, a new political party formed in Karachi, announced last night that it intended to extend the principles of Islamic tolerance from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

"In a 1,000-word manifesto the new party declared: 'We are against aggression of all kinds, and our policy is a policy of conquest by peace, through spread of the gospel of love and equal freedom for all regardless of caste or creed.'

"Referring to the recent announcement of Hindu Mahasabha that its aim was to 'assimilate into Hinduism all minority religions' the manifesto said: 'Hindu rule over Bharat has become a menace, not merely to Bharat's non-Hindu population but to all mankind. No civilised Government permits such language to be spoken, but the Government of Bharat allows it to be spoken with impunity.'

"It was therefore apparent, the manifesto stated, that although the subcontinent had been freed from the domination of alien British imperialists, large sections of people were not yet really free. They still remained to be liberated, and such liberation could not be accomplished except through extension of the principles of Islamic tolerance.

"Alleging that the minorities of Bharat, particularly Muslims, continued to be persecuted as a matter of deliberate policy, the manifesto declared: 'Encouraged by this attitude of the Government of Bharat, dastardly communal elements represented

by the Hindu Mahasabha and R. S. S. are growing bolder and bolder in expressing their naked and barbarous designs.'

"It added: 'It is not our stand that our programme for completion of liberation of Bharat should be achieved necessarily through force of arms. Our party's aim is not to advocate armed intervention in the cause of civilisation, except as the last resort. We shall first strive to explore approaches to the conscience of civilised mankind, so that free nations of the world may mobilise their efforts, diplomatic and otherwise, to prevent Bharat from relapsing into a land of medieval barbarism. Our part will further be to advocate that Pakistan should abandon the policy of silent neutrality in face of developing peril which threatens to engulf Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, Sikhs and even Scheduled Castes in the neighbouring country'."

We know how Iqbal's words are being used by Pakistanis. The following letter published in a recent issue of the *Allahabad Leader* shows that Iqbal's "spiritualism" has been perverted by materialists to serve and advance their own particular interests. His use of the words "Momin" and "Kafir" were utilized by Muslim Leaguers to poison Hindu-Muslim relations. Even now these are so misused. The *Leader's* comment is a pointer to it. This is the danger of giving out the "two-nations" message, as Iqbal did.

Sir,—Let me refer to your note 'Enter the Ulema' appearing in the *Leader* of February 8, regarding the code of fundamental principles of the Islamic state of Pakistan, framed by a conference of Ulemas which recently met at Karachi. Due to the principles of the code that a Hindu cannot become the Governor-General of Pakistan, your remarks must have been relished by all, but as, in this connection, a quotation from Iqbal's poetry has been wrongly interpreted, I think it should not go unsaid. The quotation along with your comment runs as follows:

'Kafir ki reh pahchan ki afaq men gum hai,
Momin ki reh pahchan ki gum us men hain afaq.'

'In other words, Hindus and Muslims belong to two different species.'

Iqbal being a staunch spiritualist, has very strongly condemned materialism in his works. In the above lines he simply makes a distinction between a spiritualist and a materialist by calling the former a Momin and the latter a Kafir. There is no question of Hindu and Muslim. The conception of Momin in the poetry of Iqbal is that of an ideal and perfect man. Kafir represents just the opposite of it. Thus, according to Iqbal, the words 'Momin' and 'Kafir' do not necessarily mean Muslim and Hindu, respectively. A Musalman can be a Kafir and a Kafir can be a Musalman. Iqbal says:

Agar ho ishq to hai Kufr bhi Musalmani,
Na ho to mard-e-Musalman bhi Kafir-o-Zindiq.

—ABU MUHAMMAD, the University, Allahabad.

U.S.A. and Kashmir

Since the withdrawal of British power from India the healthy process of denunciation is being denied to us. Of course, there are "candid" friends in Britain who lose no opportunity to have a fling at us, at our

socio-political morality. This they are constrained to do on the sly. For, they also value India's membership of the Commonwealth.

We have got used to these antics. India's new status in the comity of modern nations appears, however, to have had a restraining influence on foreign pen and tongue. And we must cultivate the habit of being thankful for small mercies like this. In this connection we should mention Miss Margaret Bourke-White who as *Life's* special correspondent had passed years in India during the Second World War and has written a book named *Half-way to Freedom*, in which she has recorded her impressions of the great leaders of India and Pakistan.

Naturally enough, we turned to Miss Bourke-White's impressions of the creator and dictator of Pakistan.

Miss Bourke-White had been present at New Delhi during the Cabinet Mission's abortive negotiations. She does not appear to have come into personal contact with the Muslim League leader. But very soon after August 15, 1947, she betook herself to Karachi, made friends with Miss Fatima Jinnah and through her somehow managed to be accommodated in the Government House, under the same roof with the Quaid-e-Azam, so to say. Thus we find her "interviewing" him, and he appeared to have unburdened himself so far as it was possible for a man of his unbending nature to do so. One of the earliest of these interviews is recorded in pages 92-99. The report showed how the mind of the Pakistani leader and followers, had been moving. Miss Bourke-White asked the leader:

"Did he hope to enlist technical or financial assistance from America?"

"America needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs America," was Jinnah's reply. 'Pakistan is the pivot of the world, as we are placed,' he revolved his long forefinger in bony circles—'the frontier on which the future position of the world revolves.' He leaned toward me, dropping his voice to a confidential note. 'Russia,' confided Mr. Jinnah, 'is not so very far away.'

Miss Bourke-White refers later on to Pakistani officialdom echoing the Jinnah "thesis"; they put eager questions to her: "Surely America will build up our army?"—"Surely America would give us loans to keep Russia from walking in?" And her criticism of this eagerness was subtle: "I wondered if the Quaid-e-Azam considered his new State only as an armoured buffer between opposing major powers."

This appreciation of world politics by the Pakistani leaders appears to have recommended itself to U.S.A.'s ruling classes. And the world suspicion is valid which suggests that Pakistan has been able to cash in the "pivot of the world" position of hers. The Indian public are, therefore, more than justified in feeling that U.S.A.'s doings over Kashmir had something to do with the realization by Washington that Pakistan would be more amenable to her influence. Miss Bourke-White's

interpretation of the Pakistani thesis is of value in guiding India in Indo-American relations. Apart from this postulate of post-1947 politics, the United States has floundered in her food negotiations. It is a great pity.

Miss Bourke-White describes from her close-up acquaintance with men and women in Karachi that "less than three months after Pakistan became a nation Jinnah's olympian assurance had strangely withered." The Quaid-e-Azam was afflicted with "a bad cold," to quote official communiques.

"But only those closest to him knew that 'cold' was accompanied by paralysing inability to make even the smallest decisions, by sudden silences striped with outbursts of irritation, by a spiritual numbness concealing something close to panic underneath. . . ."

"... the 'Great Leader' himself could not fail to know that all was not well in his new creation. . . . The separation from the main body of India had been in many ways an unrealistic one."

Miss Bourke-White has suggested a reason for this "spiritual numbness." She thinks that "the blow that finally broke his spirit struck at the very name of Pakistan." "... the K was missing"—Kashmir had not fallen into the elaborate Pakistani trap.

"With the beginning of this torturing anxiety over Kashmir, the Quaid-e-Azam's seige of bad colds began, and then his dismaying withdrawal into himself."

The idealists who ruled India in those fateful months did not have this picture of the Pakistani leader. They were too good to take advantage of such knowledge, even if it had been available. History might have been different.

Sino-Tibetan Agreement

The 17-point agreement between China and Tibet signed on May 23 provides that the Tibetan people shall unite and drive out "imperialist and aggressive forces" from Tibet, according to the text of the agreement.

These points, as given by the official New China News Agency, are:

"The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist and aggressive forces from Tibet so that the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland—the People's Republic of China.

The local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the natural defences.

In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the common programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

The Central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The Central authorities will also not alter the established status, functions and powers

of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Lama shall be maintained.

By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Lama are meant the status and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Lama when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the common programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected and Lama monasteries shall be protected. The Central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

Tibetan troops shall be reorganised step by step into the People's Liberation Army and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

The spoken and written language and school education, etc., of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

In matters related to various reforms in Tibet there will be no compulsion on the part of the Central authorities. The local Government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord and when the people raise demands for reform they shall be solved by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above terms."

Bharat Government's reaction to this agreement appears to verge on indifference, though they feel that the Tibetan Government has "signed away" their "autonomy" by it. Historic necessity, to use a new fashionable phrase, will compel us to hear from Lhasa in the near future more of its consequences.

Iran's Oil and Iran's Islam

The grievances of the Iranian people are grounded on national policies which we sympathize with. But the way in which fanatic "Fadaiyan Islam" has been exploiting these are taking it to an international crisis. This is what the "Dar-ul Islam" Party of Indonesia have been doing. Their tactics are similar. The following reported by a *United Press of America* reporter holds the mirror to the truth of this statement of ours. It was cabled from Tehran on May 12 last :

"Sayed Mojtaba Nawab Safavi, leader of 'Fadaiyan Islam,' the powerful organization res-

ponsible for the death of Prime Minister Ali Razmara said today that there were still others 'who must be pushed down the incline to hell'."

"Safavi said he could wield greater influence over the Iranian Communists than Josef Stalin.

"I sat on the floor of a mud hut in the outskirts of Teheran and listened for three hours, while this 27-year-old devotee of Islam denounced Razmara as a 'traitor serving the British, the Russians and the Americans. It was two ounces of gun-powder which forced patriotism out of our Chamber of Deputies.'

"My secret meeting with Safavi was arranged by one of his followers by telephone. I was driven in a black automobile to a remote district of Southern Teheran. The drive lasted 45 minutes. During that time, I was asked to keep my eyes fixed to the floor. I was unable to identify our final destination. After leaving the car we walked for 35 minutes, through winding alleys between low-roofed mud huts jostling among silent veiled women and many donkeys. At an yellow door, my escort gave a secret knock. A figure in a black cloak and a red fez opened the door slightly and scrutinized us.

"There was an exchange of secret passwords. Then I was bidden to enter after removing my shoes to meet a slight, blue-gowned smiling young man with a wispy beard and a moustache and a gleam in his eyes.

"This is the first time I have spoken to any foreign correspondent," he said. "I want to tell you that the world power of Islam is far greater than some believe. No one believed our most precious possession—oil—would be returned to us, but the will and sacrifice of our brother, Khalil Tahmassebi brought this about."

"His voice rose as he launched into a tirade against his rival leader, Hassem Kasham, whom he accused of betraying Islam.

"I know they have incited the police to arrest me, but they will not be able to do it. There are 5,000 people who would immediately give their lives at my command. I have hundreds of thousands of followers. 'Fadaiyan Islam' means those devoted and ready to be sacrificed for Islam."

I asked, "Has Your Eminence other persons on your list?"

He cut in quickly, "There are quite a few who must be pushed down the incline to hell. Anyone opposed to our ideals will be exterminated. We may act soon against some."

"I asked Safavi whether he had personally instructed his followers to kill Razmara.

"Yes, but they themselves had the will from their own holy goal."

"The interview ended after midnight.

The Fadaiyan Islam leader has been arrested since. And the oil crisis has assumed dangerous proportions.

Incidentally this crisis high-lights the three-decade long policy of British permanent officialdom that was pro-Islamic in the main. It is the British conservative that has created this Frankenstein.

Malan vs. Malan

The torch-light procession of the "Servicemen" headed by Group Captain Malan and the Boer veteran Commandant de la Rey which was held on the 28th

May last in protest against the Malan Government's racial policy has brought out the fact that not even Boer citizens of the Union of South Africa are agreed on the policy that in their name is being pursued by the Malan Government with such disastrous consequences to its citizens—black, white, and "coloured," African, European and Asian.

The torch-light rally led to street fighting in which the white constabulary used their arms against their white citizens. Malan (junior) was a pilot during the "Battle of Britain" days. Feelings appear to be reaching a new intensity through which Group Captain Malan was heard to hurl abuses on Dr. Daniel Malan's Party, the Nationalist Party, describing it as being composed of men who "had pinned their faith in a Nazi Victory." Words like these must have been exchanged exposing a "deepening cleavage within the white population itself", to quote the words of the *London Economist*.

In one of the issues of the same weekly a letter written during May last by Basil Davidson giving his impression of a recent tour, the following words occur: "It is very clear to me, declared General Hertzog in a much-remembered speech in 1932 that this was one of the most foolish attitudes the whites could adopt to drive the coloured people to the enemies of the Europeans . . ." This is what has been happening as the Malan (junior) demonstration proves.

The Indian attitude was indicated in a despatch published in the *Allahabad Leader* on 15th May last:

"Now that the South African Government has promulgated the Group Areas Act which is designed to redistribute the different races of the Union into territorially segregated compartments, it faces the gigantic task of putting the measure into practice.

A major and immediate reshuffling of peoples is not contemplated by Dr. Donges, Minister of the Interior, an architect of this plan which is unprecedented in modern times. Rather will it shape itself in the form of a gradual weeding out and replacement taking many years to accomplish.

Many areas in the Union already conform roughly to the race pattern desired by the Government. Most small country towns have their white areas separated from the African and coloured locations. In such towns, the coloureds or Africans rarely live in the same street or even in the same neighbourhood as the whites, unless they be domestic servants.

Some cities, however, especially the older ones, such as Durban and Cape Town, present fantastically complicated problems to the Administrators of the Group Areas Scheme. Of those, Cape Town will be the toughest of all the nuts to crack. That is why Cape Town has been given two years' grace before 'zoning' takes place there.

As the mother city of South Africa, Cape Town has grown up a 'mixed' city. In the heavily populated older districts coloured people live side by side with

whites. Even in smart suburbs like Kenilworth and Rondebosch, there are streets of coloured houses which back on to the large houses of wealthy whites. Business men's villas overlook shabby hovels in which coloured families have lived for generations. In such areas either the whites or the coloureds will presumably have to move out, depending theoretically on which race preponderates. In such suburbs nobody is in any doubt as to who will go.

The first concrete reaction to this uncertainty is coming from estate agents and auctioneers who report diminishing sales of property. Some are expressing fears of a complete breakdown in business in the near future. They say that transfers of property between members of different races are likely to cease altogether until it is established which areas are to be white and which coloured. A special meeting of estate agents is to be held soon to discuss the whole vexed question."

"For The Enemy No Compromise"

MacArthur's successor as U.N.O. Supreme Commander in Korea, General Mathew Ridgeway, has given the best estimate of the stalemate in Korea as he said at a Tokyo Press Conference on May 30 last that "for the enemy no compromise: for us no choice." This opinion deflates many of the victories that are being announced from Korea and Tokyo, and of the North Korean Communist Army being fought to a stand-still. This interpretation of ours gains added strength or plausibility from what two American war commentators said on "What is wrong with the U. S. Army?"

Garrett Underhill and Ronald Schiller have some blistering remarks on the denizens of the "Pentagon."

"The flight of our troops before Chinese peasant soldiers in Korea last November was a disgrace suffered by American arms since Northern troops cut and ran at the first "Battle of Bull Run" in 1861. The question we have been asking ourselves in bewilderment ever since is: 'How could it have happened?'

"The disease can be called 'military-mindedness.' It is a kind of creeping paralysis that tends to make an army bureaucratic, inefficient, hide-bound and introvert, absorbed in itself and forgetful of its only reason for existence—to prepare to fight its nation's enemies.

"The campaign in Korea had two strikes against it from the start because our military leaders have not tried to understand the nature of the enemy and the war he will fight.

"For five years the armed forces of the United States have had no other function than to prepare for war. Rarely have we had available so much information about the military forces of potential enemies.

"When the leaders of our armed forces sat down to decide how the next war would be fought, the two memories uppermost in their minds were the atom bomb and America's industrial ability to turn out immense quantities of super weapons of every description.

"Obsessed by these dazzling and lethal new

weapons, they built almost our entire military strategy around them . . .

"Such was the suicidal naivete of our military leaders that a spokesman dismissed the possibility of large-scale Chinese intervention in Korea with the assertion: 'The Chinese undoubtedly would not commit big land forces without 'clobbering' us from the air first. We will know right away—and not from a couple of prisoners—if they do come into this war!'

"What hope was there for a victory by an army that believed there was only one way to fight a war—its way? We can be sure that the Russians, like the Chinese, will not wage the next war according to our well-publicised plans if they can possibly help it. They will make every effort to neutralise the effect of our best weapons and force us to fight the war on their terms.

"And in its concentration on material strength, the military had neglected the human element. Combat fatigue was abnormally high, a sure sign that men were not ready for combat. It is significant that the Marines, less material-minded, gained twice the ground their Army neighbours did in their initial battle and at Chinju, against greater opposition."

'Island of Sanity'

The *World Interpreter* (New York) of March 19 last published the following:

"Uruguay's well-deserved repute for democracy and freedom is paying off. It is the only country of South America, and one of the few in the world, without compulsory military service. It has only a small standing army, and only two warships. It is nevertheless respected by all nations the world around.

Uruguay's government is so well established and its economy so settled that, although it is going along with worldwide inflation, money from both North and South America, as well as from Europe, is flowing in for investment. The Uruguayan peso has gone up steadily in value for a year, and at an accelerated rate as world conditions have grown worse. Informed observers believe Uruguay is destined to be the Switzerland of the Western Hemisphere, both in its financial and its democratic aspects."

"Independent Naga State"

The setting-up of claims in this behalf is an indication of what Shree Rajagopalachari is faced with. And 100-years' policy of drift cannot, we know, be set right in four years. But our astute Home Minister should take note. We are not able to share the alarmist interpretation of a Bombay contemporary of ours. It is quoted below. Assam's administration since August, 1947, has been easy-going in the main.

"In setting-up an 'Independent Naga State' as a term of reference for a plebiscite, the Naga tribe of Assam has advanced a claim which is extravagant and unwarranted. The Naga National Council, which has proposed to take the plebiscite, has allowed its ambition to manage the tribal affairs, to soar too high. It has carried the fissiparous tendency, which has gathered momentum following the attainment of freedom, far

beyond the persistent demand for the formation of linguistic provinces. When the country has attained complete freedom from foreign domination and has acquired the status of a sovereign State, it is for the Nagas to inquire, from their leaders, which is the power from which they have been asked to seek independence. Have they realised the implications and consequences of the fantastic demand made in their name? Perhaps they are led away by the promises made to them by their leaders in whose control the Naga National Council seems to have been for the time being.

"The Constitution has made far-reaching provisions for the administration and development of the scheduled tribes of Assam. The ultimate aim of these provisions is to pull out, in course of time, these tribes from the extreme state of backwardness to which they were mercilessly relegated. Since the Constitution has been in force throughout the country it is for the Government of India to make sure that the provisions relating to the tribal areas of Assam have been implemented effectively. The demand for a plebiscite made by the Naga National Council is a signal to the Government to shake off its complacency towards the tribal areas of Assam and to think seriously whether any region or a tribal group can arrogate to itself the right to seek independence. Obviously the demand for a plebiscite amounts to a subversive movement and, as such, it must be taken serious notice of."

The *Calcutta Hindustan Standard's* special representative writing from Kohima on May 4 last throws further light on the various facts:

"The main problem of the Nagas, as I could study during my four-day intensive tour of the Naga Hills, is that they are afraid of losing their identity as a distinct people with a separate culture. In course of my long talks with prominent Naga leaders like Messrs. Phizu, Visar, Vicha, Satsu, Vikrulie and others I could gather that they have no feelings of animosity against other Indians.

"A thinking section of the educated Nagas told me that the situation is still not hopeless and an amicable and satisfactory arrangement could still be arrived at if Central Ministers like Sri Rajagopalachari and Sri Sriprakash, in whom the vast majority of Nagas have confidence, come to Naga Hills and have a heart to heart talk with the local people.

"But the Nagas frankly say that they have no confidence in the Ministers of the Assam Government who are alleged to have offended the Nagas by belittling them and by putting out threats of punitive action. It is difficult to gather how far these allegations are true, but one thing seems to be clear that the local administration, somehow or other, failed to catch the imagination of the Nagas."

The North-East Frontier Problem

In the last issue of this *Review* we indicated the many influences, personal and impersonal, that have been

creating difficulties for the Indian Union in her north-east frontiers. An old copy of a Shillong weekly of December 6, 1946, when the Cabinet Mission had thrown the Pandora's box of "Grouping" amongst us, enables us to understand that the Naga question is no new thing; it is part of a bigger ethnic problem embracing all the "tribals" of the area. We print the relevant portions below :

Mr. R. Vanlawma, former General Secretary of the Mizo Union, saw Mr. G. N. Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, on the evening of 3rd November and had a talk about the seizure of the fund and office records of the Mizo Union by the Superintendent, Lushai Hills.

In his second meeting with the Premier on the eve of his departure for Constituent Assembly meeting on the following day Mr. Vanlawma put to the Premier the resolutions concerning the Lushai Hills passed by the General Assembly of the Mizo Union which in brief were—

(a) In case of India attaining independence, the Mizo people are also in favour of joining the Indian Union provided the Constituent Assembly granted district autonomy with due safeguards to the interests of Customary laws of the people concerned.

(b) The district boundary will be adjusted linguistically embracing all Mizo speaking people, such as some portion of Manipur State, Cachar district, Tripura State, Chittagong hill tracts and even Chin Hills in Burma.

(c) The Union, being the only political organisation in the district, should be regarded as the only organisation which can represent public opinion.

He also requested the Premier to kindly see:

(1) That the Mizo people, being one of the major hill-tribes in Assam, should have district representation in the Advisory Committee of Constituent Assembly.

(2) The name Lushai Hills coined by the British when they came to our hills be replaced by the new name "Mizoram."

(3) That in order to prepare for local autonomy, the district of Lushai Hills be included partially within the Provincial Legislature, with representatives according to population basis. Ways and means may be found though the present constitution does not allow to include them.

(4) The number of representatives in the local Legislature as well as its constitution should be determined by the people themselves. (It is already clear that half and half parity of chiefs and commoners representation is against the will of the people).

(5) The power of the chiefs in Lushai Hills should be regulated and villages be ruled by the chiefs assisted by the village Council or Panchayat popularly elected.

(6) The present practice of "Impressment of Labours" exacted from the people by force which is popularly known as "Coolie" not known in other district should be withdrawn or at least a reasonable wage be paid. This kind of forced labour without reasonable pay is most hateful to the Mizo people.

Britain and United States Air Bases

Sections of British Labourites and Conservatives have been growing jealous and suspicious of the U.S.'s intentions and actions. Their leaders have to observe a discreet silence. The British Prime Minister's reply to a Labourites question is an instance of this attitude. During the last war there were stationed all over

Britain U.S.A. air bases. It was expected that this would cease with the war. But things appear to be otherwise, and public opinion appears to be growing restive. A *P.T.I.-Reuter's* despatch tells us :

"Units of the American Air Force will stay in Britain as long as the United States and Britain consider it in the interests of their common defence.

"Prime Minister Attlee was replying in the House of Commons to Labour Member Sydney Dye, who represents a constituency in the East Anglia where American bomber forces are stationed.

"Mr. Dye asked under what agreement an American atomic base had been established in East Anglia.

"He also asked if adequate compensation was provided for loss of lives or property in peacetime or as a result of a special attack in the event of war.

"Mr. Attlee said that by arrangement between the two Governments units of the United States Air Force had been stationed in Britain since the time of Berlin airlift.

"In peacetime, compensation for the loss of lives or property attributable directly to the United States forces in Britain was a matter for the United States Claims Commission.

"An agreement was now being negotiated which would cover *inter alia* the payment of compensation for damages suffered as the result of acts of the forces of North Atlantic powers stationed in a country other than their own. This agreement might modify the present position.

"In the event of war any arrangements made for compensation for the loss of lives or property due to enemy action would cover East Anglia equally with the rest of the country."

"The Indian"

We are in receipt of No. 2, Vol. II of this journal claiming to speak for and of men and women of Indian parentage "at home and abroad."

The purpose which this paper wishes to serve is best expressed in p. 17 wherein under the title "Culture of Indians"—II, Coleridge's words are quoted followed by appropriate editorial comments. We print these below :

"Language is the armoury of the human mind, and at once contains the trophies of its past and the weapons of its future conquests."—Coleridge

"From the subject of Indians' apparel, an important link between Indians overseas and their Motherland, we move to the subject of language. The necessity of Indians speaking the mother tongue transcends all other cultural links. Indians can go abroad and keep their form of dress, habits, art and literature, but unless they retain their national language (i.e., the language their fathers spoke) their link with the Motherland is of very little use."

"Libertarian"

We acknowledge receipt of the April-May-June, 1951 number of this journal published by the Socialist Institute, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4. It is devoted to Libertarian philosophy and social science. The contents of these numbers support this contention.

The first is a collection of "Thoughts" which indicate that the conductors are not orthodox Lenin-Stalin Communists. The quotation (p. 3) from Bakunin, Marx's predecessor in materialist interpretation, damns the "present centralized State" out of which the Soviet Union has not yet emerged. Bakunin dreamt of a "United States of Europe" which Stalin and his cohorts have sabotaged effectively.

The next quotation is from Karl Kantsky, one of those materialist thinkers whose names have been erased by the cooking of Soviet historians. "Every form of doctrinaire fanaticism, every attempt to turn Marxism into an unalterable dogma is contrary to Marxist thought which recognizes no absolute truth." (P. 2).

We wish success to this journal as a healthy alternative to the so-called "Peoples' War" frauds.

German Interest in India

The Nagpur English-language daily *Hitavada*, of April 9 last reported the lecture on "Sanskrit Studies in Germany" by Prof. Alsdorf of the Hamburg University. Its summary is published below :

"Generally relations between countries existed either on political or economic basis; but the connections between India and Germany have never been political, but cultural. Even though Germans had got far less opportunity than the English to study India, still German scholars' contributions towards the study of Sanskrit has been much more than any other European nation.

Why did Germans take so much interest in India? It is difficult to answer the question, "India has fascinated and attracted me. It is by no means one-sided but mutual."

Germans have shown great appreciation for Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and other Indian literature. Professor Alsdorf narrated the names of a host of German philosophers and scholars who had studied Sanskrit. He gave the instance of a German scholar who made a special study of Buddhism. This scholar, Professor Alsdorf said, had made a small bust of Buddha and kept it in his study. The scholar had also named his pet-dog "Atma." He gave the instance of yet another German scholar who had studied Tamil in four months.

The Germans' interest in India, Professor Alsdorf said, was not to please anyone but it was out of genuine interest for the "richest culture" which India possessed. Is German interest in India alive or dead? he asked. The number of German people interested in India has not been many, but it was no way small. The only career open to such Germans who were interested in India, was academic. Even during the war the interest in India was in no way lessened. "There has been quite a sufficient number to keep the pot boiling," he said. There were at present eleven professorships in various different Universities in Germany. During Hitler's regime, he pointed out, re-

search in Sanskrit was continued. During the war years, a catalogue of Jain manuscripts was prepared, books on Indian philosophy and archaeological publications were published. "The war did not make us fall asleep and stop our work in trying to keep up the noble traditions of the past."

Now-a-days, he went on, relations between two countries existed on mainly economic basis. He was, however, not willing to undermine the economic interest between India and Germany. But, he said, he valued more the cultural interest."

Tapti Valley Project

The Press in India do not generally write on the various regional projects that have been quietly going on with their work. The *Bombay Chronicle* of 25th May last published the following on the project that will make available the waters of the Tapti to the States of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh. The *Hitavada* of Nagpur published sometime back details of a Tapti Valley civilization linked up with that of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and certain areas in the State of Bikaner where the bed of the vanished Saraswati is believed to lie.

But today's Tapti Valley project has the material purpose in view referred to above, and the Bombay paper's report is worth recording as a mile-stone in India's modern betterment.

"The Meshwa Weir, the Khari cut Canal system and the Mahi River Project in the first stage of development will together irrigate an area of nearly two lakh acres of land in Ahmedabad and Kheda districts of the State. Of these about one lakh acres will grow rice and the rest other crops," said Dr. Mehta, who has returned to Bombay after a tour in the Mahi River valley and adjacent areas for inspection of these irrigation projects.

The construction of the Meshwa Weir had so far cost Rs. 35 lakhs. It is in operation, irrigating 7,000 acres and further enables a better supply of water for the Khari cut canals. Owing to neglect and other causes the latter canals were not working satisfactorily.

Work has therefore been undertaken at a cost of Rs. 1 lakh to clear silt from this canal system and to improve the regulating devices of the Khari sluices. This would raise the Kalambandhi rice area from 7,000 acres to 10,000 acres or more. Rabi crops would be also irrigated thereby to the extent of 5,000 acres.

Steps are also being taken, he said, to repair the Goblej and Guhedia tanks which will be fed through the Meshwa canal, increasing the area irrigated by them by 1,000 acres.

As regards the Mahi project, the work falls into two stages, which may overlap each other. The first stage of the Weir has just been started on the Mahi canals. The main canal which is on the right bank of Weir, is expected to cost over 4 crores.

Under Stage II it is proposed to construct :

voirs across the tributaries and the main river itself upstream of the weir site and according as suitable sites are available for the purpose.

"Sindri Going into Action"

A New Delhi contemporary in its issue of May 18 last prints the following under this catching headline. The news is hopeful, and we hope for the best. We raise no complaint of the abnormal estimate feats of our "planners."

"India's biggest State-run factory at Sindri is expected to go into production very soon.

The fertilizer factory which will cost the Government Rs. 23 crores, when completed, will produce ammonia by the end of July.

The plant, with its eight large generators, is designed to produce 33 million cubic feet of gas a day. About 10,000 tons of coal have been stockpiled. It represents only 170 days' consumption.

The factory, which is to produce 350,000 tons of ammonium sulphate every year, will begin manufacturing crystals of this compound by the end of September or the beginning of October. It will be in full production six months later.

In the ammonia sulphate section, the gypsum storage building, with all its equipment, is complete. About 100,000 tons of gypsum have been stockpiled.

Alternate sources of gypsum had to be tapped after partition, as it was mainly available from Punjab. Extensive deposits have been located in Bikaner. Other reserves are being developed in Jodhpur."

A Noble Historic Family

Our readers know that no other province is so rich in historical materials as Maharashtra and nowhere else have government and people done so well in publishing them. The Bombay Government has completed printing all the historical papers of the Peshwas in the Marathi language (in 45 volumes) and the despatches of the British Residents at the Maratha Courts in English (15 volumes), besides the selections from the records in Bombay edited by Professor Forrest. But the Maratha nation has been earlier and even more active in this field, as the readers of the articles on Rajwade and Parasnis in our *Review* in 1926-27 know. Every old historic family—and the land of Shivaji and Baji Rao had countless such sons—makes it a point of honour to print the records of its ancestors.

The latest series of family records to reach us is the *papers selected from the Vaidya family archives*, in four volumes and a Supplement, ranging from 1641 to 1749. These Brahmins were not medicinemen (*vaid*s) but bankers and advisers to Chhatrapati Sahu, the Peshwas, the Rajahs of Nagpur, Bhore, Aundh, Miraj, etc. and Nana Fadnis. Hence they not only give precise information on the old indigenous banking of South India, but also throw unexpected light of a purely political character. For example, Chanda Sahib's captive life and end was described solely from these Vaidya papers

in our December 1943 number, correcting the prevalent errors. Some other papers throw new light on the Maratha raids in Bengal starting from Nagpur. In the latest volume, Bengal is specially interested in the report of a Vaidya agent who visited Murshidabad and Siraj-ud-daula's court two months before the battle of Plassey!

We congratulate Sri Shankar Lakshman Vaidya, the aged head of this noble family on his having lived to complete a duty to his ancestors which will also earn for him the thanks of our history research students. Nor have these Vaidyas failed to assist in making modern Maratha history; their head shared in Yeravada Jail the political imprisonment of Sri B. G. Kher, the present Chief Minister of Bombay!!!

Sramika Dharma Rajya Sabha

Half the world does not know how the other half lives; the meaning of this common English-language saying was brought home to us afresh by the experiences related to us by Shree Nalini Bhadra, Assistant Editor of the *Prabasi*, who visited the Andhra Sramika Dharma Rajya Sabha.

The founder of this organization, Shree R. M. Sarma, was a follower of Lokamanya Tilak, and took part in many of the activities initiated by that great tribune of our people. In 1920 and thereafter he shared the nation-wide awakening of the 20's, actively pushed on the Non-co-operation programme and suffered imprisonment as he had done during the pre-Gandhian years. Thereafter, he, a student of philosophy, Eastern and Western, specially associated with the name of Hegel, has been trying to re-interpret Marxism in the light of Hindu thought, specially in its version given by Gandhiji with his insistence on Non-violence and the purity and identity of Ends and Means.

In the *Quarterly Report*, (Oct.-Dec., 1950), of the Sabha's many-sided activities amongst the hill-tribes of Andhra Desa we are given indications of the founder's philosophy of conduct. The promise is held that more on the subject will appear in the *Yugadharma*.

"Whither Prabasee Bengalees?"

Under this heading appeared a series of articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* giving a rather unhelpful account of Bengalees resident in other States of India. Though the writer based his articles on experiences gained in Bombay City and suburbs, these applied to their case all over the country. The Bombay paper agreeing to publish these articles showed that its editor regarded their problem as of a more than local or the particular community's interest.

Shree Sudhir Das Gupta had conducted "a detailed survey" into the condition of the Bengalees. It was undertaken at the request of the Parel Bengalee Club. Four assumptions are made relying on the findings of this "survey." These are as follows:

"The first assumption is that it is not possible today for any civilised community in the world, even for a nation, to be self-sufficient economically, culturally and socially, even politically, not to speak of the Bengalee community as such.

"The second assumption is that even inside the Indian Union the Bengalees of the Bengal State as such cannot become self-sufficient.

"The third assumption that logically follows from the first two is that it is all the more impossible for any community outside its own state to be self-sufficient, be it the Prabasee Bengalees or any other.

"The fourth assumption is that when a Prabasee community has to face and solve its problem, it has particularly to take cognisance of the fact that the securing of help and the soliciting of support from the people of a State in which it finds itself, is of permanent importance."

These assumptions may be valid or otherwise. But these lead us nowhere. The "Kali-Baris" and "Temples" and "Clubs" played a notable part in "pioneer" days. But these, according to the enquirer and the writer, serve no useful purpose now. Rather, these do harm and help to put barriers between various sections of our composite nation. This criticism may be deserved or otherwise. But from reading the articles we get no help in chalking out an effective programme of work that would get us results.

The schools also come under the same castigation. For, they have "nothing peculiarly Bengalee about them." So are the Sports Clubs. The bitterest criticism, however, is reserved for the annual sessions of the "Prabasee Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan"—their snobbery—"big *shamianas*, lights and revelry that satisfy the ego of both men and women" "satisfying the gregarious instincts of Prabasee Bengalees . . ." He questions whether this Sammelan have fashioned "tools" and "media" by which "the spark in the young progressives may be roused in an organized fashion." The Bhagalpur-Purneah-Patna, the Bawaras-Lucknow-Allahabad groups are referred to with a hint of appreciation. Atul Prasad Sen, Kedarnath Banerji, Anurupa Devi and "Banaful" are regarded as exceptions which the "Prabasee Bengalee community or the Prabasee Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan have not produced." This is a dictum that we find it difficult to accept. Literature, art, sports, dress and manners are the product of a social environment. These marks and notes, distinctive of a particular culture, are either individual productions or the community's. Carlyle's "Great Men" and Emerson's "Representative Men" describe these two schools of history's interpretation. Shree Paresh Das Gupta appears unconsciously to subscribe to the latter. If this be a fact a community that could produce an Atul Prasad Sen, a Kedarnath Banerji, an Anurupa Devi and a "Banaful" has not lost their vitality. This is our considered judgment. We cannot follow the doleful historians who lose no opportunity in telling us that Bengalees are a decadent people.

Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund

Amritlal Thakkar, lovingly called "Bapa," is one of India's immortals. It is meet and proper that the public should be thinking of continuing the work to which he devoted 35 years of his later life, to perpetuate his memory. For, "Bapa" did not believe in posthumous honours.

The following appeal was issued in the *Harijan* over the signatures of the more intimate of his helpers and co-workers :

"Who is not aware of the invaluable services rendered, for a long period of over 40 years, in a spirit of service and in an absolutely unselfish manner, by the late Thakkar Bapa in improving the lot of the backward, the untouchable and the tribal communities in India, and in service of the people in times of famine, floods, earthquakes, epidemics, etc.? His work was carried on silently, and on the solid and wider foundations of humanity, without an eye on power or popularity and without any ulterior or immediate political motives. His long-continued, strenuous and sustained work of the most important nation-building and humanitarian character has endeared him to all, including those who had even a casual chance of coming in contact with him or his work. It is, therefore, the natural desire of his colleagues, co-workers, admirers and followers to do what they can by way of homage and as a mark of respect in which he has been held by millions and millions of our countrymen.

The best memorial is to apply oneself to the cause that Bapa had at heart in his spirit and manner and to discharge our duty to the millions of our countrymen. And yet the idea of doing something tangible as a token of love and respect cannot be summarily brushed aside.

The decision for the memorial was taken on 20th March, 1951, at the meeting of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh, under the presidency of Dr. Rajendraprasad, to make collections from at least a million people. The poorest of the poor may subscribe with his quota of four annas, while the richest may subscribe whatever his heart and the cause of the poor impel him to do. There is no limit to the maximum that could be paid. The moneys collected will be administered by a joint Committee, appointed separately by the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh which are Bapa's children along with such members who may be co-opted by itself. As the fund is essentially the poor man's, care has been taken to see that the expenses of administration are kept at the lowest level.

Research into Social Tension

The Government of India has employed an American social scientist to carry on research into social tensions in the country. The following news sent from Delhi on the 23rd May last indicated its scope :

"Fourteen teams were now working throughout

India to carry out research on social tensions in the country. This was disclosed in Parliament today by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in reply to Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. Mr. Kidwai said that there were several schemes and research was being carried out in different kinds of tensions like provincial troubles, communal questions, labour-capital relations and also the reactions of policy of the Government on the general public.

The Minister said that during 1950-51, a sum of Rs. 45,000 approximately had been spent on the project from the funds placed by UNESCO at the disposal of Dr. Gardner Murphy. In the current year the Government proposed to spend Rs. 1,00,000. Dr. Murphy had organised the work and it was difficult to evaluate the results achieved so far. Government expected to get a report on the progress of work, and in the meantime the Government of India had allotted funds for the next year.

"Punjab On the March"

We thank Prof. L. R. Nair, East Punjab's Director of Punjab Relations, for sending us a few copies of this booklet.

Pages 22, 23 summarises the conclusions of this socio-economic study. The "refugees" from the West Punjab have made good—a piece of good news for which we should be thankful. The conclusions are supported by statistics (pp 24-27) which will be found useful to administrators and students of affairs.

There is, however, another side of the shield—we mean the political bickerings in the Indian Punjab that have forced the President to take the State under his direct administration. This news of the Governor being made the ruler to be helped by advisors is not pleasant. Punjab's politicians have deserved this ignominy.

Weather's Vagaries in India

The earthquake in Assam of 1950 and the consequent floods that recur there since then have given a new importance to a knowledge of weather in India and its vagaries. Many of us have learnt to take a lively interest in the Weather Charts that are daily from the Poona and Calcutta observations. This year's abnormal drought in certain parts of Bihar, Madras and West Bengal has added not only to our discomfort but added to it the fear of famine. In view of this position we are glad that a Staff correspondent of the Madras *Hindu* shot certain questions at the Deputy Director-General of the Poona observatory. It took some time to gather materials for the replies, "the records having to be gone through for 150 years." The replies show that there is nothing new in the situation, and the questions have been fully discussed.

Question 1: I am a visitor to Ooty almost annually and I am making the trips to Bangalore every year for the last over two decades. I find that these stations

are getting warmer and warmer from year to year during summer months. What is this due to?

Reply: An examination of all the temperature data available in the department for the months March to May for the last fifty years does not give any support to the view that either Bangalore or Ootacamund is getting warmer from year to year during the summer months.

Question 2: In Madras City proper we have had the unusual phenomenon of drought conditions for four years in a row. This is a feature, which it is not our experience in the past. Why is this so?

Reply: The average annual rainfall of Madras (City) based on 135 years' data is 50". An examination of the rainfall data for this long period shows that there were instances in the past also, in which, rainfall in Madras was much less than normal in four consecutive years. The years in which rainfall was less than normal are given below:

1828 to 1837, 1853 to 1856, 1860 to 1862, 1867 to 1869, 1889 to 1895, 1904 to 1907, 1909 to 1912, 1932 to 1936 and 1946 to 1949. The years 1933 to 1935 were similar to the years 1947 to 1949 from the point of view of rainfall. Hence the statement that we have not had similar occasions of unusually low rainfall in Madras in the past is not supported by the data available in the India Meteorological Department.

Question 3: Are the seasons in the country changing? If so, is it your view that the time has come when we have to replan our agricultural operations?

Reply: The sequence of weather during the seasons has an average expectation, but in individual years, the dates of commencement of a wet season and its termination may vary from the normal expectation. But a large number of investigations has clearly shown that while the weather sequence fluctuates about the normal from year to year, *there is no persistent trend*. No replanning of major agricultural operations is, therefore, called for; but the farmer should listen to the daily Farmers' Weather Bulletins broadcast through the A.I.R., so that he may adjust his day-to-day agricultural operations to suit the expected weather sequence day by day.

Question 4: Do you think that denudation of forests has much or anything to do with absence of rain?

Reply: There is no evidence at present to show that forests affect rainfall. Forest-covers merely conserve the moisture, delay the run-off and prevent erosion, i.e., they can control the disposal of rain-water *after* it has reached the ground. The general problem of the influence of forests on rainfall is, however, still under very detailed examination in the Department.

Question 5: How is the weather forecast made? How many observatories are there in the country and how do you correlate all the reports?

Reply: (a) The daily weather forecasts covering a period of 36 to 48 hours are made on the basis of analysis of observations recorded at the same instant at a large number of observatories over the country. The observations are received at the Forecasting Office by telegram or

by teleprinter or by W/T. within a few hours of their being recorded. They are then plotted and analysed on what are called daily weather charts. The analysis consists mainly (i) identifying the different pressure systems on the weather charts and in judging in what way these systems would behave during the period of validity of the forecasts, (ii) in identifying the different air masses which prevail over the country and finding out how they are likely to interact with each other to produce weather.

(b) *Long-range weather forecasts* covering a season as a whole or a portion of it are based on statistical methods. The India Meteorological Department now issues seasonal forecasts for total monsoon rainfall and the total winter rainfall over specified areas like North-West India and the Peninsula.

(c) There are at present in India 230 synoptic observatories where weather conditions near the ground are recorded. Besides these, there are 46 pilot balloon stations where the direction and speed of winds at various levels in the atmosphere are determined and 10 radio-sonde stations where temperature and humidity conditions in the upper atmosphere are determined daily. The observations recorded at these stations are received and utilised in the manner described in (a) above for the purpose of issuing forecasts and warnings to various interests.

In addition to the above, various other types of observatories are also maintained for special purposes. Among these may be specially mentioned the five seismological observatories—at Poona, Bombay, Calcutta, Kodaikanal and Delhi—where earthquakes are recorded and studied.

The Brahmo Samaj Gram Seva Sangha

There is an impression widely prevalent in India that the Brahmo Samaj Movement has played its part in the country's evolution, that its use is at an end. But signs are evident that with the change of time, the Samaj has modified its methods holding fast to one of its basic principles that service to man was worship of God. The last famine in Bengal and the recent holocaust in East Bengal have drawn out the best from the Samaj. And we are glad to publish a summary of the 1950 annual report of the Sangha working in Malabar. It is an inspiring report.

The above Sangha, a village service centre in Tiruvathra of Malabar District, was started in December 1948. The Sangha is working out some important items of the constructive programme as envisaged by Mahatmaji. The following are some of the works carried on by the Sangha:

1. *Spinning*: Regular classes are being conducted for batches of 5 to 8 children, mostly girls. The various methods of carding also are being taught. In a place where spinning was practically unknown, more than 50 charkhas are being plied.

A Spinning Club has also been opened and there are at present 25 self-sufficient spinners. They spin for their clothes only and not for monetary returns.

Whenever there are local festivals and fairs, carding

and spinning demonstrations are held to teach the assembled villagers the utility of spinning.

2. *Village Sanitation*: The surrounding villagers are being taught the value of night soils. They are advised to dig movable trench latrines whereby things that are considered nasty and useless can be converted into good manure.

3. *Literacy*: Regular classes are being conducted for the illiterate spinners also, and much enthusiasm is evinced among the illiterate villagers.

4. *Moral Instructions*: Weekly classes are conducted for children depicting the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and other world teachers.

5. *Hindustani*: Regular Hindustani classes are being held to coach students for the primary examinations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

6. *Reading Room and Library*: There is a reading room and a good library with Malayalam, Hindustani and English books.

7. *Medical Aid*: There is practically no source of medical aid for the poor in the village. As such this is another important item of the activities of the Sangha. The Homœopathic system of treatment is followed and the President of the Sangha, Sri K. Damodaran, is attending to the patients.

The existing activities have to be expanded and the work extended to make the Sangha more useful to the villagers. Money is required for this, especially as the Sangha is in its infancy. We, therefore, request the generous public who have faith in the constructive work to contribute liberally to the Sangha, and make the attempt a success.

Miss Marjori Sykes, the Principal of the Basic Training College, Sevagram, paid a visit to the Brahmo Samaj Grama Seva Sangha, Tiruvathra on May 6, last. She watched and studied all the works and activities done by the workers of the Sangha. Miss Sykes discussed the Family Unit Self-Sufficiency Scheme with Sri Damodar Bhai and expressed her satisfaction with the new scheme and encouraged the workers to continue and work for the scheme.

"Students to Grow their Own Food"

Politicians in every age and clime have given "the greatest lead" to poisoning relations between class and class, between people and people. But even they have their lucid intervals. A New Delhi news dated March 17 last gave indication of such a happy event:

"The resident students in at least some of the Indian colleges might grow their own food requirements in future, if a scheme, circulated by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture among the Universities, is found practicable.

"It has been suggested that the Universities and their affiliated institutions should consider the feasibility of starting agricultural farms and cultivating them on modern lines. These farms would enable the institutions to meet the needs of their resident students for food-grains and at the same time familiarise the

"Peasants the Living Stream of Life"

"On Addressing Australia"

"This is hardly an exaggeration. We had not been twenty minutes in a jolly gathering of dinghy-racers at the Sailing Club when we found ourselves

Sivami Virajananda

Hari Sankar Paul

S. K. Rudra

The death of S. K. Rudra, son of the late Susil Kumar Rudra of Delhi's educational world, will be mourned by a large circle of India. Brother of Brigadier Rudra of the Hyderabad "Police Action," S. K. Rudra followed his father's footsteps, joined the Allahabad University and rose to be the Head of its Economics Department. He was spending his summer holidays in Nainital where in Thal Lake during a swimming excursion he was drowned. To his family we extend our condolences.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA

The Greatest of Modern Saints

By C. L. R. SASTRI

Where darkness is beheld as light
And sorrow understood as joy,
Where sickness masquerades as health
And but the new-born infant's cry
Tells one it lives, O wise one, say,
Seekest thou satisfaction here?
Where strife and battle never cease,
And even the father, pitiless,
Turns out his son, and the sole note
Is self and ever self alone,
How dost thou hope, O sage, to find
The mine of everlasting peace?"—*Swami Vivekananda.*

THE lines I have quoted above are taken from Swami Vivekananda's poem, "To a Friend." Swami Vivekananda was the most beloved as well as the most famous disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. As a matter of bare, historical fact it was he who took upon his (broad) shoulders the formidable task of blazing forth the greatness of the latter. In one of his speeches in America, and after his own name came to be known far and wide, he delivered this grand apostrophe to his *guru*. I do not remember his precise words, but their drift was this :

"I have been hugely honoured wherever I have gone, and people, in their kindness, have called me this and that, but I am here to tell you that there was one in Dakshineswar, a man unlettered and unused to the world's ways, whose feet, while he was alive, I was not worthy to touch, whose godliness transcended that of the noblest amongst us by the whole width of the heavens, and whose innate grandeur no one will ever be able fully to appreciate—at any rate, this side of Time. Whatever in me you find as meriting recognition has been derived directly from him : whatever in me is base is wholly mine."

ROYALTY SALUTING ROYALTY

That, it will be seen, is mighty praise, indeed : thus does royalty salute royalty. It is an intensely moving tribute from one great man to another.

"When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great."

Swami Vivekananda, however, was not guilty of any exaggeration : his words were not in the least highflown. It is not merely that the Paramahansa was not like the rest of us : he was not, like any religious leader that went before him. In the whole religious history of India there was only one who could be said to have been his peer : I refer, of course, to the Adi-Sankaracharya. But since the Adi-Sankaracharya was, and is, regarded by many as none other than Lord Siva Himself, perhaps there is no surprise in his having been the Paramahansa's peer : after all, it is not possible to go one better than the best, to surpass perfection. With the sole exception, then, of that celebrated Namboodiri Brahmin—who was scholar, saint, and seer in one—there

is no doubt that Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was a person, who towered above everyone else both before, and during, his time ; and though it is now several decades since he entered on his *samadhi* no one has yet arisen who can be even dimly regarded as his equal. Nor, I dare to say, is he likely to arise in any foreseeable future. "Far as human eye can see" it is difficult to predict the birth of anyone who can wear his mantle : the mould was broken when Ramakrishna was born.

THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS

The lines at the top of my article propound a question. I have phrased it rather weakly : they propound the question of questions. What is the answer to this worldly riddle? What is the clue to all "this wretched world, a very heaven and hell in one?" As the Swami asks again :

"Say, where can the poor slave, constrained
With Karina's fetters in his neck,
Find out at length his freedom here?"

What is the centre of all this seemingly meaningless commotion, what is the purpose behind all the kaleidoscopic changes and chances of this life that we bear—kings and commons alike, dictators and the dictated? Who is the Master of the Ceremonies? Who, or what, pulls the strings? What is its motive-force? Well, the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa furnish the appropriate answer; and furnish it, too, in my humble opinion, most convincingly. We are faced with a cosmic conundrum. The solution to that is : *Love*. As his beloved disciple would put it :

"Friend, let me speak my heart to thee,
One lesson have I learned in life :
This dreadful world is tossed with waves
And one boat only fares across.
Study of scripture, sacred words,
Restraint of breath, conflicting schools,
Dispassion, science, philosophy,
Sense—pleasure—are but freaks of mind.
Love! Love! That is the only jewel!
In soul and Brahman, man and God,
In ghosts and spirits without shape,
In angels, beasts, birds, insects, worms,
Dwells Love, deep in the heart of all."

LOVE RULES ALL

That is it. Love rules all : love is the beginning, and love is the end. It is the only thread that runs through life : Yes, even in the midst of so much senseless hate. Love is the fulcrum of the universe ; and none has it in greater abundance than the Mother—as the Paramahansa used to call his particular *Ishta-murti*: yes, the Mother whose form, however, is usually represented as so terrible. May we not assert that that representation has this meaning—besides, of course, its other interpretations? It is difficult for us, amidst our bewildering and multifarious human sorrows, sorrows that sometimes touch the very roof of the world, to realise

that here is Love behind them all—such Love, indeed, “as never was on sea or land.” But Love *is* behind them all, nevertheless. So also with that representation of the Mother. It is terrible to look at. Blood there is in it, and bones, and similar fiery shapes. It is difficult to prognosticate Love behind it—especially such Love “as never was on sea or land.” But Love *is* behind it also, nevertheless: just as it is behind the manifold human tragedies. The Macrocosm, as well as the microcosm, bear the same misleading marks. It is for us to get at the truth that is tucked away safely somewhere behind misleading marks. Let me quote from the Swami once more :

“Say, who else is the God of Gods?
Say, who else moves this universe?
The mother dies to save her young,
The robber steals; yet are these twain
By that same Love divine impelled.
Beyond both speech and mind concealed,
In grief and happiness dwells Love:
*Kali, all-terrible it is,
Death’s own embodiment, who comes
As kindest Mother to us all.*”

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA’S TERRIFIC REJOINDER

I have written that it is for us to get at the truth that is tucked away safely somewhere behind those misleading marks. It is a fact, however, that we stoutly refuse to do so—at any rate, till it is very late in the day. What, else, does George Meredith say?

“Not until the fire is dying in the grate
Look we for any kinship with the stars.”

Some of us, no doubt, do not look for it even then. These things are not so simple: they are not encompassed save by prayer and fasting. The following illustration will convey an adequate idea of the prevailing misconception in regard to the Goddess Kali. Being the Paramahansa’s disciple Swami Vivekananda also was a worshipper of the Divine Mother. But, unlike the Paramahansa, he was an educated as well as a widely-travelled man, and once an Englishman, who had long been nursing sundry secret doubts about the Swami’s sanity, mustered sufficient courage to go up to him and ask him what he, evidently, supposed was a leading question :

“Swamiji,” he began (*I am putting it in my own words*). “you are a highly educated person, you have seen something of the wide world, you have studied comparative religion, you cannot, therefore, be ‘dead from the neck up,’ as the saying is, then why in the name of commonsense are you content to worship at the altar of this goddess, whom, by the way, you call the Mother, and who, from the representations that we are privileged to see of her, is the very embodiment of cruelty and destruction? Is it not high time you began to keep a nobler ideal before you, to hitch your wagon to a worthier star?”

Swami Vivekananda, almost for the first time in his life, was roused to savage fury. He controlled it, however, and replied (*I am, again, putting it in my own words*) :

“My dear Mr. So and So, is it beyond the reach of your imagination to suppose that in this extremely baffling and mysterious universe, a universe in which there is every conceivable thing, from mountains to microbes, there may be no place for a little spilling of blood, that it is entirely without significance? I am not, mind you, laying down any hard and fast rule: I am not dogmatizing: I am only putting before you what I may call a tentative proposition, and I could wish that, in the silent sessions of sweet thought, you would be pleased to set the muscles of your mind to work upon it.”

TRULY CHILDLIKE

I am aware that I am straying far from my theme. But in any account of the Paramahansa one cannot avoid bringing in a lot of Swami Vivekananda—who, I may say, played the part of Huxley to the former’s Darwin, who, in other words, was his chief trumpeter—and many other men and matters besides. But all these, in Swinburne’s well-known phrase, “wind somewhere safe to sea” in the end—in the present instance they all lead to Ramakrishna Paramahansa. I am certain that his chief trait was humility. He was truly child-like. He succeeded in completely banishing the ego. He was, unlike the Apostle, not all things to all men, but the same Ramakrishna to all men: he had not an infinity of facets to present to the world. He never entertained any dazzling notion of himself: he was the poorest of the poor, the humblest of the humble, the simplest of the simple. He was a profound believer in Christ’s dictum: “Out of the mouths of the babes and sucklings shall wisdom come forth.” He was not deeply read—even in his own vernacular, or even in the lore of religion. He had but two aids: mother-wit, and an invincible faith that God’s help was always at hand. When in difficulty he never sought any adventitious assistance: he did not go to books and schoolmen: he found solace in prayer. I may say that prayer was to him what horses and dogs were to the gentleman in the tall white hat whom David Copperfield met on the top of the Canterbury coach :

“Orses and dorgs” (said that gentleman) “is some men’s fancy. They are wittles and drink to me, lodging, wife, and children, reading, writing and arithmetic, snuff, tobacker, and sleep.”

SEEKING GOD DIRECT

He did not approach God through the scriptures or through intermediaries: he sought Him direct in prayer and meditation. He was a *practical* philosopher. He might have asked why when God is everywhere about us, only waiting for our thinking of Him, we should, in a manner of speaking, turn our backs on Him, and think of *puranas* and prophets and priests and pulpits instead? If we wanted salvation could we, as Hamlet inquired of his incestuous mother, on that fair mountain cease to feed and batten on these moors? He might have quoted Browning :

“There’s heaven above, and night by night
I look right thro’ its gorgeous roof;
No suns and moons tho’ ever so bright
Avail to stop me; splendour-proof
I keep the broods of stars aloof,

"For I intend to get to God.

For 'tis to God I speed so fast,
For in God's breast, my own abode,
Those shoals of dazzling glory passed,
• I lay my spirits down at last."

This had its origin in his humility. Realising his own utter worthlessness he could comprehend that others, also, started from the same initial handicap—however high they might contrive to hold their heads for the time being. So he could brush aside all these intermediaries and stepping-stones and what not and lay direct siege to God's abode. With a prescience denied to your learned men he understood that the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence. His whole teaching may be summed up in the sentence: "Knock at the Heavenly gates, and they shall be opened." It is a doctrine well-worth knocking into our systems: we can—or so it seems to me—do with some simple and straightforward teachings. There is too much Abracadabra and Mumbo-Jumbo and High Falutin' in our midst: a little fresh breeze from Dakshineswar way will do us no harm.

THE BURNING GROUND

I have remarked that the chief trait of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was his humility. I think that too much stress cannot be laid upon it. The longer I live the more it is borne in upon me that humility is the first of the virtues. Naturally, we do not often come across it; and when we do we must, I feel, celebrate the occasion by some high jinks. I am not referring to mock humility: everyone is capable of it—none more so than your inordinately vain fellows. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa's humility was of the genuine variety. He regarded himself as nothing—absolutely nothing; and that was why his whole being was suffused with the Divine spirit—suffused almost to bursting point. In the best sense of the terms his heart was laid waste and desolate so that God alone might abide and dance therein. As Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy puts it, in his crude book, *The Dance of Siva* :

"Where and what is the burning ground? It is not the place where our earthly bodies are cremated, but the hearts of His lovers laid waste and desolate. The place where the ego is destroyed signifies the state where illusion and deeds are burnt away: that is the crematorium, the burning-ground, where Sri Nataraja dances, and whence he is named *Sudalaiyadi*, Dancer of the burning ground. In this simile we recognise the historical connection between Siva's gracious dance as Nataraja and His wild dance as the demon of the cemetery."

Just as it has been declared that we cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time, we may say that we cannot love the ego and God simultaneously. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, being the man he was, realised this at a very early period of his life, and, having once realised it, took extraordinarily good care not to forget it even momentarily. Jesus was of the same fraternity. He did nothing without invoking God's name and without giving Him the praise for whatever he was able to do. Of such stuff are real *bhaktas* made.

THE CHIEF TURNING POINT

I think the chief turning-point in his life came when he was made the officiating priest of the Kali temple at Dakshineswar—a few miles from Calcutta. He set up a precedent among temple priests. I have observed some of these worthies myself. With them it is a matter purely of duties discharged and wages earned. They perform their functions most automatically—not *con amore*, but out of a sense, as it were, of the essential cussedness of things. With the Paramahansa it was entirely different: then was seen that rare spectacle—the *pujari* being in a more worshipful mood, in a more reverent frame of mind, than the hosts of devotees that flock to the temples. It is recorded of him that when he was performing *arati* before the Deity there would be no end to it almost: a time would come when the lights would go out of their own accord, when the devotees would return to their homes, but the Paramahansa would still be standing there in his original position, deeply immersed in his trance. In other words, when he worshipped he was really engaged in a direct communion with God: he did not merely go through certain prescribed formulas and motions. All the time he was in quest of the Almighty; and, what is more wonderful still, he found his quest. We are told that many are called but few chosen (in the spiritual domain). Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was among those chosen few.

It was while he was still a *pujari* in that Kali temple that the "vision splendid" came to him. Try how he might he was not able to see the Goddess in person. He was determined to see Her or die in the attempt. One morning he went to the temple with a firm resolve: he would not put up with failure any longer. As usual he prayed and, finally, when even then the Appearance was not vouchsafed him, he went up to the idol, snatched the sword from there, and was on the point of slaying himself with it. In that moment, however, he lost consciousness and when, at last, he regained it he told his disciples what he beheld during that trance. The idol, the temple, the surroundings were all swept away, and in their place was a mighty ocean with waves mountain-high, and those waves appeared to be approaching him. And upon those waves was the Mother Herself, in all Her benignity. That was his first realization of God. After that it became easier and easier, and to the end he was able to have a glimpse of Her whenever he so desired; and not only of Her but of whatever Divine form he wanted to see. Not only in theory but in practice also he proved the oneness of God.

GOD IS BOTH PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL

At this point it becomes necessary for me to combat a widespread misconception. There are many who daily go from Dan even unto Beersheba and are yet doubtful of the Personality of God. The Paramahansa enunciated, with all his might and main, the principle that God was both Personal and Impersonal. He did not minimise the importance of the worship of Him as an impersonal im-

manence in all things. But he did not desire to minimise the importance of the worship of Him as a Person, either. One of his teachings was: "Don't scoff at the idea of a Personal God." And, in a manner of speaking, he suited his action to his word. It transpired that he had gone through all the "Samadhis" except the greatest of them—that which is known as the "Nirvikalpa Samadhi." In that one identifies oneself with the Absolute to a greater degree than in the others. The Mother, however, saw to it that he would experience that also. Thus it came about that one *Sanyasi* from the banks of the Nerbudda passed through Dakshineswar, just at that time, in his wordly peregrinations. His name was Totapuri. He knew this "Nirvikalpa Samadhi." He was perfect—except for one thing: he passionately denied the Personality of God. The Paramahansa was exhausted in his attempts to persuade him that that was as much a fact as the Impersonality of God.

The sequel to that is interesting. Totapuri taught the Paramahansa the "Nirvikalpa Samadhi." *But the Mother taught Totapuri that there is such a thing as the Personality of God also.* The time for Totapuri's departure arrived. But just when he was about to take leave of the Paramahansa his whole frame was racked with an excruciating abdominal pain and he had, as we have learnt to say now, to cancel his programme. The pain grew and grew till he could not bear it any longer. So "in the dead vast and middle of the night" this almost perfect man decided to put an end to his life. He stepped into the Hooghly and went on and on. But to his surprise he discovered that however far he might go the water was only knee deep. Then he paused and looked up "with a wild surmise." There, to his wonder, he found the figure of Kali everywhere: above, below, and around him. There was no Hooghly: the Mother was omnipresent. And he felt remorse and prayed to Her for forgiveness in that he has passionately denied Her Personality. She blessed him and said that it was She who had brought him to Dakshineswar so that he might fill up the lacunae in the Paramahansa's spiritual training, and so that *She* might do him the same service in regard to his. Thus Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was the means of proving to the world both the Personality and the Impersonality of God.

SOME HOME-TRUTHS

The Paramahansa taught some home-truths. He did all in his power to make men's minds turn away from shams and towards realities. The fact was that people were not being able to see the wood for the trees. It fell to his lot to remove the impediments from their paths. He abhorred ritual of all kinds. Several times he saw a Brahmin coming to the temple but never so much as going near the "Carbhagriha" or the "Holy of Holies". He would go to a corner and tell beads and mutter some incomprehensible things. At last the Paramahansa lost his patience. So he went up to him and told him as gently as possible: "Dear Mr. So and So, you are making the mistake of your life. These things you can do at

home or anywhere else. But once you enter a temple they are not necessary: they are even superfluous. If you believe that the idol in the temple represents the supreme being—and, of course, otherwise there is no meaning in your visiting a temple at all—it is your duty to stand before the idol, to gaze at it with as much concentrated attention as possible, and to worship it with all your heart. You are standing in the Presence: why, then, all this *abracadabra*? Give up sophistication: *get back to simplicity.* *Mantrams* and movements do not *lead* you anywhere. Take the idol to be God Himself; and stand before it as you would if God Himself were there in person and do obeisance to it. Now, you are only wasting your time."

PRAY, PRAY, PRAY!

This is, really, very simple. But in these days it is the simple things that look terribly difficult. Further, the Paramahansa had no belief in orthodoxy. He would go to a Brahmo's house—that of his friend, Keshub Chunder Sen—and take refreshments from there. He was not at all hoitytoity: anybody who wanted to see him could see him without any difficulty. He showed in his own person that years of labour in learning religious lore were not at all necessary. He even hinted that thereby confusion might become worse confounded. Like Christ, he would say: "Consider the lilies of the field: they toil not, neither do they spin." Why, then, this waste of energy? Instead of that he directed us to look into our own hearts and pray and pray—simply and directly—for whatever we are worth. An ounce of practice, he seemed to say, is worth more than a ton of theory. Ignorance, he suggested, was no crime, was no handicap, even, in the realisation of God. Leave scholarship to the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Above all, have faith—the faith that removes mountains. Be sincere and trusting as a child: if some fellows deceive you, then so much the worse for those fellows. Do not put too much store by brain. On the other hand, one cannot put too much store by heart. These, I think, are some of the teachings of the Paramahansa. Like Sankara, he belonged to the Advaitic school of Hindu philosophy. The Atman and the Brahman are one and the same. *Anyone* can merge himself in God if he but try with his whole heart and soul. *He taught us not to be afraid of God but to love Him—as we love our near and dear ones, only more so.* Prakriti and Purusha—Parvati and Siva—are one and the same—the body and the soul of the universe. *There is no duality anywhere—not even in the conception of the Father and the Mother of the universe.* God is really *Ardhanareeswara*: and Siva's dance represents really the primordial energy that is behind all phenomena.

NATARAJA

To quote from Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy again (*The Dance of Siva*) :

"Every part of such an image as this (i.e., of Siva as Nataraja) is directly expressive, not of any mere superstition or dogma, but of evident facts. No artist of today, however great, could more exactly or more

wisely create an image of that energy which Science must postulate behind all phenomena. If we would reconcile Time with Eternity, we can scarcely do so otherwise than by the conception of alternations of phase extending over vast regions of space and great tracts of time.....In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert, and cannot dance till Siva wills it: He rises from His rapture, and, dancing, sends through inert matter pulsating waves of awakening sound, and lo! matter also dances as a glory round about Him.

—:O:-

Dancing, He sustains its manifold phenomena. In the fulness of time, still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire and gives new rest. *It is poetry; but nevertheless Science.* It is not strange that the figure of Nataraja has commanded the adoration of so many generations past: familiar with all scepticisms, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, we are worshippers of Nataraja still."

THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

By S. P. SEN-VARMA, M.A., M.L.,

Assistant Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, Legislative Department

I have followed with interest the controversy that has been going on for some time past between Prof. D. N. Banerjee and Shri K. K. Basu regarding the position of the President of India under the Indian Constitution. But with due respect I may say that it is not possible to agree with all the views expressed by Shri K. K. Basu.

In the first place, I think no one will deny that a written constitution is different from an unwritten one and the doctrine of *ultra vires* is implicit in Constitutions with "controlled" legislatures like the American and the Indian. But I hope Shri Basu will agree that it is not difficult to envisage a written constitution under which the legislature is not "controlled" but is a sovereign law-making body to the acts whereof the doctrine of *ultra vires* has no application. I may, for example, cite the case of the South African Constitution—the South Africa Act of 1909. The South African Parliament created by the South African Constitution is a sovereign law-making body. As Dr. Edgar H. Brookes in his commentary on the Constitution of the Union of South Africa attached to Amos J. Peaslee's *Constitutions of Nations* (1950), Vol. III, observes at pp. 257 *et seq.*:

"Although a written Constitution, it is with one or two exceptions completely flexible and like the Constitution of Great Britain itself, can be amended by the ordinary process of legislation. It must thus be contrasted with Constitutions such as those of the United States of America, Australia or Canada . . . The Union Constitution follows the model of Great Britain more closely than that of any other Dominion or Colony with the possible exception of New Zealand. It follows that the Union Parliament is a sovereign law-making body like the British Parliament and unlike the Australian or Canadian federal legislature. Its acts cannot be questioned in any court of law and internationally it may, to use the famous phrase first employed by Lord Balfour, be regarded as 'equal in status though unequal in stature' to the British Parliament."

In the second place, Shri Basu has drawn a distinction between the nature of political usages to be found in States having written constitutions and the nature of conventions of the English type: according to him, the non-observance of such conventions very often results in

violation of legal rules themselves and the conduct of the executive Government in England except in terms of such conventions may result in contravention of substantive law, but there can be no such inevitable legal consequences in respect of breach of political usages in States with written constitutions—the legality of these usages remaining patently and inherently precarious. But is this statement entirely correct? I have very great doubts. New Zealand, Canada, Australia and South Africa all have written Constitutions. But it is because of the growth of conventions of the English type that the evolution of the Cabinet System of Government has been possible in these countries. As Dr. G. W. Keeton in his *Elementary Principles of Jurisprudence* (Second Edition) says at pp. 269-70:

"Even with a written constitution, however, many constitutional conventions may exist and these will be unwritten in the sense that they will not be precisely defined in any document. It is noteworthy, for example, that the British Dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have Cabinet Government on the British model and although all these Dominions have written constitutions, not one of them has attempted to insert into the written document the constitutional conventions without which Cabinet Government is unintelligible."

It is by means of constitutional conventions that these countries which were initially Crown Colonies have today grown into fully sovereign and independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Statute of Westminster, 1931 simply gave legislative recognition to some of these constitutional conventions. Thus Prof. Wade observes in his Introduction to Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* (Ninth Edition):

"The Statute (of Westminster) is a document which it is impossible to understand without a knowledge of the conventions which applied before its enactment" (page ci).

Again it is because of conventions that the position of the Governor-General in these Dominions has changed from the status of a Governor of a Crown Colony to that of a constitutional ruler. To quote again from Prof. Wade's Introduction:

"The Governor-General has ceased since the Imperial Conference, 1926 to be the representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. In law he remains the representative of the Crown and in him are vested by delegation the prerogatives necessary for the Government of the Dominion . . . By convention he is advised in the exercise of prerogatives by the Dominion Ministers . . . Since 1926 it is accepted that the Government of the United Kingdom will give no instructions to a Governor-General which would conflict with advice tendered to him by Ministers in the Dominion where he represents the Crown. Moreover, though he does not enjoy quite the same position of impartiality as is traditionally associated with recent British Sovereigns, he is no longer any more than his Sovereign at liberty to exercise discretion in accepting ministerial advice. It is by agreement that the status of Governor-General has evolved from that of the Governor of a Crown Colony; in legal form the position of the two does not differ substantially even today; but by conventions, in the truest meaning of the term, the decisions of successive Imperial Conferences have advanced the Governor-General to the status of a constitutional monarch" (pp. cv and cvi).

Can a Governor-General of any of these Dominions relying on the express language, say, of the British North America Act, 1867 or the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900 dare today to contravene any of these conventions and assume to him the powers conferred on him by the language of the written constitution? On the other hand, even in England there have been occasions when important constitutional conventions have been departed from. Thus in 1931 the United Kingdom had a Cabinet which temporarily dispensed with the convention of Cabinet unanimity on major issues. It was Dicey who first put forward the view in his *Law of the Constitution* that

"The sanction which constrains the boldest political adventurer to obey the fundamental principles of the constitution and the conventions in which these principles are expressed is the fact that the breach of these principles and of these conventions will almost immediately bring the offender into conflict with the courts and the law of the land."
—*Law of the Constitution* (Ninth Edn. pp. 415-416).

But as Prof. Wade says, the observance of rules of a conventional character cannot always or even usually be explained by reference to the ultimate sanction of law enforced in courts of justice.

"More recent writers claim that conventions rest ultimately on public opinion either through representatives or directly by ensuring an appeal to the electors."
—*Outlines of Central Government* by John Clarke (10th Edn.) p. 9.

Then apart from the conventions already referred to which have grown up in Canada, Australia and other Dominions with written constitutions and Cabinet System of Government, even in the United States of America with a Presidential System of Government there are conventions which nobody now-a-days thinks of departing from. Thus the Cabinet of the President is not known to the Constitution of the U.S.A. It is a creature of "political usage." The Constitution of the United States simply provides :

"He [the President] may require the opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective Offices . . ."

Washington very early took advantage of this constitutional provision. But written formal opinions did not satisfy the President's need to discuss problems fully and freely with a small body of trusted advisers. In 1791, Washington, being personally absent from the Capital, suggested that the departmental heads and the Vice-President should consult together upon any important problems arising during his absence. The resultant conference was in a sense the first Cabinet meeting; by 1793 regular meetings of the Cabinet had become the rule and the term "Cabinet" had come into fairly common usage.

"Because of the extra-constitutional nature of the Cabinet the President was not under legal obligation to abide by the vote or decision of his advisers, but as a matter of policy most Presidents have been inclined to do so except in extraordinary cases."—Vide Kelly and Harbison, *The American Constitution* (1948), pp. 185-186.

Then under the American Constitution on the death, removal, etc., of the President, the powers and duties of the office of the President devolve upon the Vice-President.

"The custom whereby he also assumes the title of the President is a convention of the Constitution and not a provision of that instrument"—D. W. Brogan, *The American Political System*, page 122, F.N. 2.

I think enough has been said to show that no clear-cut distinction can be drawn between conventions of the English type and political usages in States with written constitutions.

In the third place, as regards the position of the President in the Constitutional Structure of India, both Prof. Banerjee and Shri Basu admit that the President under the Indian Constitution is the constitutional head of the Republic of India and that the real executive power is vested in the Council of Ministers—the Cabinet. But the process of reasoning by which they reach this conclusion is different. According to Prof. Banerjee, the President is the constitutional head not simply on the express provisions of the Constitution but on those provisions as read in the light of constitutional conventions; whereas according to Shri Basu, the President is the constitutional head by the very language of the Constitution. In support of his contention Prof. Banerjee has cited several authorities, while Shri Basu, in support of his view has principally relied upon several express provisions of the Constitution of which the most important is Article 74.

Clause (1) of Article 74 of the Constitution says :

"There shall be a Council of Ministers . . . to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

Does this provision cast any obligation upon the President to accept the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers? This provision lays down and determines in definite language the function of the Council of Ministers. What is the function of the Council of Ministers?

The function is to aid and advise the President. This provision does not create a duty or an obligation for the President. The language of this provision cannot warrant the view that the President is constitutionally bound to accept the aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers. I may give an illustration to make the position clear. Suppose there is a legal provision like this : To every court there shall be attached an association of lawyers to assist the court in the exercise of its functions. From this it does not follow that the Court is bound to accept the assistance rendered by the association of lawyers and that the decision of the Court must always be in consonance with that assistance. The assistance rendered by the lawyers is there, it is up to the Court to accept it or reject it. Had these additional words—"and the President shall not exercise his functions except in accordance with such aid and advice" or some other words like these found a place in Clause (1) of Article 74, then of course, there would not have been any other alternative than to accept Shri Basu's construction of the clause. But from the language of Clause (1) of Article 74 as it is, it seems difficult to accept the argument that the President is bound to accept the aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers.

The words "aid and advise" so far as I know were first used in the Canadian Constitution, that is, the British North America Act, 1867. Section 11 of the British North America Act, 1867 runs as follows :

"There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the Government of Canada, to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; and the persons who are to be Members of that Council shall be from time to time chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and Members thereof may be from time to time removed by the Governor-General."

But it is a historical fact about which there cannot be any dispute, that in spite of the presence of the words "aid and advise" in the British North America Act, 1867, the Governor-General of Canada was not initially a constitutional ruler as he is today. I have already quoted from Prof. Wade's Introduction to Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* to show that by a slow and gradual evolution of constitutional conventions the Governor-General has today come to occupy the position of a mere constitutional head.

The position of the Governor-General of Australia is exactly similar to that of the Governor-General of Canada. But in the Australian Constitution the single word "advise" has been used. Thus Article 62 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900 runs thus :

"There shall be Federal Executive Council to advise the Governor-General in the Government of the Commonwealth and the members of the Council shall be chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn as Executive Councillors and shall hold office during his pleasure."

Here also the growth of constitutional conventions has changed the position of the Governor-General from a real

ruler to a titular head. The words "aid and advise" were taken from the British North America Act, 1867 into sections 9 and 50 of the Government of India Act, 1935 and from there the words were imported into the present Constitution of India. This is the history as to how the words "aid and advise" came to be used in our Constitution. As however the language of Clause (1) of Article 74 does not impose any obligation upon the President to accept the aid and advice given by the Council of Ministers there cannot be any question of violation of the Constitution on the refusal or failure of the President to act up to such aid and advice and of any consequent impeachment.

Coming to the conclusion however, that the President shall be guilty of violation of the Constitution and therefore liable to impeachment on his failure to accept the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers Shri Basu says that recourse to the drastic remedy by way of impeachment will not be necessary in view of the provisions of sub-clause (b) of Clause (3) of Article 53 of the Constitution. In view of these provisions, says Shri Basu, the President will not venture to turn down the aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers : if he does, Parliament will denude the President of his executive power by conferring by law President's functions on some other authorities. Let us examine the soundness of this proposition. In the first place, this proposition does not take into consideration the provisions of Clause (2) of Article 85 of the Constitution. Under that clause the President has the power, subject to the provisions of Clause (1) of Article 85, not only to prorogue the Houses of Parliament, but also to dissolve the House of the People and thus force a general election. In this way a strong-headed President may, at least for some time, thwart the attempt of Parliament to denude the President of his functions. This is of course on the assumption that Parliament has the constitutional power to divest the President of his executive powers and reduce him to a nonentity. But has Parliament any such power? The answer cannot but be in the negative. Clause (1) of Article 53 of the Constitution lays down that "the executive power of the Union" shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution. The point is : Is Parliament competent under Article 53(3) (b) to "denude" and divest the President of "the executive power of the Union" vested in him by Article 53(1)? Will not any such attempt by Parliament be directly opposed to the provisions of Article 53(1) and therefore clearly unconstitutional? The difference in language should be carefully marked. The expression used in Clause (1) of Article 53 is "the executive power of the Union" whereas the word used in Clause (3) is "functions." That there is difference between the two goes without saying. "The executive power of the Union" is an expression with a very wide connotation. It consists not simply of faithful execution of the laws made by Parliament but also includes formation of policy both in external and internal affairs

of the country. To put it in a different way, whatever does not come within the purview of legislative and judicial powers falls within the realm of executive power. It is the residuary power of the State. In the United States of America it has been almost consistently asserted and held from the time of Alexander Hamilton's essay "Pacificus" published in 1793 till the present day (vide the judgment of Chief Justice Taft in *Myers vs. United States* (1926), 272 U.S. 52) that because the executive power is vested in the President, the subsequent enumeration of executive powers was not restrictive, was intended for emphasis only and did not exclude other executive powers inherent in the President. It is doubtful whether in view of the language of Article 73 of the Constitution such a wide construction of the executive power will be accepted in India. But this much is certain in view of the general doctrine of our Constitution that the executive power of the Union is vested in the President, that the executive power of the Union is not exhausted simply in the execution of functions that may be conferred by law made by Parliament. No legislation by Parliament is necessary in order that the President may exercise the executive power of the Union through subordinate officers, because the Constitution itself provides for this. Therefore, when any law is made by Parliament, the execution of that law automatically devolves upon the President and he may execute the law either himself or through subordinate officers. But lest the general provision vesting the executive power of the Union in the President should be construed in such a way as to deny competence of Parliament to confer by law any function expressly on any authorities other than the President or to challenge the validity of existing laws whereby functions have already been conferred upon such authorities, sub-clauses (a) and (b) of Clause (3) of Article 53 have been introduced. The position therefore is that though the executive power of the Union is vested in the President, Parliament may by law confer functions upon other authorities. This does not mean and cannot mean that Parliament may "denude" the President of the executive power of the Union which is vested in the President by the Constitution.

Assuming however, for the sake of argument and argument only that in order to teach a lesson to a strong-headed and disobedient President, Parliament may "denude" him of his executive power by conferring functions upon other authorities, a peculiar situation will arise. In the first place, the President having been "denuded" of his functions, the Council of Ministers will be without any function because under the Constitution the function of the Council of Ministers is to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. In the second place, the other authorities on whom the functions of the President have been conferred will be absolute, supreme and unfettered in the exercise of these functions, it not being the duty of the Council of Ministers to aid and advise these other authorities or the duty of these other authorities to seek such aid and advice. Thus to teach the President a lesson the Council of

Ministers accepts the supremacy of the subordinate authorities. Such an absurd situation could never have been intended by the framers of the Constitution.

The true position is that from the express provisions of the Constitution simpliciter it is not easily possible to prove that the President of India is a constitutional ruler and that the real executive power is vested in the Council of Ministers, in other words, that we have in India what is called a Cabinet System of Government as distinguished from the Presidential System. As Dr. Kecton says (already cited), a Cabinet System of Government is not intelligible without constitutional conventions. Except on the assumption of constitutional conventions the express provisions of our Constitution are not always intelligible and reconcilable. I may cite only one instance. Clause (2) of Article 75 says that the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President and Clause (3) of that Article provides that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. If we simply go by the express language of these two clauses, then these provisions are not easily reconcilable. Under Clause (2) the power of dismissal of the Ministers is vested in the President. And the President can exercise this power even when the Council of Ministers has not forfeited the confidence of the House of the People. There is nothing in the language of clauses (2) and (3) to prevent the President from so exercising the power. Thus a Council of Ministers responsible to and enjoying the confidence of the House of the People always stands the risk of dismissal by the President. But if we read these provisions in the light of the important convention well-established in every Cabinet type of Government that the Council of Ministers remain in, and cannot be removed from, office so long as they command confidence of the majority of the popular legislature, then these provisions at once become consistent and intelligible. Read in the light of this convention Clauses (2) and (3) of Article 75 mean that the President is to dismiss a Council of Ministers which does not resign office even after having lost the confidence of the popular legislature.

No system of government can be efficiently administered unless there is mutual co-operation among the different organs of the Government; however elaborate and well-guarded the provisions of a constitutional document may be, but for this mutual co-operation, its smooth working is wellnigh impossible. Constitutional conventions are practical embodiments of this mutual co-operation. The framers of our Constitution did not lose sight of this salutary principle when preparing the Constitution. Hence they left many things unsaid. And it is not possible to write down all the conventions of a Cabinet System of Government in a written document. Still some of these conventions have been incorporated in our Constitution. The result of this has been that it is not possible for the President to ignore for long the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. Suppose a power-loving President takes it into his head to ride rough-shod over the aid and advice given by the Council of Ministers. From the

provisions of the Constitution requiring the Council of Ministers to be collectively responsible to the House of the People and every Minister to be a member of either House of Parliament it follows that the Council of Ministers will normally belong to the party which commands majority in the House of the People or at any rate will be in a position to carry the majority of the members of the Lower House with them. Now under Article 113 of the Constitution all estimates of expenditure other than those relating to expenditure charged upon the Consolidated Fund of India are required to be submitted in the form of demands for grants to the House of the People which may assent or refuse to assent to any demand for grant or assent to such demand subject to any reduction of the amount thereof. Since the House of the People has thus the last word in financial matters and since that House is controlled by the Council of Ministers, the result will be that when a strong-headed and autocratic President disregards the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers through the House of the People will refuse to assent to any demand for grant and will in this way be able to curb the powers of the President. Thus we see that for

smooth and efficient running of the administration the President must have to act according to the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. Since in this way, the control over the public exchequer is vested for all practical purposes in the Council of Ministers, the position virtually is that the real executive power of the Union is vested in the Council of Ministers and the President is merely the constitutional head of the Government who cannot for any long period of time run the machinery of Government in disregard of the aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers. In this way we see that there are provisions in the Constitution the practical effect of which is that the President will normally be bound to act according to the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. And since the commencement of the Constitution the Council of Ministers has been exercising the real executive power of the Union in the name of the President who has remained satisfied with more or less being the constitutional head of the Republic of India and thus in India also this very important constitutional convention of the Cabinet System of Government is already in making in consonance with the spirit of our Constitution as expressed in several provisions thereof.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF ISRAEL

By HARNAM SINGH, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (Lucknow), Ph.D. (Georgetown).
*Member, Faculty of Law, University of Delhi. Formerly Watmough Lecturer in
 International Relations at Georgetown University, Washington*

On the 14th of May, 1948, after two thousand years of suffering, culminating in a fateful battle with the combined forces of seven Arab countries, a handful of Jews, amidst the din and dust of battle, proclaimed themselves a State. To some it may have looked presumptuous, but subsequent events have proved that this step—the fulfilment of an age-long desire—was well taken.

Almost immediately following the proclamation of the State of Israel, the Provisional State Council was set up with 37 members drawn from the two elected Jewish bodies functioning during the period of British mandate—the Zionist General Council and the National Council of Palestine Jews. The function of the Council was to serve as a legislative body and provide a parliamentary foundation for the acts of the first Government. Being a transitory arrangement, it functioned with various limitations, and therefore the necessity for a Constitution became evident.

On January 25, 1949, for the first time in its long and chequered history, the ancient land of Israel witnessed a democratic election. The parliamentary body (Constituent Assembly) held its inaugural meeting in Jerusalem on February 14, 1949. During the first week of its existence, the Constituent Assembly passed the transitional law, popularly known as "The Small Constitution," to remain

in force until such time as a proper Constitution could be framed. According to the provisions of the Transitional Law of 1949, the legislature of the State of Israel is called "The Knesset" and the Constituent Assembly transformed itself into "The First Knesset."

All legislative acts of the Knesset are called "Laws" and are signed by the Head of the State and the Ministers responsible for their implementation.

The Small Constitution provides for the election of a President by a majority vote of the Knesset by secret ballot. On February 17, 1949 Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Provisional State Council, was so elected President of Israel.

The President shall hold office for the duration of the First Knesset and for the first three months of the Second Knesset. It should be noted here that the Constitution does not specify the life of the First Knesset.

According to the provisions of the Small Constitution, the chief function of the President is to consult with party leaders in the Knesset for the formation of a Government which, after assembly, presents itself before the Knesset for a vote of confidence. On a vote of no confidence by the House, the Government presents its resignation to the President, who again confers with the party leaders and entrusts to them the task of forming a new Government.

Until a new Government is formed, the outgoing Government continues in office. The President also signs with foreign States treaties which have been ratified by the Knesset, and, on the recommendation of the competent Minister, he appoints diplomatic representatives and receives the diplomatic representatives of foreign States.

In order to deal speedily with the numerous and varying matters which come up for discussion, the Knesset has set up a number of permanent Committees elected from among its members—Committees dealing with the Constitution, Law and Justice, Foreign Affairs and Defence, Public Services, Labour, Education and Culture, Economics and Finance, Home Affairs, and a House Committee. On these bodies the various parties are represented in proportion to their representation in the Knesset, but those having only one Member may hold a seat on only one Committee. Each Committee is comprised of fifteen members with the exception of the Constitution, Law and Justice, and House Committees, each of which consists of twenty-three.

The Committees discuss proposed laws and regulations referred to them by the Knesset or by the Government. They receive from the appropriate Ministers or their representatives detailed information concerning the matters referred to them, and in due course bring their conclusions before the Knesset.

These Standing Committees are convened on an average of once a week, but may meet more frequently if required. They appoint Sub-committees to study specific aspects of any matter under consideration. As far as possible, these Sub-committees are composed of one member from each party and, as a rule, they meet daily.

The present Government is operating on a temporary basis. It is working without constitutional provisions or established traditions, but the Ministers themselves have defined and developed their functions. It is, on the whole, based on the classic concept of the parliamentary regime—Government responsible to an elected House. Its procedure is to a considerable extent based on the traditional practices of many Assemblies, chiefly the Belgian and French Parliaments and the British House of Commons.

As mentioned above, the Small Constitution was passed during the first week of the Knesset's existence and will remain in force until amended or repealed or until a new Constitution comes into force. At present, therefore, it is only a provisional measure. It does not even define the life of the first Knesset, and the House itself has to take a decision in this respect. Theoretically, it can function indefinitely unless a new Constitution comes into operation.

The matter of framing a new Constitution, though important, is not being given priority. In spite of this, however, public opinion in Israel is alive to this question, and there are sharp differences of opinion in this regard among adherents of the various parties. There are varying views as to whether it should be written or unwritten; the majority prefer a written Constitution while others favour the growth of conventions (as in the case of Great Britain) to form the basis of the constitutional

structure of the State. The latter opinion looks upon the State as an organism and maintains that it should, therefore, have free growth, uncircumscribed by the rigid provisions of a Constitution. To the criticism that in the dynamic and complex world of today, where changes in social, political and economic life are frequent, constitutional conventions are not likely to develop deep roots in time to stabilize the State, it is pointed out that the moral and political traditions of the Jews would ensure that stability. Opinion is not lacking, too, which subscribes to the view that the Constituent Assembly should define only the fundamental rights of the citizen, and that the whole system of the constitutional structure of the State should follow the British pattern.

Aside from this variance of opinion regarding the virtues of a written or an unwritten Constitution, sharply differing views are displayed by the public on the basic nature of the Constitution. The conservative view, put forward by the Rabbis, who wield considerable influence on certain sections of public opinion and whose point of view is championed by the United Religious Front, is opposed to many progressive measures, and wants the State of Israel to be based strictly on orthodox Jewish laws and traditions. The Rabbis want certain provisions to be incorporated in the Constitution (provisions which could easily be omitted and, if necessary, be given statutory recognition later) which would be inconsistent with the nature of a secular State. For example, the United Religious Front wants Jewish religious law to be incorporated in the Constitution—a measure which would, for one thing, preclude women from enjoying equal status with men. The progressive section, whose chief spokesmen are members of the Mapai Party, is opposed to this point of view.

But one can easily discern the influence of the religious element in the administration. For instance, all Government activities cease on the Sabbath day. State-owned railways and other forms of public transportation do not operate on the Sabbath, causing a great deal of annoyance to members of minority communities and particularly to foreign visitors. However, the Mapai Party (which, along with two other parties, has formed a coalition with the United Religious Front) does not want to create dissension on any issue at this stage. The question of a Constitution is likely, therefore, to be postponed until such time as differences between the Mapai and the United Religious Front are resolved (which is unlikely), or until one of the parties is in a position to command a majority in the Constituent Assembly.

Fundamental differences between the two sections are not, however, the only stumbling blocks in the way of framing a Constitution. More urgent problems than the delicate issue of a Constitution are confronting the State. The leaders are aware that greater cohesion is necessary between the various political parties at this stage, and issues which might create a rift are scrupulously avoided.

A further factor which is hampering efforts to frame a Constitution is the influx of immigrants. Thousands of

Jews have been pouring in from all over the world. Since the inception of the State, the population has increased by about 45 per cent due to immigration, and the percentage will, in all likelihood, continue to rise. In view of this, it is felt in certain quarters that the question of a Constitution should be postponed until the saturation point as regards population has been almost reached, for it would be unfair to the immigrants if they were to be subject to a Constitution in the framing of which they had no voice.

In spite of all these considerations, however, some steps have been taken, already, to draw up a Constitution. A draft has been framed by Dr. Leo Kohn, Political Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is unlikely that the Constituent Assembly will adopt "in toto" the provisions contained in Dr. Kohn's draft, but it does indicate, to a considerable extent, the nature of the structure of the State.

The draft Constitution is composed of 78 Articles and has been divided into 9 Sections, some of which contain only one Article. According to its provisions, the State of Israel is "a sovereign, independent, democratic Republic"* and ". . . is designed to be the National Home of the Jewish People and shall admit every Jew who desires to settle within its territory"† The preamble to the Constitution describes the State as established ". . . in accordance with the ideals of peace and righteousness of the Prophets of Israel." Minorities are entitled to the same measure of protection by law as are the Jewish people, and no discrimination of any kind is to be made by the State on grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

The Chapter on Fundamental Rights contains 14 Sections and enjoins the State to ensure the sanctity of human life and to uphold the dignity of man. Capital punishment, torture, flogging or any other humiliating form of punishment is, therefore, prohibited. The draft Constitution ensures the liberty of the individual, as no one may be detained except in pursuance of an Order or a Judgment of a Court of Law. Preventive detention by Executive Order is unlawful, except when authorized by specific legislation in time of war or national emergency. The draft also provides that no person may be tried save by the due processes of law, and no person may be deprived of his liberty on account of a debt or other contractual obligation, except for fraud. Any person wrongly arrested, convicted or punished is entitled to make a claim for compensation against the State. A man's house is his castle and is inviolable.

Freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. The Sabbath and Jewish holidays are to form the days of rest and spiritual elevation, and are to be recognized as such in the laws of the country. But the holy days of other religious denominations are to

be equally recognized as legal holidays for members of those denominations.

Freedom of speech, free expression of opinion in writing or in any other form, and the right to assemble peaceably without arms and to form associations, are guaranteed by the draft Constitution—subject only to the condition that the right to freedom of speech and free expression of opinion is not misused by utterances or publications which are libelous, slanderous or obscene, or which are designed to stir up racial or religious hatred or to incite violence or crime.

The economic order of the State is to be based on the principle of social justice, and each citizen is to have an equitable share in the national income and a right to social security. It shall be the duty of the State to encourage and aid every form of co-operative effort. Every citizen shall have the right to work, and the State shall be required to endeavour to ensure to all, without distinction, a decent standard of living and a fair and equal opportunity of earning a livelihood. The right of workers to form trade unions and to strike in defence of their economic rights and interests is guaranteed by the draft Constitution. Care for the health of the population is a primary duty of the State, and legislation to that effect may be enacted providing for the establishment of a National Health Service.

The draft Constitution proposes the establishment of a single chambered legislature to be known as "The Chamber of Deputies." It is felt in many quarters that nothing of benefit to the State would be achieved by instituting a second chamber. The drafter believes that the famous dictum "Abbe sieyes" (that a second chamber is obnoxious if it disagrees with the first and is superfluous if it agrees with it) holds good for the State of Israel. The reasons for instituting a unicameral legislature are considered many. For one thing, the smallness of the State of Israel does not warrant a second chamber. Then, in a new State which has to face many problems, the institution of a second chamber, which would tend to have a "cooling" effect on the first is not considered desirable—at least at this stage. The new State is likely, for some time to come, to be faced with problems requiring prompt and speedy attention, and any delaying obstacle in the way of the legislative processes would be detrimental to their general efficiency. A second chamber usually represents vested interests. As things stand now, there is no such element to speak of in Israel; the levelling-off processes of the socialistic way of life have eliminated to a great extent the "upper" class, and if a second chamber is elected, no significant contribution is likely to be made by it.

All citizens of 21 years and over are entitled to vote, and after reaching 25 years are eligible for election as Deputies to the chamber. Judges, Civil Servants, members of the Armed Forces and persons having dual citizenship cannot be elected to Parliament. This prohibitive provision, as related to Judges, members of the Civil Service and members of the Armed Forces, is obviously

* Article 2.

† Article 3.

inserted in order to keep these Services free of any involvement in political issues.

Regarding the process of election, Article 29 provides :

"The Chamber of Deputies shall be elected by equal, direct and universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation. The mode of election shall be determined by an electoral law. The country shall be divided into a number of electoral districts, each 10,000 of the population approximately to be represented by one Deputy."

According to the draft Constitution, the life of the House is four years, but may be extended for an additional term in case of war or other emergency. The President of the Republic has the right to dissolve the House at any time on the resignation of the Executive Council, if no alternative Executive Council enjoying the confidence of the House can be formed.

Freedom of expression for members of the House is guaranteed, and no criminal proceedings can be instituted against any Deputy except with the consent of the chamber.

The draft Constitution prohibits the initiation of a Bill by a private member. In this respect, Article 24 provides :

"The initiative in introducing legislation shall rest with the Executive Council. Deputies may propose legislative measures, and such proposals shall be referred to a selected Committee of the Chamber. They shall be introduced by the Executive Council if recommended by a majority of the selected Committee and in the form recommended by that Committee."

There is, of course, the danger that this provision may hamper any initiative on the part of private members, who would more or less be guided by their Party Whip. But according to the drafter, this provision "... prevents any 'nostrums' or Bills promoted by vested interests from reaching the House. They will be killed in the Committee, as will Bills which run counter to the political line of the Government in power." †

The principle of parliamentary control of the Armed Forces is embodied in the draft Constitution to the extent that recruitment and maintenance of the Armed Forces is subject to parliamentary control. Treaties and other engagements with foreign countries must be approved by the Chamber of Deputies if they are to be binding upon the State. After such approval, the treaties and agreements become part of the Municipal Laws of the State.

Following the continental system, it is proposed in the draft Constitution that the President be elected by the House by secret ballot. Any citizen of Israel who is eligible for election to the Chamber of Deputies and has reached the age of 35 years, may be elected to this office. There is no provision in the draft for the office of a Vice-President, but if the President dies or resigns or is removed from office for any reason, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies is to exercise the functions of the

President until the election of a new one. Every official act of the President requires counter-signature by the Prime Minister, or any other Minister, who thereby assumes responsibility for it. The President, after consultation with the leaders of the parliamentary parties, appoints the Prime Minister and, upon his advice, the other members of the Cabinet. He also appoints Ambassadors and Ministers of the State of Israel, as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The President has the power to conclude treaties with foreign States upon the advice of the Executive Council and with the assent of the Chamber of Deputies.

The President holds office for a period of five years and is eligible for re-election only once. He may be removed from office on impeachment by a two-thirds vote in the House and on conviction by the Supreme Court of high treason, bribery or culpable violation of the Constitution.

The Cabinet, to be known as the "Executive Council," is to consist of the Prime Minister, Heads of Departments of the State, and such Ministers without portfolio as may be appointed from time to time - the total not to exceed fifteen. Following the British pattern, it has collective responsibility to the House and goes out of office if it fails to retain the confidence of Parliament. No Minister may be a member of the Board of Directors of any Joint Stock or Limited Liability Company carrying on business for profit.

The draft Constitution makes provision for the appointment of a Comptroller, an Auditor-General and a hierarchy of Courts of Law, the organization and jurisdiction of which are to be regulated by law. An interesting feature of the judicial system is the establishment of Religious Courts of the Jewish, Moslem and Christian communities which would exercise jurisdiction in matters of personal status and of religious foundations and endowments.

The process for amending the Constitution is rather simple. The amendment must be passed by a two-thirds majority in the House in two successive sessions, and at least six months must elapse between the two sessions. This process is considered sufficient to safeguard against rash amendments.

After the Constitution comes into operation, the laws already in force in the State are to continue to function to the extent to which they are not inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, or until they are amended or repealed. The draft also provides that future legislation is to be guided by the basic principles of Jewish law, and, wherever the existing law does not provide adequate guidance, the Courts of Law are required to have recourse to these basic principles. It is obviously presumed that such laws would not come into conflict with religious beliefs and tenets of the minority communities. At any rate, there is no provision in the draft to remedy the case where such a law infringes upon the beliefs and traditions of the Moslems and Christians.

The State of Israel, as envisaged by the draft Constitu-

† Leo Kohn : *Explanatory Statement to the Draft Constitution for Israel*, p. 16. Tel Aviv, October 1948.

tion, would obviously be a Jewish State based on Jewish laws and traditions. These laws and traditions emanate from ancient times when the Jews considered themselves directly governed by God, whose instrument was the King. Dr. Leo Kohn, the author of the draft Constitution, elucidates this contention when he writes :

"If a Constitution is to command the enduring loyalty of a people, it must be rooted in its moral and political traditions. In the case of the Jewish people, these are of distinctive and significant character. Their spiritual basis is the monotheistic conception of the Godhead, invisible, omnipotent, one and indivisible, the embodiment of absolute justice, the Ruler of the Universe, the Father of Man. The projection of that conception in the human sphere is an austere moral code, aiming at the sanctification of matter by the creative force of the spirit. Its ultimate goal is the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, embodying a rule of universal justice freely acknowledged by all the children of men. From its early beginnings, Judaism aimed not merely at individual perfection, but at the shaping of a social order. Its aim was the evolution of a 'Kingdom of Priests and a Holy People' ruled, not by priests or kings, but by the Deity itself, a bold effort at shaping reality in the image of the absolute. Judaism is a design for framing the life of a community in accordance with the dictates of a higher order: kindness to the poor, but justice to be accorded equally to the rich and to the poor; the sanctity of the Sabbath, but no less so the holiness of the

working day; freedom of contract, but, above that, the greater freedom of the Sabbatical and the Jubilee Years which restore liberty to the slave and give back to the poor man his lost heritage—such are its characteristic prescriptions.

"A Jewish Constitution, if it is to be Jewish and to command the moral allegiance of the Jewish people, must be so framed as to give expression to these timeless ideals. The State of Israel is being rebuilt under modern conditions. It cannot but adopt the constitutional forms and devices through which the mass-life of a modern democracy is being governed. But these forms may well be related to the spiritual order of the ancient Hebrew theocracy under which the divinely granted rights of man were immune from royal interference, under which the holiness of life and the rights of the orphan and the widow were protected by the authority of the invisible King. It is not by abstract declarations, but by the infusion of the timeless Hebrew tradition into its modern framework, that the Constitution of the new Israel can be rendered truly Jewish. . . ."

The above quotation clearly indicates the nature of the draft Constitution. Many of its provisions may not be incorporated in the final Constitution, but there is little likelihood of any radical change in the foundation of the constitutional super-structure which goes deep into the dim past. In so far as ancient religious laws and traditions would form the basis of the State, to that extent would they modify its secular nature.

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LAND REVOLUTION IN CHINA

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

It is now a year and a little more that the Communists have come to power in China. The People's Liberation Army led by the Communist Party of China shattered the Kuomintang resistance and seized power in October, 1949. The Kuomintang leader Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, hailed not long ago as China's Man of Destiny, fled from the Chinese mainland and took shelter in Taiwan (Formosa). The Marshal, from his safe island refuge screened by the redoubtable Seventh Fleet of the U.S.A. Navy, has since announced to the world outside that he would reconquer China. The bravado however deceives nobody, the Marshal himself, perhaps least of all.

Peace seems to have come to China after more than thirty long years of internal and international conflict. But the Korean peninsula, a neighbour of China's and once a part of her empire, is in turmoil. Time is not yet to prophesy in what channels the Korean waters will flow. That the Korean crisis is a very real menace to the peace of the world in general and of China in particular can not be gainsaid.

The Communist revolution in China is rightly regarded as one of the most amazing paradoxes of our times. For nearly twenty years after the Communist-

Kuomintang split in 1927, the Communists were branded as mere bandits and the Nationalist Government with its headquarters at Nanking spared no pains to liquidate them. But adversity makes strange bed-fellows and when Japan began her undeclared war against China, the Communists and the Nationalists became the best of friends and both fought against the common enemy. When that war came to an end in 1945 with Japan's capitulation to the U.S.A. after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Chiang's supremacy was unquestioned and the stage seemed to have been finally set for Kuomintang supremacy in China for all time to come. Yet in less than three years began the series of military disasters which was to culminate in his exile to Taiwan late in 1949. Ours is an age "which continues to approach the search for scape-goats with time-honoured relish," one in which not a few personal reputations have suffered. But revolutions such as the Chinese "are the result, not of the vicissitudes of personal conflicts, but of social forces"

China has long been the happy hunting-ground of world-capitalism. Capitalist and imperialist exploitation reduced China to a 'hyper-colony.' That she was not conquered like India was due in the main to the fact

that the exploiters could not agree among themselves as to their respective shares of the Chinese melon.

The evils of capitalist exploitation felt in all spheres of the national life, produced the most disastrous consequences in industrial and agricultural fields. With the advent of foreign capital, agriculture in China lost its self-sufficiency. The policy pursued by foreign powers in China tightened and prolonged the stranglehold of the feudal aristocracy over the peasantry. Foreign capital used Chinese landed aristocracy, merchants and money-lenders as its agents for the exploitation of the peasantry. Feudal exploitation and the increasing movement of farm produce to markets impoverished the rural population and ultimately reduced it to insolvency. Social inequalities increased. The gulf between the classes and the masses widened. Peasants lost their lands. These passed into the hands of the feudal lords, merchants, money-lenders and Government officials. A rich peasantry—small in size—appeared in society. Landless peasants flocked to the cities in large numbers in search of employment. But foreign capital had put an almost insurmountable obstacle in the path of China's industrial development. Employment was therefore hard to find. Many of the landless peasants therefore stayed at home. There was a steady increase of surplus population in rural areas. A quick expansion of industries and that alone can effectively absorb so vast a surplus population as China's.

At the time of the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937 peasant families in China outside Jehol and Manchuria numbered 54,581,000. One-third of these had no land at all. Landlords owned 50 per cent and the rich peasantry 12 per cent of the total arable land in the country.

Landless peasants and small peasants were wholly dependent on landlords. Fifty per cent of the peasant families tilled lands leased out by landlords and rich peasants. The percentage was even higher in some areas. Besides paying rent for his land, the peasant had to work on the landlord's estate without any return in cash or kind for his work. He had also to give a share of the produce of the land. The rent, payable generally in crops, was in no case less than 50 per cent and in not a few cases as high as 70 per cent of the produce. In cases where landlords helped peasants with agricultural implements, the latter had to make an extra payment called the "Labourer's rent." In this way peasants in many cases were deprived of as much as 90 per cent of the fruits of their labour. Unpaid work on the landlord's estate had reduced the peasantry to serfdom in all but name. In the pre-Japanese war era land revenue generally varied between 12 per cent and 15 per cent of the value of the land. In some cases it was as high as 20 per cent. This means that the landlord got back the full price of his land within seven or eight years at the latest. The peasant had to supply water, fuel and cattle to

the landlord. The latter was also a money-lender and in this capacity used to charge interest at the rate of 300 to 400 per cent per annum.

Investment of surplus capital in land was not only the most lucrative investment in China till the other day. It was at the same time the only field where surplus capital could be invested. Owners of such capital, instead of utilising it for the industrial development of China invested it in land. Capital thus lost its mobility and became immobile. The immobility of capital impeded the development of the productive forces of China. Alien exploitation coupled with Governmental inefficiency and corruption reduced the Chinese peasant to an absolutely helpless position. The world crisis in agriculture, which adversely affected the production of tea and silk in China, completed the ruination of the peasantry. Last but not least, more than thirty years of incessant warfare utterly destroyed the national productive forces. Drought, failure of crops and the resultant famine in a never-ending cycle added to the woes of the peasantry. During the years 1904-1929, 50 per cent of the expected harvest was destroyed. Famines have claimed hundreds of thousands of victims during the last thirty years.

Four-fifths of China's teeming millions live in villages. Field-labourers and poor peasants constitute 70 per cent, 'middle peasants' 20 per cent, rich peasants 6 per cent and landlords 4 per cent, of the rural population which numbers 380,000,000. The proportion however is not uniform all over the country. Rich peasants and landlords are to be found in larger numbers in Southern and Central China and in the province of Szechwan than anywhere else in China.

The Communists came to power in China in late 1949 on the crest of a wave of brilliant military victories. The new rulers were at once confronted with the task of clearing the Chinese Augean stables, a legacy of long years of misrule and exploitation. The victory on the military front has to be consolidated by victories on the industrial and the agricultural fronts.

Land reform is the principal plank in the Communist party platform in China. Edgar Snow wrote some years back that the Chinese Communists "stand upon a moderate agrarian platform with a Marxist colouration." The Chinese people's struggle for liberation during the last twenty-five years has been in reality "a peasant war led by the proletariat." A fair and equitable distribution of land, socialisation of the heavy industries and of all natural resources except land, enfranchisement of the masses and establishment of constitutional government are among the major items in the Communist programme. The Chinese Communist movement may therefore be rightly regarded as a revised and enlarged edition of the Taiping movement of the 19th century.

The Chinese Communists, like their brethren in faith everywhere else, regard themselves as the vanguard of the industrial proletariat. But they look upon

themselves as the leaders and spokesmen of the peasantry, the middle class in urban areas and the lower middle class as well. Little wonder that China's new rulers have already attacked the problems of land with characteristic zeal. But the Chinese Communists are realists first and foremost and realise that national reconstruction in all its phases and in all stages requires careful planning and skilful handling, that the nature and tempo of re-construction must be conditioned by the prevailing circumstances. Economic condition is not uniform all over China. The revolutionary ideal has therefore to be given shape to step by step. Care must be taken of not violently disturbing the economic equilibrium all on a sudden.

The Revolution, says the Chinese Communist, will be completed in three stages—New Democracy, Socialism and Communism. In the era of the New Democracy, industrial workers, peasants, the lower middle class and the general body of citizens will work together for the liquidation of feudalism and monopoly-capitalism. None knows better than the Communists themselves that conflict among the above groups is inevitable. But they know at the same time that these classes can and will work together under Communist leadership for the achievement of the object mentioned above. Co-operation of different economic groups in a certain stage of economic evolution does not run counter to the fundamentals of Scientific Socialism. Unity of opposites is inevitable in the path of evolution through the conflict of opposites. The New Dispensation in China is based on the theory of the unity of opposites.

Mr. Mao Tse-Tung, Premier of Red China, pointed out in his Report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December, 1947, that

The economic organisation of the New Democracy aimed at "wiping out feudalism and monopolistic capitalism, i.e., only the land-owners and the bureaucratic capitalists (the large property class). It is not the indiscriminate obliteration of all capitalism, the wiping out of the small property class and the middle property classes. Because of the economic backwardness of China, the capitalist economy represented by the extensive small property class must be allowed to exist for a long period even after the nationwide victory of the revolution."

In his report to the Party Plenum on June 6, 1950, Mr. Mao further elaborated this idea. He wrote:

"The work of agrarian reform should be carried forward by stages and in an orderly manner. The war has been fundamentally ended on the mainland, and so the situation is entirely different from that of the 1946-48 period, when the P. L. A. (The People's Liberation Army) was locked in a life and death struggle with the K.M.T. reactionaries and the issue had not yet been decided. The state can now use the method of issuing loans to help poor peasants solve their difficulties thus making up for the poor peasants' receiving less land (than under the previous land redistribution policy). Therefore, there should be a change in our policy towards the rich peasants, a change from the policy of

requisitioning the surplus land and property of the rich peasants to one of preserving a rich peasant economy in order to further the early restoration of production in the rural areas. This change of policy will also serve to isolate the landlords while protecting the middle peasants and those who rent out small plots of land."

During the period immediately following the Communist-Kuomintang split in 1927, the land owned by landlords was confiscated and distributed to the tillers of the soil in all areas under the direct control of the Communist party. But after the Long March (1934), one of the most extraordinary and heroic Odysseys in modern history, when the Communists retreated from Kiangsi to Yen-an, landlordism reappeared in the erstwhile Red areas. During the Japanese War (1937-45) the Communists suspended their land distribution programme and substituted a more moderate policy of rent and interest reduction. The change was motivated by the object of building up the broadest possible anti-Japanese united front with the K.M.T. and of uniting with all elements capable of opposing the Japanese. This popular front contributed not a little to China's victory over Japan. The changed policy had the further effect of slackening the grip of feudalism over China's countryside, thus preparing the way for the next phase of the Chinese revolution.

The general policy of the land programme as summed up by Mao Tse-Tung in his report to the Central Committee of the party in December, 1947, referred to above is "to rely upon the poor peasants, to unite staunchly with the middle peasants, and to abolish the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation of the old type rich peasant and landlord classes."

By the middle of 1948 the Communist counter-offensive against the Kuomintang had already begun and the war had spread to areas under the Nationalist Government. The People's Liberation Army dealt staggering blows on its adversary and steadily marched to the enemy's citadel. The people hailed it everywhere. Every despatch from the front brought the news of Kuomintang military debacle and of large-scale desertion of its armed forces. Province after province slipped off the hands of Chiang Kai-shek. Distribution of land was carried out in such of the liberated areas as were more or less consolidated from the political as well as from the military points of view. Agrarian reform in the newly liberated areas started with the transitional programme of reducing rent and interest. By June, 1949, land had been distributed among some one hundred million peasants within an area with a total population of one hundred and fifty-one million. The emancipated peasant-proprietors tipped the scales definitely in favour of the Communists.

The Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of China held in March, 1949, had laid down the general principles of the agrarian reform policies to be carried out in the newly liberated areas. A resolution issued at the close of the session summed up these policies as follows:

"First, launch a systematic struggle against bandits and despots, i.e., against the ruling landlord class; complete preparation for rent reduction in order to carry out the task of rent reduction and to create, within one or two years after the arrival of the P.L.A., the necessary conditions for land distribution, at the same time, pay attention to preventing a decline in the level of agricultural production."

In January last year the Government enunciated its land reform policy in the suburbs of large cities. According to this policy, land taken over for distribution in such areas will be nationalised and then allocated to the peasantry in the form of rent-free leases. This measure, it is expected, will facilitate the ultimate expansion of these cities and the development of industries around them.

The leaders of China's New Democratic revolution have declared again and again in no uncertain terms that agrarian reform and re-adjustment of agrarian relations constitute the most basic task of that revolution. The common programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference stipulates that the People's Republic of China "must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land-ownership system into one of peasant-proprietorship." This was also the dream of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese nation, who raised the slogan of "Equalization of land ownership" long ago, and later, the slogan of "Land to the tillers." The industrialisation of China must rely on the vast market in China's rural areas, and without a radical agrarian reform it would be impossible to realise the industrialisation of new China.

The Agrarian Reform Law adopted by the Central People's Government Council on June 28, 1950, is an eloquent testimony on what the new rulers of China aim at. Mr. Li Li-san, Labour Minister of the Central People's Government, rightly observes:

"The essential content of agrarian reform is the confiscation of the land of the landlord class for distribution to the landless peasants and land-poor peasants. The landlords as a class are abolished from society and the land-ownership system of feudal exploitation is transformed into a system of peasant land-ownership. Such a reform is indeed the greatest and most thorough reform in thousands of years of Chinese history."

Article I of the Agrarian Reform Law embodies the general principles of the Law and runs as follows:

"The land-ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished, and the system of peasant land-ownership shall be carried into effect in order to set free the rural productive forces, develop agricultural production and pave the way for the industrialisation of new China."

The land, draught animals, farm implements, the surplus grains and the spare houses in the country-side of the landlords shall be confiscated. But they will be allowed to retain other properties (Article 2). Certain areas, viz., the vicinity of large cities, areas where

agrarian reform in the main has been completed' and the areas of national minorities, are exempted from the operation of the Law (Articles 36-37). Landlords in general will be deprived of their feudal estates and abolished as "a social class," but they are not to be "physically eliminated." After a landlord's land and other means of production have been confiscated, he will be given one share of land and other means of production so that he may earn a living by honest labour and be a useful citizen of People's China. The Law does not only aim at relieving the indigent peasantry. It is much more ambitious and aims at releasing the productive forces in rural areas, i.e., the rural labourers, and land and other means of production from the age-old bondage of feudal ownership system and also at facilitating and accelerating the industrialisation of China. None knows better than the rulers of new China that agrarian reform alone can not go far enough to liquidate the appalling poverty of the Chinese masses, a legacy of long centuries of misrule, brutal oppression and heartless exploitation. Industrialisation of China is equally and urgently necessary.

The land of the landlords, the rural land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools and other public lands, the lands of industrialists and merchants in rural areas, the land of those who rent out land measuring more than twice the average land holding in the locality where such land is situated and the land rented out by rich peasants of a semi-land lord type are to be confiscated. Renting out of small plots is however tolerated. The concession however is not of much consequence. Land rented out in small plots does not exceed 3 to 5 per cent of the total acreage of arable land in China. Besides, this minor concession is motivated by political as well as economic considerations. Among the people renting out small plots of land are revolutionary soldiers and dependents of martyrs, as well as workers, employees, professional and other people who are otherwise engaged or lack labour power. As China has as yet no social insurance scheme for the unemployed, nor for those who have lost their labour power, the concession is justifiable on economic grounds as well.

Article 32 provides the machinery for carrying out the reform envisaged in the Law. It creates a People's court in every county for executing the Law. It will "try and punish, according to law, hated despotic elements who have committed heinous crimes, whom the masses of the people demand to be brought to justice and all such persons who resist or violate the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Law and decrees." Indiscriminate arrest, beating, killing and corporal punishment are strictly forbidden.

The Agrarian Reform Law, admirable in many respects, is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. Worked in the spirit in which it is framed the Law will do much to renovate China and to re-build her national

life. The question is how it will be worked. Even the best of laws fails to achieve its objects, if not executed in the right spirit.

The Central People's Government during less than two years of its existence have succeeded in raising the standards of living. At the time of assessment of taxes, they have not neglected the question of the supply of raw materials indispensable for the reconstruction of China. Nor has the ideal of the distribution of the burden of taxation among all classes been lost sight of. Filling the coffers of the Government is not the only criterion. The size of the peasant's family and his income from agriculture are carefully considered before assessment. To encourage the peasant to produce useful non-agricultural articles, his income from these is not taxed. The per capita production of the members of a peasant family is determined by dividing its total agricultural income with the number of members—minor as well as adult—of the family. The more the per capita production, the higher the rate of taxation. The table given below speaks for itself:

Production per capita

Rice and Wheat
120—200 catties

201—250	"
251—300	"
301—350	"
351—400	"
401—500	"
501—600	"
601—700	"
701—800	"
801—900	"
1001—1200	"
1201—1500	"
1501 and upwards	"

Rates of taxation

5 per cent of the produce

7	"	"
9	"	"
11	"	"
13	"	"
15	"	"
18	"	"
21	"	"
24	"	"
28	"	"
32	"	"
36	"	"
40	"	"

China's New Democratic experiment is well under way and as noted above the Government have already succeeded in raising the standard of living. Prices have been stabilised. Inflation has been checked. Chronic food shortage seems to have been overcome. Information from sources which by no stretch of imagination can be regarded as pro-Red, indicates that Mao Tse-Tung's New Democracy has made a good beginning. Well-begun is half done.

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BALTIMORE: AMERICAN SEABOARD CITY

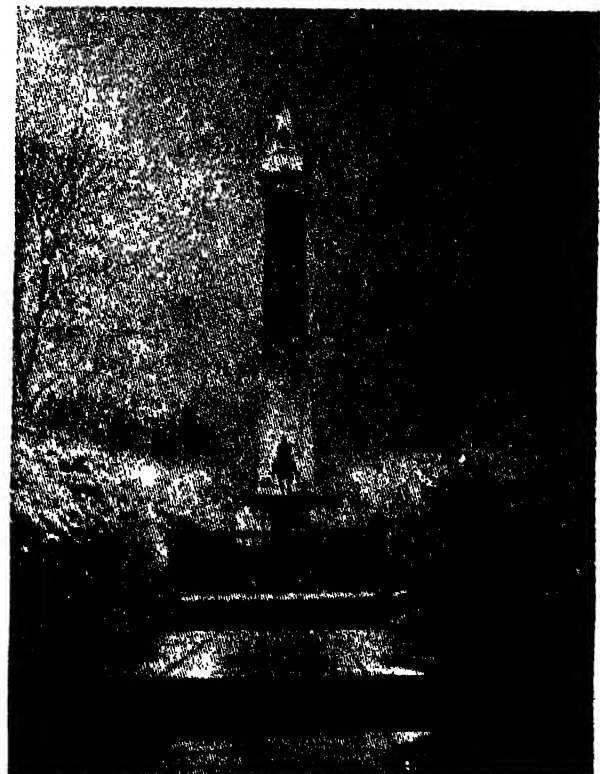
By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS

BALTIMORE, seventh largest city in the United States, is an aristocratic, charming, old-fashioned lady who thinks tradition is nicer than progress. Her cosmopolitan cousins, New York City, Chicago, Illinois, America's Midwest metropolis, and San Francisco in the Pacific Coast State of California, regard her as provincial and somewhat of a "character." She does not resent that first appellation because she believes that her complacency is a virtue. She is pleased by the second because she likes to think of herself as a romantic, picturesque old lady. She is serene, mellow, an individualist of the old school. She is never in a hurry and she will go out of her way to admire an old building, a garden, or a monument. She is located in the South-eastern State of Maryland.

Baltimore, with a population of slightly less than a million, is a delicate synthesis of strange and subtle contradictions. She has modern factories and refineries that operate with up-to-the-minute efficiency; she insists on keeping rocking chairs in one of her railroad stations. She is staid, but she admires the eccentric. One of her sons left part of his fortune for the erection of a lecture hall at Johns Hopkins University to be decorated with a mural, depicting the 10 Baltimore women he considered the most beautiful of his time.

Baltimoreans love their monuments, particularly the Washington Monument, which was begun in 1815 and completed 14 years later. They claim this was the first ever erected to the memory of George Washington, America's first President. The city has more

monuments per capita than any other city in the United States. Among the more famous monuments



The Washington Monument. A museum of history relating to Washington and early Baltimore in the base

are the Edgar Allan Poe Memorial, (the great American poet was born in Baltimore and died there), and the Christopher Columbus Obelisk.

Baltimore gets great enjoyment from her monuments. One of the foremost is Fort McHenry, a bastion overlooking the Patapsco River. It was here that in 1814, during a battle between the British and the American troops, Francis Scott Key, who witnessed the battle, wrote the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," the American national anthem. The fort is one of the few places where the American flag flies 24 hours a day, recalling the star-spangled banner that



The tomb of Edgar Allan Poe, who died in 1849, was erected in 1875 in Westminster Churchyard, Baltimore

waved through the night. Baltimore also is proud of Edgar Allan Poe's house where the poet spent what his biographers term his "dark and mysterious years": the Mount Clare Station, the first passenger-and-freight railroad station in the United States; the graves of Edgar Allan Poe, Johns Hopkins, founder of Johns Hopkins University, and Betsy Patterson Bonaparte.

Betsy was a Baltimore belle who married Jerome Bonaparte, youngest brother of Napoleon. But Jerome, at Napoleon's insistence, abandoned his wife to become king of Westphalia.

Baltimore was also the home of Wallis Warfield, who made history when Edward VIII of England gave up his throne to marry her.

The symbol of Baltimore and her way of life is a red-brick row house with white marble steps on a narrow, quiet street. She is as proud of her house, her

steps, and her street as any queen is of her castle. Real-estate men claim there is a higher percentage of home ownership in Baltimore than in any other city in America. The main explanation for this is the ground-rent system by which a man buys a house but not the land on which it stands. Ground rents are first mortgages that can never be called by the holder as long as taxes and interest are paid.

Visitors ask why Baltimore has white marble house steps. No one really seems to know. The most plausible explanation yet made is that the vogue began when the marble was hauled into town for the Washington Monument from nearby quarries. Many private dwelling houses have a look of magnificence from the abundance of white marble with which they are adorned. If the white steps are not marble, they often are of wood painted white. A few residents remove the steps at night to show that the family does not wish to be disturbed. In one district of the city, many windows are adorned with painted screens, opaque from the outside but transparent from within. They display waterfalls, cottages and mountains, and there are occasional scenes of a religious or patriotic nature.

Baltimore, of course, is not all row houses and white steps. In the northern sections of the city are stately dwellings surrounded by fine lawns and gardens. Baltimore's most beautiful garden is crowded with 90,000 tulips, 16,000 pansies, 5,000 azaleas and, on Sundays, with thousands of Baltimoreans politely gazing and strolling. Baltimoreans also like to stroll along Charles Street, the town's main street. Many streets are still lit by gas.

Baltimoreans seem to prefer a concert to the theater. Their taste in music, as in many things, is conservative. They enjoy the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, the recitals at the Peabody Conservatory of Music, and the many small musical societies. The symphony orchestra was the first municipally supported one in the United States. The Peabody Conservatory has achieved an international reputation through its graduates. At the Ford Theatre, New York, producers try out many of their new plays.

Baltimoreans are also staunch patrons of the arts. They spend many afternoons at the Walters Art Gallery, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Municipal Museum, and the Maryland Institute, home of the Rinchart School of Sculpture. The Walters Art Gallery contains outstanding objects of art in unbroken continuity from prehistoric Egyptian to the early part of the twentieth century. Here also is the manuscript of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Baltimore's Pratt Free Library is named in honor of Enoch Pratt, a Baltimore businessman who was responsible for its establishment.

Johns Hopkins, another philanthropic Baltimore businessman, was responsible for the establishment of

the famous university, hospital, and medical school that bear his name. The university was opened in 1876, primarily as a postgraduate university, emphasizing mature scholarship and academic freedom and using seminar methods new in America at that time. The medical school was opened in 1893, four years after the founding of the hospital.

The university as a whole was distinguished even in its early days by important contributions to experimental science. In recent years, Johns Hopkins scientists have done outstanding work in such fields as rheumatic fever, bacterial endocarditis, poliomyelitis, and rodent control.

Overshadowed by Johns Hopkins, but famous in their own rights, are the Medical and Dental Schools of the University of Maryland.

The *Baltimore Sun* is among the leading newspapers in the United States. The *Sun* and her sisters, the *Evening Sun* and the *Sunday Sun*, have two "front pages"—national and international news goes on the first page, local news on the last page.

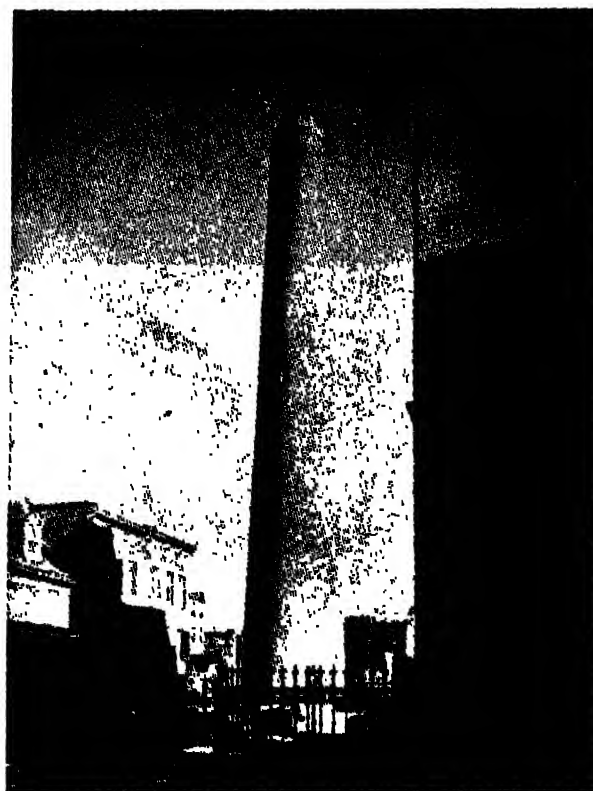
If staid, old-fashioned Baltimore has one weakness it is horse racing. The favorite race is the annual Preakness, run within the city limits at nearby Pimlico. Baltimore's spine tingles when the band plays Maryland, My Maryland and attendants fling a blanket of flowers over the Preakness winner. Baltimore inherits her taste for gambling from her ancestors who helped finance the erection of the Catholic Cathedral, the Washington Monument, and the College of Medicine of Maryland by buying lottery tickets.

Baltimore also is one of the important industrial centers of the United States. She builds ships, airplanes and pianos, manufactures iron, steel, chemicals and fertilizer, refines sugar, copper and petroleum, grinds spices and insecticides, cans vegetables and sea food, and makes men's clothing, umbrellas, and pharmaceuticals. In or near the city are the world's largest copper refinery, bichromate factory, superphosphate plant, sulphuric-acid works, tidewater steel plant, and spice and extract factory.

The port—sixth biggest port of the world and second in America in volume of foreign trade—also reflects the character of Baltimore. Lumbering freighters, carrying trade around the world, glide into the harbor alongside the distinctive, graceful sailboats, laden with sea food and produce, from the tiny ports on Maryland's Eastern Shore. The chief exports are coal and grain, and the main imports are ores, sugar, wood pulp, coffee, chemicals, and fertilizer. There are almost 40 miles of deep-water frontage, some within five blocks of the center of the city. The city has been an international seaport for almost 200 years.

The fame of Baltimore has been spread not only

by her ships. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, oldest in the United States, has been carrying her name across the countryside since 1827—first on horse-drawn equipment, now on sleek streamlined railway trains. Just outside of Baltimore is the Glenn L. Martin Company, builders of airplanes, flying boats, and luxury airliners. Martin's also is engaged in research and development of supersonic and ionosphere missiles.



The Shot Tower in Baltimore, America's seventh largest city. The brick structure, 234 feet high, was built in 1829 for the production of shot of different sizes

Baltimore is proud that she has the largest tidewater steel plant, but she is even prouder of her "Firsts." She claims more than 50 of these. Some, in addition to those named, are: the first Catholic Cathedral in the United States, the first linotype machine, the first factory to make silk ribbon from American silk, the first gas meter, and the first dental college.

Strangers, however, will never hear Baltimore boasting of these things, or of her way of life. It is not in keeping with her character. One of her favorite sons, the author and critic H. L. Mencken, neatly summed up her character some years ago. "The old town," he wrote, "is not a brazen hussy among cities . . . Not at all. It is, if the truth must come out, a Perfect Lady."—From *Holiday*.

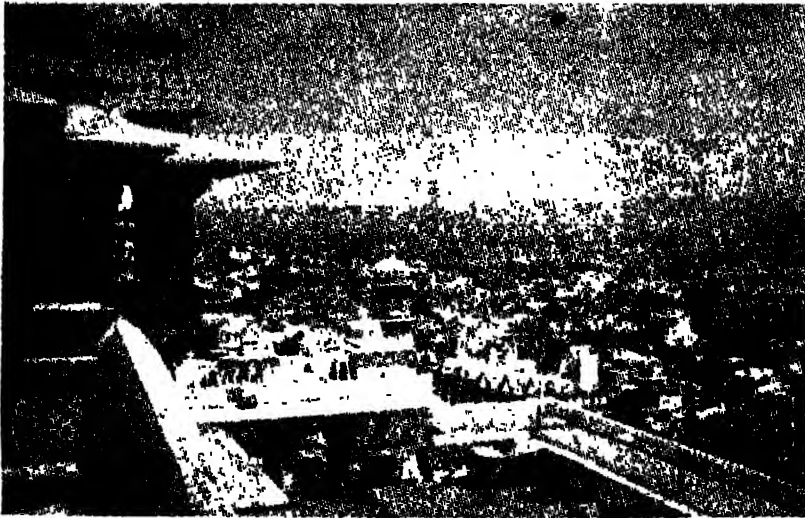
UDAIPUR—THE VENICE OF INDIA

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA

UDAIPUR, the Venice of India, presents a most imposing appearance. Situated at an elevation of nearly 2,600 feet above the sea-level, it is one of the most beautiful and picturesque cities of Bharat. Surrounded by a bastioned wall, it has got five principal gateways. The city wall is more extensive than solid. To remedy this want of

Vikramaditya before the subjugation of Ujjain. The vestiges of the immense mounds still remain. They are called the 'Dhool-kote,' or a fort destroyed by Dhool or ashes of the volcanic eruption. Medals, effigies of animals, attributed to Gandharvasen, the brother of Vikram, statues and images, inscriptions, and fragments of sculpture and pottery, found in the piles of ruins, show how noble a stronghold it must have been in the past. Some shrines, chiefly Jain, are still standing, though in the last stage of dilapidation. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India can undertake a regular opening of this hillock and unveil a complete picture of the civilisation and institutions of Hindu India.

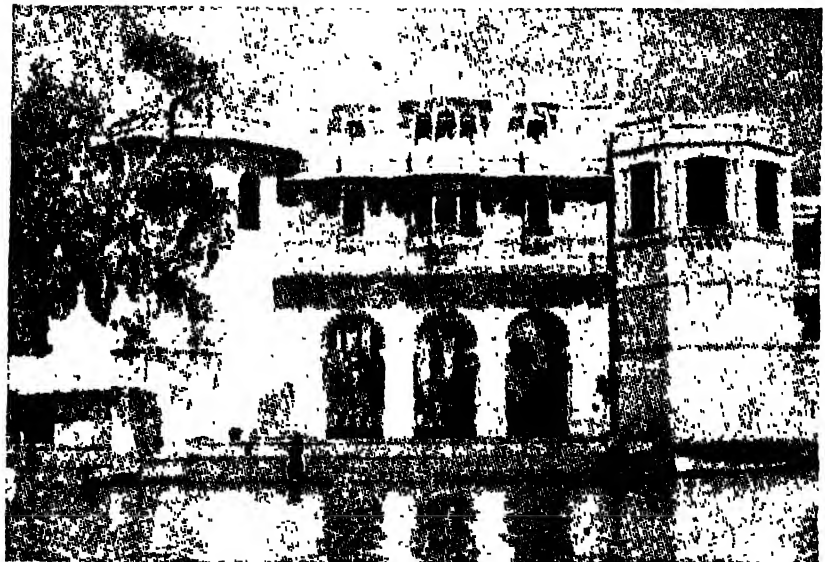
Laugh and mock, if you will, at the worship of the stone idols. But stone idols do bear the awful semblance of Deity, unchangeable in the midst of change. These cenotaphs have watched, and watched like a Providence, with the same earnest eyes, and the same sad and tranquil mien upon the ancient dynasties of India, Egypt,



A general view of Udaipur City

stoutness a chain of fortresses was erected, commanding every road leading thereto, which adds greatly to the impressions of the landscape. Towards the south and immediately overlooking the city there stands, majestic in its desolation, but crowned with frowning battlements and high loopholed walls, the fort of Eklingarh. An enormous piece of ordnance was mounted in this citadel in the year 1770, when in the dust and the turmoil, and in the thickest of the swaying throng, Madhavjee Sindhia waged a furious fight around Udaipur.

Ahar is situated just towards the east of Udaipur. It is sacred to the manes of the princes of Mewar, as it contains the cenotaphs of all her rulers ever since this valley of Aravalli became their residence. The celebrated Amar Singh's stately cenotaph is the most conspicuous. Other cenotaphs down to that of Shri Fateh Singhji, the father of the present Maharana, are comely and elegant, all of white marble, from the quarries of Rajsamand. History indeed can show few contrasts of fortune more vivid and amazing. Ahar, founded by Asaditya, was once a prosperous city. Here lived the Tuar ancestors of



Entrance to the Jal Mahal

Greece, Rome, Babylon, and China. And still these sleepless cenotaphs will keep their ceaseless vigil on the works of the new busy races. You dare not mock at them.

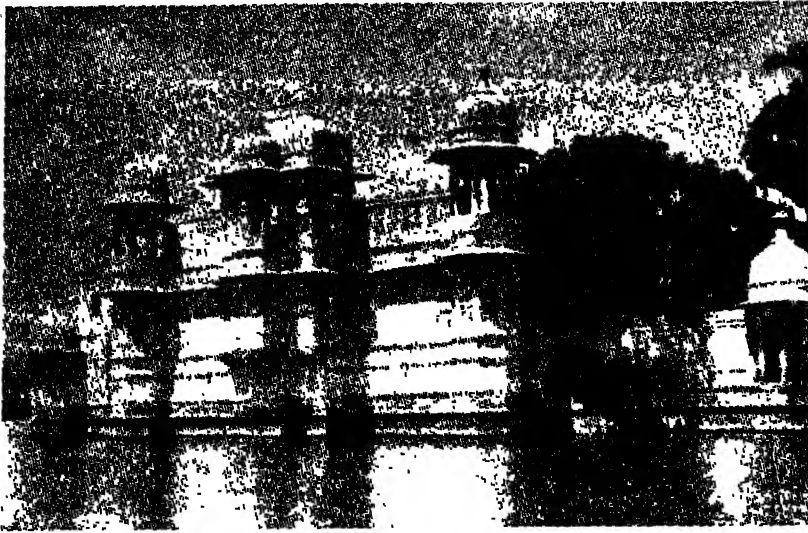
Udaipur abounds with fine lakes and tanks. The finest of these is the great Pichola lake, lying in the west of Udaipur. Here nature is in her grandest attire, and the scene, though wild and rugged, is sublime, presenting pictures at every step. Every change of season, and indeed

every hour of the day produce some change in the magical hues and tint of this magnificent water-sheet. The next biggest lake is called Fatehsagar, built by the famous

with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. They stand upon the very crest of a ridge, running parallel to the margin of the Pichola lake. In the middle of this lake

there stand two water palaces, the Jagmandir and the Jagniwas, erected by Maharana Jaggat Singh in the middle of the 17th century. This Jagmandir gave shelter to Prince Khuram. Both the palaces are built entirely of marble, often inlaid with mosaics. Their walls contain historical paintings and medallions in gypsum. There are flower gardens, fountains and baths which go to make them places of enchanting beauty. They still remain the finest monuments in the whole of Rajasthan. None who has not visited them can have any idea of the superb beauty and enduring charm.

Udaipur has beauty, and many of its people live happy, useful lives. They are building; they are building houses,



A corner of the Jal Mahal

Maharana Fateh Singhji, the father of the present Maharana. This lake, amidst the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory.

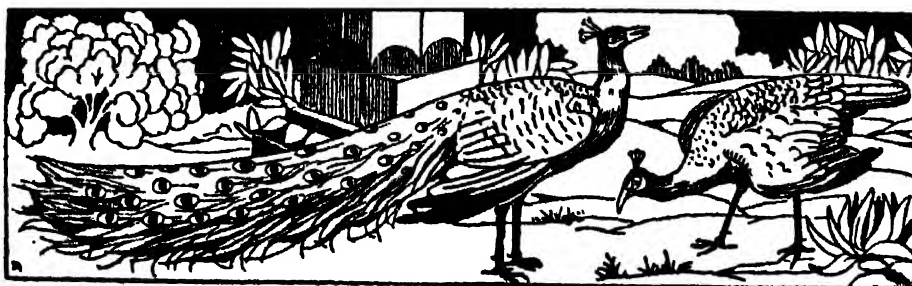
But the gardens of Udaipur, the Sajjan-Niwas, and the Sailionki-bari, are the delight—the delight and the pride of the place. They are not the formal parterres, rather they bring back to our minds the memory of some rich wilderness. You will find here forest-trees, tall and stately. Their shade upon the earth is black as night. The flower plants are moist-looking, and cool to your eyes, and freshening the sense with fragrant perfume. Never for an instant will the people of Udaipur attempt to separate the idea of bliss from these wild spots—the earthly paradise.

The Royal palaces are the most dignified and striking piles of a regular form, built of granite and marble. They rise at least 100 feet from the ground. They are flanked



Sailion-Ki-Bari

farms, roads, streets, hospitals and schools. Think of the great contributions which the people of Udaipur have made to science, art, learning, industry, and government.



A VISIT TO CEYLON

By PROF. K. S. BHATNAGAR

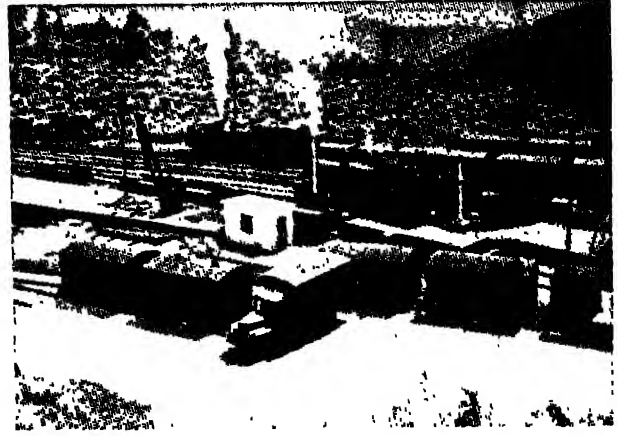
If from Colombo in the evergreen beautiful isle of Ceylon you wend your way towards north-east on excellent roads, you pass through the low-lying moist and wet paddy fields, tall and shady rubber groves, neat,

Up in the hills the clouds cover the horizon and sometimes appear almost menacing. You see the clouds coming down to meet the earth, and the earth rising above its earthly cares to soar heavenwards in a mighty



On the way to Nuwara Eliya from Colombo. The winding roads unfold the beautiful panorama of nature

tidy and peaceful little cottages smoking their chimney against the background of the blue sunny sky with a few patches of snow-white clouds. After a little drive the paddy fields are left behind, the rubber plantations become not too frequent and you find your car negotiating bends and curves and climbing into the hills. Now you enter the tea-gardens. On the slopes of



Nunoliya, beyond which the trains do not proceed. On the slopes are the tea-gardens

effort to meet the clouds. The mountain-tops seem like boats sailing across the clouds.

There are plenty of wayside taverns selling refreshing tea. Tea in this part tastes excellent. It is a drive of about 115 miles *via* Hatton, a small town commanding the road to Nuwara Eliya. In this longish drive there never is a dull moment. There is so much to see, and things appear so wondrously fair that time



The slopes of tea-gardens have roads coiling around them

the hills every inch of the space is used up for tea. From a vantage point up in the hills, the whole panorama is extremely pleasing. As far as your sight would go you see beautifully green tea-gardens perched above you and lying underneath your feet intersected wondrously by paths and natural waterfalls.



The Peridiniya Gardens are considered by many as the finest in the world

passes like a pleasant dream. It abounds in picnic spots: the water is cool, fresh and sweet, and fountains, waterfalls and rivulets are numerous. The rail-road sometimes runs beside the road and everything appears extremely picturesque. The railway does not go to

A VISIT TO CEYLON



From Colombo to Nuwara Eliya tea-gardens adorn the slopes of the hills, and waterfalls are plentiful



Across the river is a thin suspended bridge leading from the Peridinya Gardens into quiet cottages surrounded by orchards



Near Colombo on a creek is a fishing village Negombo by name

Nuwara Eliya but ends up at Nunoliya about five miles from Nuwara Eliya. From Nunoliya to Nuwara Eliya the climb is steep and now for a while even the



The Peridiniya Gardens are excellently looked after



The Peridiniya Gardens are well laid out tea-gardens part company only to present themselves a little cloaked in all the magnificence of heights, and so to Nuwara Eliya.

NUWARA ELIYA

It is the most beautiful spot in Ceylon. More than six thousand feet above sea-level, it has a very



The Kandy Lake. In the thick shade of the trees lies the covered Lady Alexandra Drive

picturesque race course, a beautiful lake, lovely hotels and a good bazaar where shopping is quite an attraction. Neuralia (as it is popularly known) has historical significance going back to the pre-historic times of the days of Ravana and Sita. Five miles from here is the Hagalla Gardens, the place where Sita was imprisoned. Speaking to an official of the Zoological Department I gathered that certain curative herbs are to be found on the top of the



The Kandy Lake. All round the lake is a barbed wire fencing sufficiently wide to prevent gaps for intrusion into the lake waters

gardens and those herbs are also found in India on the Himalayas. Nowhere else in Ceylon are those herbs to be found. Mythology credits Hanuman as having lifted some Himalayan rocks and placed them in Lanka where such a herb was required for medicinal purpose. This is a beautiful garden. There is another Botanical Garden in Nuwara Eliya—one of the prettiest gardens in the country. On the road to Neuralia from Hagalla Gardens a mile up is a small wayside temple and is known as the Sita Temple.

Behind it is a cool refreshing stream which goes underground for about fifty yards only to emerge into big boulders. The Pandit of the temple will tell you that Sita hid here from the eyes of Ravana who came to see her bathing. On the hill opposite which was supposed to be Ravana's vantage point, not a blade of vegetation is to be found. It is very strange and you will be told that that mountain was cursed, hence nothing grows there.



A rock cut out to let the road pass on the way

from Kandy to Colombo
KANDY

Up north a drive of 72 miles across the beautiful Romboda pass with its gorgeous tea-gardens brings you into the heart of Ceylon, the Central Province with its capital at Kandy. Kandy, 1800 ft. above sea-level, is a visitor's delight. The gardens, the drives, the university site, the ancient Buddhist Temple of Tooth and the Elephant Baths form a list of 'to be seen' places. On entering you come across the world-famed Peridiniya Gardens. Many visitors have considered these gardens to be the best in the world. To a student of Botany these gardens provide an excellent opportunity to see what is usually to be found only in the libraries. To a lay man the sights provide a sumptuous feast for the eyes. It is a great

joy for it is really a thing of beauty, and as if this beauty was not enough a stream glides by at the end of these gardens, over which a delicate hanging bridge is suspended. The Government have undertaken an extremely ambitious project. It is the university which is being constructed at an enormous cost of 14 crores. When complete it would be the finest in the East.

In the city is the lake from which water is sup-



In Nuwara Eliya is a turf club and a race course

plied to the town. Near it is the famous Temple of Tooth, a pilgrim centre for the Buddhists. The tooth of Gautama Buddha is enshrined in the temple and the tooth is shown only to the public on rare occasions usually on a great Buddhist festival. Towering above the lake is a small hill where some of the finest houses have been built. It is an excellent drive known as Lady Alexandra Drive and from the top you can see the whole of Kandy. Late in the afternoon on a small river two miles on the other side is the Elephant's Bathing Place.

From Kandy, Colombo is 72 miles downhill. The roads are excellent and in the roads, street side-stalls selling raw cashew nuts, pine-apples and coconuts abound. Girls are usually the salesmen and they do a brisk business.

:O:—

MIDNIGHT

By CYRIL MODAK

Oh! kindle darkness with thy love, I pray
So in the night we see as bright as day.
Sign with thy starry autograph this night,
Let darkness flame forth in historic light.

We dream : like ghosts our dreams melt by and by,
Love! fix my dreams like stars upon the sky
That others keeping vigil, Ah! like me
Shall in the scattered stars a meaning see!

This midnight with its palm of silence sweet,
This silence in which soul with star can meet,
This meeting that from heaven to earth can bring
The festival of lights,—Love! Love! I sing!

Oh! kindle darkness with thy love, I pray
So in the night we see as bright as day.
Sign with thy starry autograph this night,
Let darkness flame forth in historic light!

ENGLISH POETS AND THE NIGHTINGALE

By PROF. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., PH.D.

Poet's fancy has played rather extravagantly with birds, and if it is true that the poet's eye rolling in a fine frenzy not only gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name, but also transforms real objects into non-descript nebulae and tease them even out of their nature and names, what can better illustrate this truth than the poems written on birds? This poetic pre-occupation is perhaps as old as poetry, and the reason thereof that most assertively suggests itself is that the bird can so aptly symbolize the winged imagination.

Of all the birds that have been so poetized, the nightingale seems to be the most favourite of the English poets, not merely because it has inspired many of them but also because it has conjured many moods and has incarnated for each his own desire and ideal. Yet the lack of any real information about the bird, though poetically convenient, is to say the least, astounding. Firstly, it carries a descriptive name without being described thereby. Etymologically it is a night singer but in matter of fact sings night and day, particularly in the breeding and nesting time. But as the poets would have it, it is almost inextricably and also romantically associated with night and its mysterious charm. Storied and poetized, it is a small migratory bird, not very colourful in look that visits only some parts of England sometime in April, stays there hardly for a couple of months and then flits out for warmer climate in the continent. But if one is to form an idea about the bird from the poems composed on them, would he ever definitely know that it sings in summer and only in certain geographical areas in England? Not that one reads poetry for any accuracy of fact, but unless one is disposed to lose all sense of fact while reading poetry, he may mildly frown at if not so much object to, the way in which poets command the song of the bird at will irrespective of season and sex. Yes, also sex, for the poet will not suffer the male of the species to sing divine ecstasy even in dull and forlorn moments, but the fact is, only the cock sings, the hen doesn't. Perhaps it is the mythical Philomela that at once blurs their optical vision and illuminates the vista of their 'shaping fantasy' that so easily overworks nature.

Such a bird which for all poetic purposes has only a fancy existence will naturally evoke, if not found, different schools and traditions. To the simple and unsophisticated it is a bird of love, an emblem of joy, a defender of the pleasures of the senses, a symbol of earth's loveliness in all its warmth of pleasureable feelings. The classical-minded, contrariwise, look upon it as a melancholy bird lamenting eternally her woes in sad but sweet melody. From this angle (and Oscar Wilde in his small but masterly prose romance has so poignantly represented this point of view) it is also

usually described as a bird leaning its breast and pressing it hard against a thorn while pouring forth its melody in languor and anguish. Then there are yet others who would call it in the same breath a joy-bird and a singer of the unattainable, and the melody of its song at once a symbol of satiety and restless yearning.

But what strikes one with surprise is how the bird could gather round it such diverse associations and throw the poetic mind into rapture and ecstasy! That it is a melancholy bird or a winged epitome of earth's joy may be easily explained by relating it to the moods of poets' minds which can, by the license they enjoy, attribute any quality or distinction to any animate or inanimate objects. But how can you identify it with a Greek Philomela and impose on it a nature which she of the story doesn't really possess or impute virtues which she doesn't in any way impersonate? How to justify, for instance, the frequent references to the myth in the obvious nostalgic strain in the poem written on it? How to find consistency in a poem that carries the title of Philomela but sings of eternal passion and immortal melody? Or even, how to distinguish a poem written on the nightingale and another written on some other bird? How indeed!

The story of Philomela, take either Ovid's or the popular mythological version, is one of wild and unhealthy passion, and cruel and gruesome revenge. Pandion, the King of Attica, who had two daughters—Procne and Philomela—rewarded the warlike aid of Tereus, the King of Daulis, by marrying his first-named daughter to him. By her Tereus became the father of Itys, and then to gratify his secret passion for her sister, concealed his wife in the country and told Philomela that her sister was dead. This besides, he also deprived Philomela of her tongue. The wronged sister somehow learnt the truth, made it known to Procne, and both conspiring together killed his son Itys and served the flesh of the child in a dish to him. Tereus in anger pursued the fleeing sisters with an axe whereupon the gods intervened and turned them into birds. Procne became a swallow, Philomela a nightingale and Tereus a hawk.

The story as such has a tragic tinge about it but essentially it is a tale of terror, a tale, one may venture to say, of tragic but just retribution. And if quintessentialised and reft of its externals, it might be interpreted as a story of a chase, but, I am afraid, not of a chase after the ideal. Or is it a parable of the evil pursuing the good?

Yet all this poetic vagary or whim may be disregarded or even condoned if only we note the excellence, both formal and ideal, of all the nightingale poems which are rather large in number. It is certainly gratifying to find poets not only lavishing their poetic raptures on it but also singing withal the agonies of

the spirit and never-to-be-satisfied desire of the soul. It is fortunate that the nightingale has given occasions to the poetic mind to spread its hidden lustre, display subtle nuances and scatter its overpowering aroma of thought. If we examine a few conspicuous examples, we will gladly note the distant horizon to which the bird has led the poetic mind, or the vast expanse with its variegated beauty on which it has inspired the poet lovingly and longingly to brood. Here is Philip Sidney's: His—

Nightingale as soon as April bringeth
Unto her rested sense a perfect waking,

Sings out her woes, a thorn her song book making.

But note the symbolization, though partial, in the last two lines:

Thine earth now springs, mine fadeth;
Thy thorn without, my thorn my heart invadeth.

With Milton the scene completely changes. His warbler brings the message of love and hope. It is not set up as a contrast to the poet's bleeding heart. For,

Thou with fresh hope the lover's heart dost feel,
Thy liquid notes that close the eye of day,

Portend success in love. O, if Jove's will
Have linked that amorous power to thy soft lay,
Now timely sing.

For my relief

Whether the Muse or Love call thee his mate
Both them I serve, and of their train am I

To come upon the next significant example, we have to cross the distance of a century. Coleridge's poem shows a realistic approach based primarily on the poet's knowledge of the birdlore. Composed in April, 1798, the poet calls it a conversation poem, and in passing rather sarcastically remarks:

And youths and maidens most poetical,
Who lose their deepening twilights of the spring
In ballrooms and hot theatres, they still
Full of meek sympathy must have their sighs
O'er Philomela's pity-pleading strains.

In the same poem he quotes from Milton's *Il Penseroso* (and after one has heard Milton's view on the bird in a complete and separate poem, one should not identify the poet with his Melancholy Man) and shows how idle and conceited it is to encumber a happy and frolicking bird with a burden of gloom and melancholy.

In her sweetest saddest plight
Smoothing the rugged brow of night,

Sweet bird, thou shunnest the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy!—

hails plaintively the melancholy man, but retorts Coleridge:

A melancholy bird? Oh! idle thought!
In nature there is nothing melancholy

But some night-wandering man whose heart
was pierced
With the remembrance of a grievous wrong,
Or slow distemper, or neglected love,

he and such as he
First named those notes a melancholy strain
And many a poet echoes the conceit.

And then proceeds on to express his own view:

we may not thus profane
Nature's sweet voices, always full of love
And joyance! 'tis a merry nightingale
That crowds and hurries and precipitates
With fast thick warble his delicious notes
As he were fearful that an April night
Would be too short for him to utter forth
His love-chant, and disburthen his true soul
Of all its music.

The one very important and noticeable trait of Coleridge's poem is its bold avowal of the fact that poetry should not even imaginatively detach itself completely from nature. Let it not be forgotten that the flower in spite of its different shape and colour and form is not even conceivable without the plant.

However from Coleridge we almost inevitably pass on to his great contemporary, the acknowledged poet of nature and her high priest, William Wordsworth, eager to hear if aught he has uttered about the bird. Considering that he has written so many poems on other birds and one single and small poem on the nightingale, except his translation of Chaucer's Nightingale and the Cuckoo, one may reasonably conclude that he did not feel much inspired about this bird. The fact is that on the poetically matured Wordsworth, neither Philomela with her mythological associations nor the actual nightingale with its shrill and tumultuous notes had any influence to exert, because essentially he is a poet of tranquillity, poise and contemplation. Thus to him,

O nightingale! thou surely art
A creature of a fiery heart:—
These notes of thine—they pierce and pierce;
Tumultuous harmony and fierce.

And then in the same poem, he expresses rather bluntly his disapproval of its song and concludes:

I heard a stock-dove sing or say
His homely tale, this very day

He sang of love with quiet blending
Slow to begin but never-ending;
Of serious faith and inward glee;
That was the song—the song for me.

Admirers of nightingale might perhaps justifiably resent this unsympathetic and shabby treatment of the bird but Wordsworth, to be Wordsworth, could do no better.

To pass from Wordsworth to Shelley is to pass from one world to another, from the world of homely and tangible objects to that of ethereal phenomena and mysterious visions. From Protesilan serenity to

Promethean enthusiasm. Though of the same Romantic age, they were in all respects poles apart ; if the one put too much by moderation, the other was given too much to excess, both in fancy and thought. Hence his poem on the nightingale is an episode which neither refers to the Greek mythology nor is based on the actual bird. He creates his own myth which symbolises our relation to happiness. The Woodman and the Nightingale--for this is the title of the poem--narrates the blatant insensitiveness of a rough-hearted woodman who 'hated to hear under the stars and moon one nightingale,' and ultimately felled the tree on which she built her nest. The last stanza with its obvious allegorical meaning gives the whole poem a colourful significance when the poet declares :

The world is full of woodmen who expel
Love's gentle dryads from the haunts of life,
And vex the nightingales in every dell.

Keats's Ode is perhaps the most sensuous and impassioned poem on the nightingale. It is the soul-stirring song of a bleeding heart, the last dazzling flicker of a dying lamp. Viewed against the background of his personal miseries and despair it may appear to be a poem of escape but taken as a whole it gives the impression of a flower trying to blossom in its glory amidst the encircling gloom and at the close of the day drooping low in helpless agony. The bird opens before the poet a vast vista of time and space; his mind travels with perfect ease and consistency from the thought of a 'draught of vintage' cooled a long age in the 'deep delved earth' to the charioted Bacchus with his pards and then with the help of the viewless wings of poesy to the pea-antry of heaven where 'blyly the queen moon is on her throne clustered around by her starry fays.' Also it traverses in time the twilight past of emperor and clown, the biblical age of Ruth and the haloed middle ages of 'charmed magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas in faery lands forlorn'--till through his nineteenth century present he comes back to his sole self. Life, again in the same poem, has been held as a dark background against which the white serenity of death shines with all the charm of an only desire. The full-throated song of the nightingale has not only thrown human miseries into glaring relief, but also engendered in his heart a passionate longing for Death, the redeemer :

"To cease upon the midnight with no pain,
While thou art pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy!"

The bird thus attains in his imagination an immortality by singing of joy unstained by earth's vain yearnings, while here on the earth the mortal men

" . . . sit and hear each other groan
Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies,
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow

Where 'Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes'
Or new Love pine at them beyond tomorrow."

The bird goes on singing in the same joyous strain through the ages while man chases his ever-elusive ideal, passes from moods to moods, from desires to new desires, and calls upon him the curse of a mortality that changes even the very satiety into a treacherous desire, till at last in his mad trance he comes to the inevitable end.

May 1819 was a very critical period in Keats's life, when loss, apprehension of a premature end and utter frustration on all sides numbed his heart into drowsiness. Lying racked and helpless on the crest of a brittle billow, he groped for some prop somewhere. Writing this poem did much to soothe his ruptured soul. When for him the earth's foundations fled, happily the nightingale brought a tranquil joy, a shaded and embalming oasis in the vast burning desert of life, for he felt in its song one abiding joy of existence. Sitting on the shaky, quaked foundation of life, clustered around by its darkening ills, it was very heaven to realise, how momentarily soever, that joy was also an earthly reality. That he had to come back to his sole self, to his parched and dull world, or that he came to the final realization of a truth that could sustain him later in life, is for us a matter of scanty importance. What stands out prominent is that the nightingale conjured for the poet a new world and gave him an insight into the enigma of life. I don't know if any other bird could do the same for the poet. In spite of the fact that external objects are mere pegs for ideas or thoughts, a name ceases to be a mere label or a distinguishing mark when through ages it gathers round colour and shade and associations. Perhaps he thought of Coleridge's poem when he called it the 'light-winged dryad of the trees' or a bird of joy and happiness. (Three or four weeks before he composed his poem he discussed with Coleridge, among other things, nightingales, poetry and the like) Perhaps he half consciously remembered the Philomela legend when he called its song a 'plaintive anthem', but the nightingale both imaginary and actual was never out of his mind.

To Matthew Arnold, the poet of eternal sadness, it is a bewailing bird, singing in melody her eternal pain. The name of the poem is Philomela and the poet assiduously adheres to Ovid's version of the Philomela legend.

Hark from the moonlit cedar what a burst!
What triumph! hark!--what pain!

He cursorily narrates the story and asks:

O wanderer from the Grecian shore,
Still after many years, in distant lands,
Still mourning in thy bewilder'd brain
That wild, unquench'd, deep sunken, old world pain--
Say, will it never heal?

Then farther:

And can this fragrant lawn
With its cool trees and night,
And the sweet tranquil Thames
And moonshine and the dew,

To thy rack'd heart and brain
Afford no balm?

The last few lines are, however, though faintly, coloured by an allegorical flavour, where the poet asks his Eugenia to listen:

How thick the bursts come crowding through the leaves!

Again—thou hearest?

Eternal passion!

Eternal pain!

It may be mentioned, obiter, that Swinburne has also kept to the classical tradition in his poems written on Philomela and Ithylus. Poetic imputations apart, they mostly correspond to the spirit and form of the mythological story.

Among the moderns, Robert Bridges, even after all these nightingale poems, could venture to write one on the same subject, evidently because he felt, and he was justified in doing so, he had something fresh and novel to say. His nightingale is neither a symbol of joy or pain, nor an emblem of perfection attained, but a bird that sings of the eternal yearning of the finite heart for perfection. Thus he steers a safe course between the classical and romantic traditions though in so doing he idealises it more or less into a bird of his desire. So the poet believes:

Beautiful must be the mountains whence ye come,
And bright in the fruitful valleys the streams,
wherefrom

Ye learn your song.

And his nightingale's reply:

Nay, barren are those mountains and spent the streams,
Our song is the voice of desire, that haunts our dreams,

A throe of the heart

Whose pining visions dim, forbidden hopes profound,
No dying cadence nor long sighs can sound,
For all our art.

In this brief survey have been discussed poems of many moods inspired by the nightingale and a little probing into the metrical patterns and rhythmic variations of these poems will reveal how apt and profound these poetic utterances are, in so far they touch all the strings of our esoteric feelings. That the poets did not, or even did not care to, satisfy the fact-finders is due to their blissful ignorance, perhaps deliberate at times. To their advantage, perhaps, they digressed from the legend or the actual bird; what mattered to them most was not so much the bird but a certain tradition that grew round it, and they certainly erred on the right by being personal and ecstatic about it. However, even in the face of all possible objections, these poems are a class by themselves and no doubt a class that can reasonably claim our willing appreciation, and easily stand any critical analysis.

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THE SIMPLIFICATION OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

BY SUHAS CHANDRA RAY, M.A.,

Calcutta University

His Excellency Dr. Kailas Nath Katju has on more than one occasion pleaded for the simplification of Sanskrit Grammar. The idea is likely to gladden the heart of every lover of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit Grammar has been a bugbear to many eager students—an insurmountable hurdle that has kept them away from the knowledge of the sacred language of their ancestors. Any rational simplification of it may yet bring them back to the arms of the benign Mother of their mother tongues.

But this simplification is not, after all, a simple affair. First of all, our learned pandits may not relish the idea of any encroachment on their sacred preserve, or mutilation in any way of the holy goddess of learning. They have some justice on their side, too, for, grammar in the case of Sanskrit is almost as great as the language itself. Sanskrit grammar, like Logic, is a science as well as an art. Everything in it (including even the alphabet) is so systematically arranged, explained, and codified! There is the well-known story of the precocious child who, at his very first lesson of the alphabet, asked his tutor why अ came before इ in the alphabetical order. The tutor had thereupon to explain it by reference to the elementary principles of

phonetics even at that early stage, but this was possible because of the scientific arrangement of the Sanskrit letters. You can not explain, for example, why c comes before d, or f before g in the Roman alphabet. The same scientific method is observable in all the departments of grammar, and every single grammatical phenomenon, whether general or exceptional, has been formulated in *sutras* which are marvels of brevity and ingenuity.

Sanskrit grammar, therefore, by its artistic and scientific character, can easily claim a separate study by itself. As a matter of fact, it stands as an independent subject for the Title (*Upadhi*) examination, and it is so vast and interesting that there must be many scholars who, like Browning's Grammarian have devoted the whole of their life to its cultivation. Besides, the study of grammar is considered as the beginning of literary wisdom. Everyone remembers Vishnusharma's scheme of education in which grammar not only occupies the first place, but takes, according to his computation, 12 long years for a complete course. No wonder, therefore, that many orthodox pandits would shudder at the thought of trifling with such a noble subject.

But, in fairness to the grammarians, it must be admitted that Sanskrit grammar has considerable importance even as an adjunct to language. Sanskrit being a synthetic language—and a very perfect specimen of that type, too—it depends largely on its grammar even for a cursory knowledge of the texts. Modern analytical languages, like English or Bengali, have made themselves more or less free from grammatical complications. In fact, the modern tendency is to teach grammar not as a separate subject, but informally; and that is possible, too, specially under the Direct Method of teaching languages. There may be many among us who, like Moliere's Monsieur Jourdain, have talked or written English fairly grammatically without ever knowing it. But in the case of Sanskrit, at least an elementary knowledge of its rules of *Sandhi* and *Samasa*, and its full-length paradigms of substantives and verbs is indispensable before we can construe even the simplest texts.

But even after conceding all the above facts, we believe, there is scope for the abridgement and simplification of the Sanskrit grammar. It depends, however, on our attitude to the subject. Grammar, in its widest sense, would include phonetics, etymology and even comparative philology. But if grammar is to be read only to enable people to understand and use the language correctly, it may be easily boiled down to a simple, descriptive form.

Now, the Sanskrit grammar, to our mind, lays too much stress on etymology, i.e., derivation of words. Of course, the inflexional character of the Sanskrit language has been fully brought out by its elaborate machinery of *Krit* and *Taddhita* inflexions. Even words like *सिंह* and *व्याघ्र* are derived to their roots—a thing which we cannot conceive of the English *tiger* and *lion*, though English also is primarily an inflexional language. The derivation of such words may be of interest to the philologist, but it is of little use to the ordinary user of the language. A good deal of *Krit Prakarana* (barring the inflexions denoting moods and tenses) and the greater part of *Taddhita* may be easily left out of a practical grammar of the Sanskrit language.

Sandhi and *Samasa*, I have already said, are two special features of Sanskrit that cannot be dispensed with, however much we may fret against them. But the more intricate and unusual rules and forms may be reserved for higher study. As regards Declension and Conjugation, the principal, normal types alone may be learnt at the beginning, the exceptional cases being picked up informally, as and when they crop up in the texts. This principle is followed—and with good effect, too,—in the teaching of modern languages. Who ever mastered all the different preterite forms of all the strong verbs or all the irregular forms of the regular verbs in English before starting the study of the language? Besides, such exceptional forms as the

vocative of *अम्बा* or the full-length paradigms of *विश्वना* and *हाहा*—words which one may never meet in literature in his life—are mere curiosities of grammar which the “gerund-grinder” may revel in, but which are hard and empty nuts to crack for the common student.

If, therefore, the study of Sanskrit is to be popularised as it ought to be, its grammar must be relieved of all this heavy baggage—which gives it a fine completeness, no doubt, but at the expense of practical usefulness. That such a simplification of grammar is possible was demonstrated by our great Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was a scholar as well as a man of strong common sense. I am referring to his *Upakramanika Vyakarana*,—an abridged and simplified grammar which was intended for beginners, but which might well carry a student through the whole course of Sanskrit literature. In the modern craze for bigger things, we find it displaced by his bigger work *Vyakarana-Kaumudi*—all four parts bound into one, and further ramified and strengthened by interpolations from Panini and elaboration of examples. This portly volume of some 600 pages—sufficient to knock a boy down if hurled at his head—is now the text-book for beginners who have just picked up the Devanagari alphabet.

In the matter of teaching and examination also, grammatical niceties are stressed as much as—or perhaps more than—the literary qualities. Sanskrit thus comes to be regarded as a linguistic rather than a literary study, and the average student heaves a sigh of relief, when he parts company with it at the threshold of higher education. He develops a positive aversion for Sanskrit, which may account for the movement that has started in certain quarters for expelling it as a compulsory subject from Secondary Education. I think we ought to change our “angle of vision” as regards the study of Sanskrit. It should be taught and learnt as literature from the beginning, and its grammar should be relegated to its proper place as the hand-maiden of language. As I have said, the *Upakramanika* of Vidyasagar would be a good model for a simplified grammar, giving a fair idea of how much is to be retained and how much given up of the old encyclopaedic learning. Of course, it may be recast and rearranged according to the modern methods of teaching. Vidyasagar naturally adhered to the methods of the old grammarians in arranging his matter, taking the individual word as the grammatical unit from beginning to end. The English method, however, which takes the sentence as the starting point and introduces a good deal of composition into the grammar appears to be of greater practical utility. This method, with necessary modifications, may easily be adopted in Sanskrit grammar as well. We may then have less of grammar and more of reading matter even at the early stage, so that the student may cast off his fears and gradually develop a love for this great language.

I do not know how this idea of a "truncated" grammar will appeal to orthodox scholars, but I believe it will win the approval of all but those who, in the words of a famous critic, would instal the tenth Muse in the temple of learning and literature.

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HERBERT SPENCER AND THE PROBLEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND¹

By RANI MUKHOPADHAYA, M.A.,

Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College

HERBERT SPENCER is generally known as an uncompromising advocate of individualism. Like many other individualistic thinkers, he also "called" government "a necessary evil" and considered its continuance as a "proof of still-existing barbarism." The State, according to him, is only a "joint-stock protection-society," and its function is merely that of a protector.

"To administer justice—to mount guard over men's rights—to prevent aggression—is simply to render society possible, to enable men to live together—to keep them in contact with their new conditions."

The State should not execute anything else than this three-fold function, and "the moment it does any thing more than protect, it becomes an aggressor instead of a protector." Thus he would not allow the State to spend any public money either on the relief of the poor, or on education, or on any sanitary supervision. These are, according to him, not essential functions of the State. But when this staunch individualist deals with the problem of the "right to the use of the earth," we get a different view altogether. Of course, he considers this view to be quite in consonance with the fundamental principle of his book *Social Statics*, namely, that

"Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man."

We shall here see Spencer as a socialist and his view on the question of property in land is of special interest to us to-day in the context of the present controversy over the problem of ownership of land in this country.

"Given", he argues, "a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world. For if each of them 'has freedom to do all that he wills provided he infringes not equal freedom of any other', then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he

allows all others the same liberty." And "conversely, it is manifest that no one, or part of them, may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently to break the law."

"Equity, therefore," he maintains, "does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the whole of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands."

"Observe now," he continues, "the dilemma to which this leads. Supposing the entire habitable globe to be so enclosed, it follows that if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners, have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such (people) can exist on earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by the permission of the lords of the soil, they can have no room for the soles of their feet."

"Nay," he further remarks, "should the others think fit to deny them a resting place, these landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether."

The implication of the acceptance of the principle of private property in land is that these landless "inhabitants can then exercise their faculties—can then exist even—only by (the) consent of the landowners." It is, therefore, manifest, according to him, that

"An exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom. For, men who cannot 'live and move and have their being' without the leave of others, cannot be equally free with those others."

He next deals with the question of the origin of property in land.

"It can never be pretended," he says, "that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should anyone think so, let him look to the chronicles. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with pen: not lawyers but soldiers, were the conveyancers: blows were the current coin.

1. See Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, Ed. 1868, Chap. IX. This book was first published in 1850.

given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax². Could valid claims be thus

"Hardly", he answers. And in connexion with the question of justification of "the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained," he asks:

"Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist? Would the original claimants be nonsuited at the bar of reason, because the thing stolen from them had changed hands?"

"Certainly not", he makes the reply. And "if one act of transfer can give no title, can many?" "No," again he answers, "though *nothing* be multiplied forever, it will not produce *one*."

Spencer refutes the idea that "immemorial possession must be taken to constitute a legitimate claim."

"How long does it take," he asks, "for what was originally a *wrong* to grow into a *right*? At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? If a title gets perfect in a thousand years, how much more than perfect will it be in two thousand years?"

And "what is the verdict," he further inquires, "given by pure equity in the matter?" This verdict, he replies, "enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil; and dictates the assertion, that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid: all deeds, customs, and laws notwithstanding."

"Not only," he continues, "have present land tenures an indefensible origin, but it is impossible to discover any mode in which land *can* become private property."

Cultivation, according to him, does not give a legitimate title to property in land. Nor does any reclamation of any waste or marshy land or of any forest area, or any other 'pioneering operation' give one a valid title to land. Neither does it quash, he declares, "the title of its original claimants—the human race." "The world is", he says, "God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it." An individual is only one "amongst the number". And because the individual has reclaimed and cultivated a tract of land, he cannot appropriate it to himself as a piece of private property, and, therefore, may "at any moment be justly expelled by the lawful owner—Society."

Spencer here differs from Locke who unequivocally supports private property in land in certain circumstances. While, according to the former, society is the

ultimate owner of land, the latter³ endeavours to show "how men might come to have a property in several parts of that which God gave to mankind in common, and that without any express compact of all the commoners."

"Though the earth and all inferior creatures," Locke argues, "be common to all men, yet every man has a 'property' in his own 'person'". And this "nobody has any right to but himself. The 'labour' of his body and the 'work' of his hands, we may say, are properly his."

Whatsoever, then, he "removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." And speaking about "the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest," he has observed:

"I think it is plain that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common."

"Nor will it invalidate," he adds, "his right to say (that) everybody else has an equal title to it, and therefore he cannot appropriate, he can not enclose, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when He gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. . . . He that, in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him."

While denying, however, the individual's right to property, Spencer admits his claim to compensation for effecting any improvement in land. We shall refer to this point later on.

It may be noted here that Spencer regards an equitable distributoin of earth amongst the people of one generation as an impracticable proposition. In the first place, the question of a fair division of land is "vetoed by the difficulty of fixing the values of respective tracts of land. Variations in productiveness, different degrees of accessibility, advantages of climate, proximity to the centres of civilization—these, and other such considerations, remove the problem out of the sphere of mere mensuration into the region of impossibility." In the second place, there is the problem of determining "who are to be the allottees."

"Shall adult males," he asks, for instance, "and all who have reached twenty-one on a specified day, be fortunate individuals? If so, what is to be done with those who come of age on the morrow?", etc.

Thus there will be many people who will constitute a class who will have "no right to a resting

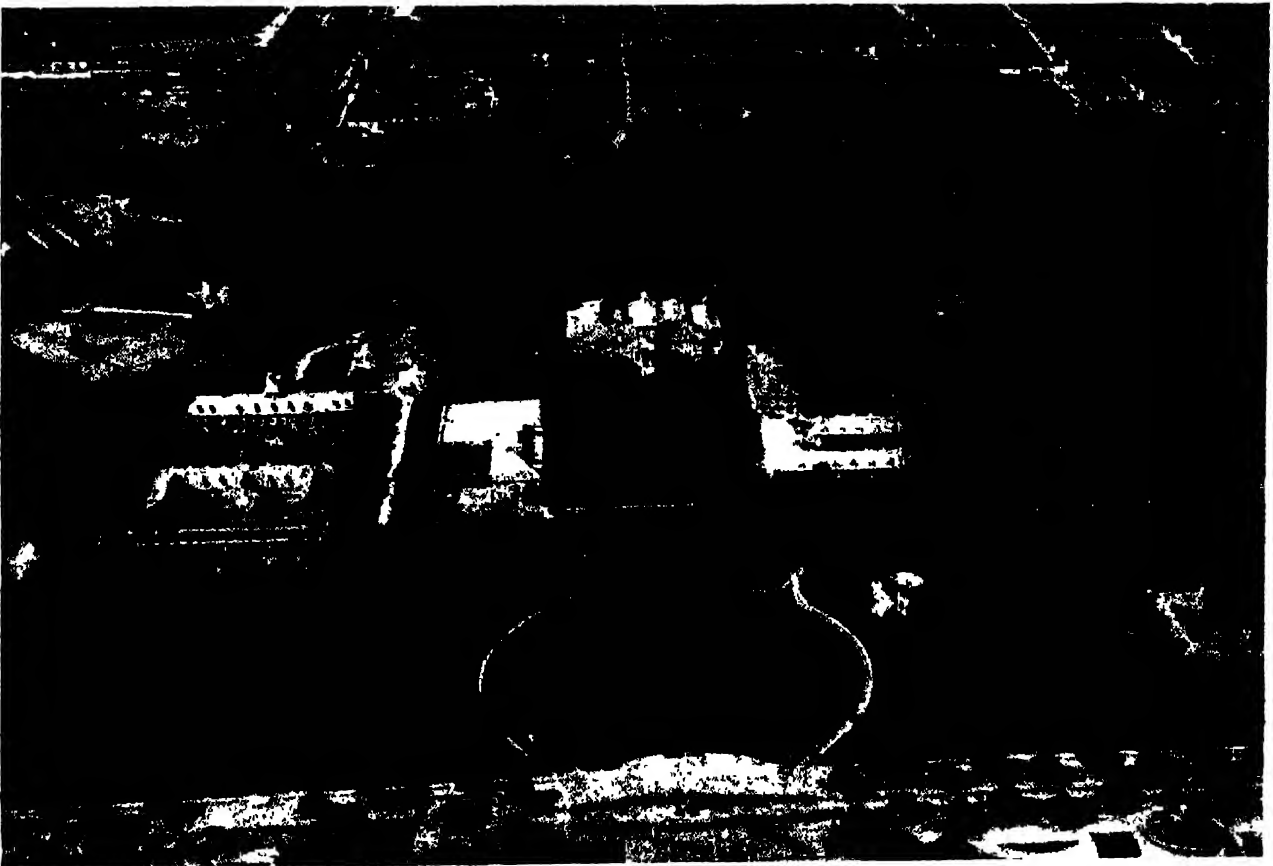
2. This, in essence, is also the view of such a balanced thinker as T. H. Green who says (*Principles of Political Obligation*, para 228): "It must always be borne in mind that the appropriation of land by individuals has in most countries—probably in all where it approaches completeness—been originally effected, not by the expenditure of labour or the results of labour on the land, but by force.* The original landlords have been conquerors."

3. See Locke, *The Second Treatise on Civil Government* (An Essay concerning the True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government), Chapter V, paras 24-31.

BALTIMORE



Baltimore is proud of its monuments, its industrial plants and its two universities

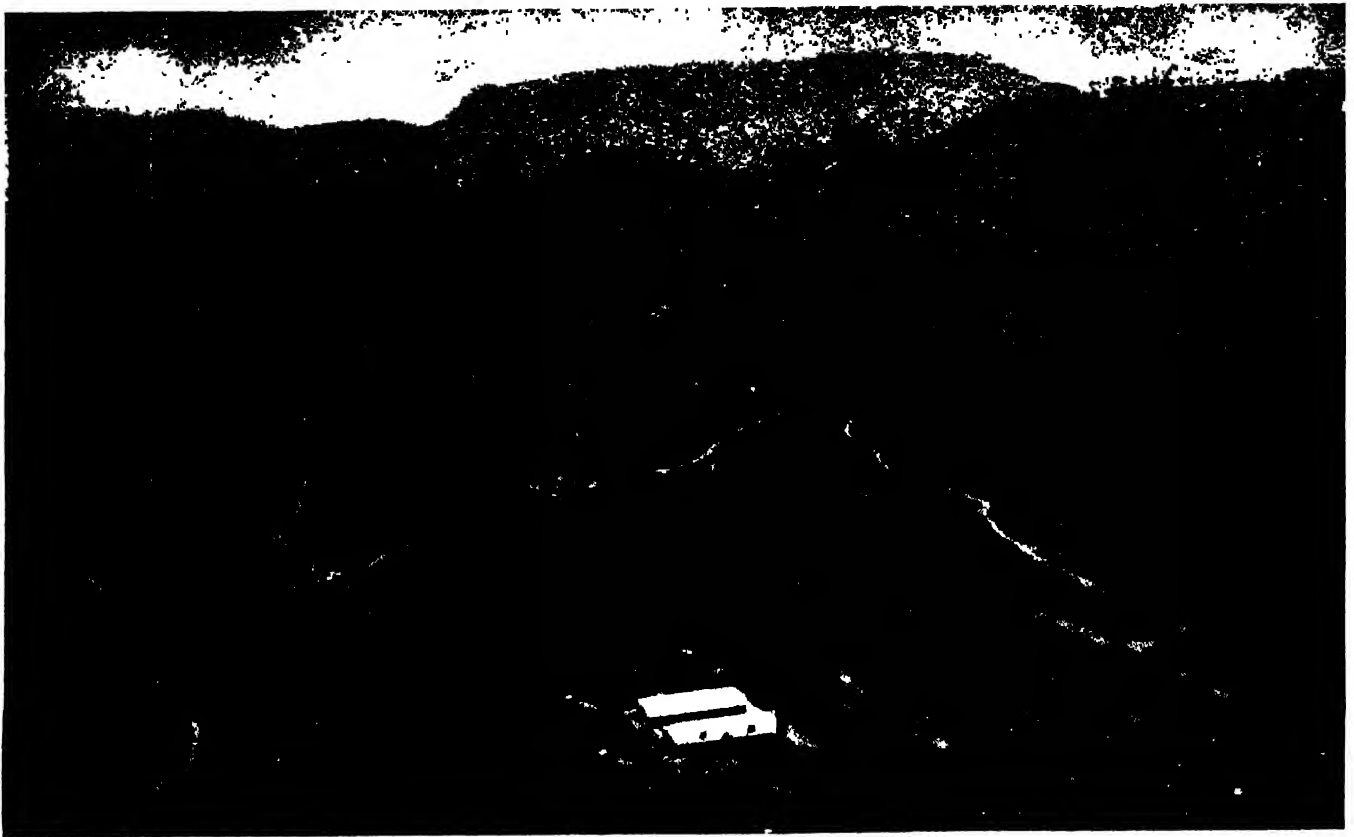


An aerial view of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore

CEYLON



The Temple of Tooth, Kandy. On the *right* can be seen a white Stupa



From a vantage point you see the tea-gardens on the slopes and heights stretch out before you. The factory can be seen in the background

HERBERT SPENCER AND THE PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND

place on earth—as living by the sufferance of their fellowmen—as being practically serfs.” The existence of such a class is “wholly at variance with the law of equal freedom.”

“Until, therefore,” he says, “we can produce a valid commission authorizing us to make this distribution—until it can be proved that God has given one charter of privileges to one generation, and another to next—until we can demonstrate that men born after a certain date are doomed to slavery, we must consider that no such allotment is permissible.”

Spencer next asks whether his views will lead to a state of communism, or will make men return to a state of nature. “Neither,” he replies. Such a doctrine as his is “consistent with the highest state of civilization; may be carried out without involving a community of goods; and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements.”

“The change required,” he observes, “would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—Society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation.”

And the “stewards would be public officials instead of private ones; and tenancy the only land tenure.”

“A state of things so ordered,” he continues, “would be in perfect harmony with the moral law. Under it all men would be equally landlords; all men would be alike free to become tenants. . . . All would be equally free to bid; all would be equally free to refrain.”

Spencer is aware of the great difficulties that “must attend the resumption, by mankind at large, of their rights to the soil.” The problem of equitable compensation, for example, to existing proprietors is one of an extremely complicated character.

“Had we to deal,” he says, “with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter. But unfortunately, most of our present landlords are men who have, either mediately or immediately—either by their own acts, or by the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates, equivalents of honestly-earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such, is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve.” “But with this perplexity and our extrication from it,” he observes, “abstract morality has no concern. Men having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law must get out of it as well as they can; and with as little injury to the landed class as may be.”

4. It is worthy of note here that Spencer's view on this point is agreement with that of Judge Story who has stated, commenting on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States,

Thus, according to him, there should not be any appropriation of land without compensation. But this question of compensation should not stand in the way of socialisation of land as the question of the landless class has also to be considered.

“In our tender regard,” he warns, “for the vested interests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of many are in abeyance; and must remain so, as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. Let us remember, too, that injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind, is an injustice of the gravest nature.”

The fact that this injustice has not been so regarded, proves nothing. “In early phases of civilization,” he points out, “even homicide is thought lightly of.” The sacrifice of the “suttees of India” and the institution of slavery were once considered to be “perfectly justifiable.” But, with the progress of civilization, new social ideas emerge. “A higher social development, however,” he remarks, “has generated in us a better faith, and we now to a considerable extent recognize the claims of humanity.”

“But our civilization,” he continues, “is only partial. It may by-and-by be perceived, that Equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may learn, that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.”

In conclusion, Spencer repeats that

“The right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of fellowmen, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom”; that “the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land;” that “the theory of the co-heirship of all men to the soil, is consistent with the highest civilization”; and, lastly, “that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, Equity sternly commands it to be done.”

Thus the great champion of individualism was an equally great and enthusiastic advocate of socialism when he dealt with the question of ownership of land in a society. The views expressed by him in this connection anticipated many modern ideas about the question.

of America that private property must not be “taken for public use without just compensation”:

“This is an affirmation of a great doctrine established by the common law for the protection of private property. It is founded in natural equity, and is laid down by jurists as a principle of universal law. Indeed, in a free government almost all other rights would become utterly worthless if the government possessed an uncontrollable power over the private fortune of every citizen. One of the fundamental objects of every good government must be the due administration of justice; and how vain it would be to speak of such an administration, when all property is subject to the will or caprice of the legislature and the rulers.”—(Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, 4th Ed., 1873, Vol. II, Section 1790).

THE WAY TO THE PROSPERITY OF INDIANS

BY PROF. KHETRAMOHON PATTNAIK, M.A.

ECONOMIC prosperity is the foundation of the greatness of any country in any sphere and this fact can very well be illustrated by turning the pages of history. History shows that in every century one country comes into prominence in every sphere and that country also sets the pace for others. In that sense every century belongs to one country or other and it is in that sense alone that the 16th century belonged to the Spaniards; the 17th to the Dutch; the 18th to the French; the 19th to the English; and the 20th to the Americans. Take the case of England in the 19th century. She monopolised the century because she was head and shoulders above other countries in every sphere—economic, political, and cultural. And her greatness in other spheres rested on the Industrial Revolution that came about in Great Britain in the 19th century. It is through her huge production that she could have large exports, extensive markets, huge capital resources and could dominate other countries. She became the industrial depot of the world, the world's carrier; her capital began to flow into other countries; every country became dependent on her exports; she played an important part in the international political stage and finally there emerged a British Empire. Take again the case of America in the 20th century. It does not require any proof to show that she stands out prominent in this century in all directions. The simple reason behind this good fortune of America is her economic prosperity. There is practically no commodity that is not produced in America and this leads to her economic independence. Other countries for their very survival have to tie themselves to the apron-strings of Uncle Sam. Every country which wants to develop her resources and to rise in the economic scale looks to America for help. It is this economic advantage that has not only enabled her to dictate terms to other countries in the political sphere, but also to stand like a Colossus across the world scene.

We can even take the example of ancient India to point out that the cultural and political greatness of a country rests on the bedrock of her economic prosperity. There was a time not long ago when the problem of bread or the "economic problem" was not haunting India like a nightmare. India was rich and rich tremendously. Those were the days when capital did not play any part in production and hence Indians could not find any other way of utilising their surplus wealth except for erecting magnificent temples, huge monuments, gigantic pillars, and marvellous pieces of architecture to bear witness not only to their architectural skill but also, what is perhaps little realised, to their huge wealth and undreamt-of economic prosperity.

Let us try to understand the economic condition of India during Akbar's time. Here enough material is available from a book entitled *India at the Death of Akbar* written by W. H. Moreland. In page 68 of the book he points out :

"A commander of 5000 could count on at least Rs. 18,000 a month, and he might be able to increase this sum by judicious economies in his military expenditure, or as the result of good fortune in securing a profitable jagir; this income would enable him to purchase about as much as a monthly income of a lakh would have bought in the years before 1914, and he was thus very much more highly paid than any officer now employed in India. A commander of 1000 could similarly count on receiving Rs. 5000 a month, equal to from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 in 1914."

These were the highest paid officers of Akbar and in the present monetary terms they were getting at least 5,00,000 and 1,25,000 rupees respectively. The kanungos, who constituted the permanent localised element in the revenue administration and who were probably servants of the nobles rather than of the central authority, were getting Rs. 20 to Rs. 50. This in modern monetary terms comes up to at least Rs. 400 to Rs. 900. These kanungos were the counterparts of the modern clerks in the revenue department of the government. We can compare the salaries of the highest paid officers and the clerks of to-day with that of Akbar to understand the depth of economic distress in which we are enmeshed at present. India was exporting such a large volume of industrial goods, especially textile piece-goods, that she was having a persistent favourable balance of trade and as a consequence gold was pouring into our country on an unprecedented scale. This explains why Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador in the court of Jahangir, exclaimed: Europe bleeds to enrich India.

This, in a nutshell, is the economic condition of India before our subjection. Now let us see what we are to-day economically. Here experience tells us more than what any man can describe in words about our economic plight. Anybody who just lifts his eyes up to an average citizen of our country need not seek the help of an economist to get an idea of where we stand in the economic sphere. To persons who are not content with this, statistics are there to show that the poorest man in the world to-day is the Indian. Our country has fallen from the pinnacle of economic glory which she had attained in the past to the wretched level of a humble existence where there is life without hope, where there is existence without the joy of life and where the common man toils day in and day out only for a wage below the subsistence level, and where the average citizen accepts his unenviable lot without a tear or a murmur.

Now let us go to the statistics. The per capita income of India just before the second world war was only Rs. 70 per annum, whereas it was Rs. 1038 in Canada, 1406 in U.S.A. and Rs. 980 in England. The monthly income of an average Indian was a little more than Rs. 5 or the daily income slightly exceeded 3 annas. Hence with three annas a day the average Indian was expected to have his two meals, cloth, shelter, education, medical aid and all other things necessary for human existence. Can there be anything absurd than this? After the war, even though our money income has risen three times, our real income has fallen to a great extent because prices have gone up by more than four times. So this war-time increase of our money income has still more worsened our plight. In a normal year 30 per cent of our people are underfed and another 30 per cent are ill-fed. The calories obtained from diet per person per day in India in 1948-49 were 1620, whereas the average requirement is 2400 to 3000. The result of such a situation can be very easily imagined. Low income, under-feeding and mal-nutrition will surely result in disease and death in staggering numbers and it is no wonder that India stands out prominently as the country where the disease and the mortality rates are the highest. In our country about 100 million persons suffer from malaria every year and deaths resulting directly or indirectly from it are placed at 2 millions; or, it comes to 5 deaths per minute out of malaria. There used to be no less than 2.5 million cases of active tuberculosis in pre-partitioned India, deaths occurring from which were as high as 0.5 million; or, it comes to one death per minute out of T.B. We have got only one doctor for 6000 persons; whereas in England they have one doctor for 1000 persons. Small wonder, ours is a country where a hospital like the Taj Mahal is a rare sight, a doctor an invisible man and medicine is a thing the like of which we have never seen.

All this should seriously disturb our complacency with regard to the prevailing economic condition of India. India was once a country where, to use a poetic expression, milk and honey used to flow; but today we have been reduced virtually to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The cycle has turned; the richest country has become the poorest; our glorious period in the economic sphere has now become a chapter of history.

What is it that explains our economic downfall? In a word, it is the economic exploitation which is the concomitant of our political subjection. Just before the establishment of Pax-Britannica we were having a balanced economy, which means that both the agricultural and the industrial sectors of our economy were well developed. The handicrafts constituted our industrial sector and the prosperous state of this sector led to huge exports of handicraft products resulting in large accumulation of gold on the part of India. This prosperous state of the handicrafts meant that a large block of population was engaged in these occupations and hence there was no

over-population on land resources. As a result the holding per cultivator must have been big. Thus the prosperity of the handicrafts had a healthy effect on our agriculture before we became a subject nation. But during the latter half of the 18th and in the 19th centuries, we gradually lost the markets for our handicrafts to the newly rising industries of England. The Industrial Revolution in England was yielding its golden fruits and these cheap machine-made goods could enter freely the Indian market. Had we been independent, we could have prohibited these cheap machine-made goods in our country. But our alien rulers did not think it proper to put an embargo on these goods because they were following a policy of laissez-faire. As a result our handicrafts could not compete with these cheap goods and hence the former withered away. Consequently thousands and thousands of people employed in these occupations lost their livelihood in the urban centres. There was no other channel of employment available to these people, for the alien Government in our country did not start large-scale industries and hence these people began to flood the land resources. When more and more people wanted to have land for ownership and cultivation, there was consequent sub-division and fragmentation of land and this process was accelerated by our peculiar law of inheritance and succession, under which each son can claim an equal share of the ancestral property. Thus land was cut up into uneconomic and scattered plots, rendering scientific cultivation and effective utilisation of agricultural resources impossible. The death-knell of our prosperity was sounded when the industrial sector of our economy began to dwindle, because the disappearance of the handicrafts adversely affected our agriculture. This loss of occupational balance leading to poverty was precipitated by our Government's policy of Nero fiddling when Rome was burning. Or as Gandhiji has said, the free trade policy pursued by the Government of India has meant food for Britain but it has sadly been poison for India.

Now our poverty to-day is due to the existence of tiny holdings which result from the excessive pressure of population on land resources. Nearly 70 per cent of our population depend on agriculture. This lop-sided development of our economy is the principal weakness which needs eradication for better agriculture. As Sir Manilal B. Nanavati points out :

"The most urgent problem for India is to increase the productive capacity of the country. For that purpose, we have to deal with the enormous problem of the already existing large surplus of population on the land. This surplus has been estimated at about 30 per cent of the population now subsisting on the land. As our population increases and the process of de-industrialisation continues, this problem becomes more and more acute as large-scale industries fail to absorb the increasing numbers and the small-scale rural industries continue to decline and decay. The result is too much pressure on land, uneconomic cultivation, rural indebtedness, and a devitalisation of the rural population."

As the Sub-Committee on Rural Marketing and Finance of the N.P.C. points out :

"A very conservative estimate would, therefore, require the transfer of 100 millions from agriculture to other occupations in order to produce a balanced economic structure."

The pressure of population on land in India can be better understood if this percentage is compared with that of other countries.

Country	Year	Percentage of population employed in agriculture & fishing, to the total working population
England & Wales	1921	7.1 per cent.
U.S.A.	1930	22.0 " "
Canada	1931	31.2 " "
France	1926	38.3 " "
India	1931	73.9 " "

This tremendous concentration of the population on land resources reduces the per capita holding and the average income of the agriculturist. From about 10 acres in 1850 the average size of the holdings to-day has gone down to 4 or 4.5 acres. When a person has only 5 acres of land and no other income, can he get from them a sufficient amount of produce to maintain his family in economic decency throughout the year? So even in a year of plenty, which comes only once in four years, the Indian agriculturist cannot make his both ends meet. Hence he inevitably becomes a victim of money-lenders who take the lion's share of the agriculturist's meagre income as their interest on the capital advanced. Indebtedness compels the cultivator to sell his produce at a low price to his money-lender during the harvesting season. Low income gives rise to indebtedness, which leads to low bargaining power of the ryot in selling his produce and hence, instead of being able to dictate terms to his purchaser, he is being dictated terms in the rural market. Again so long as he has got a tiny holding, where can he get capital for good manuring or improved implements? Hence if agriculture in India is backward and if we suffer from low agricultural production, the reason is the existence of uneconomic and fragmented holdings.

This agricultural backwardness precipitating the poverty of 70 per cent of our population produces adverse repercussions on the industrial sector. When 70 per cent of our people can not make their both ends meet, the inevitable results are slow accumulation of capital and a severely circumscribed internal market, both of which are detrimental to the development of industries. This incidentally shows how the agricultural and the industrial economies of a country are complementary to each other.

Such an agricultural situation, where tiny and fragmented holdings are the creators of all evils, is not peculiar to India. Several European countries at some time or other had confronted with the danger of subdivision and had adopted preventive measures. In France a minimum limit was fixed below which sub-division could not proceed. In Germany as early as 1870, a land commission purchased uneconomic holdings, rearranged

them into compact blocks and sold them back to agriculturists. The Nazis had enacted a law with a view to creating a "privileged agricultural class" under which an estate descended only to one member of a family at a time and the other heirs were looked after by the privileged heir till the former attained maturity of age. In countries such as England, the law of primogeniture prevents any division of property on succession. After consolidation of holdings, we in India must change our law of inheritance on the German model.

Though such a step will prevent further disintegration of land, yet it will not give us holdings of sufficiently big size which are essential for improved methods of farming. Steps will have, therefore, to be taken to enlarge the size of holdings. This can be done by any of the three ways, viz.,

- (1) nationalisation of land and establishment of state farms in which the former landholders will work as labourers;
- (2) large landholders acquiring the interests of small holders who are thereafter to work as labourers or the introduction of capitalistic farming;
- (3) pooling of lands of the small holders for the purpose of joint farming, each landholder retaining his title to the land or the introduction of co-operative joint farming.

Let us discuss whether these systems are practicable in India. As the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India points out :

"The first proposal is not feasible because agriculture cannot be converted into a state industry. It must remain a private industry in a large measure. There may be some state farms but these will be exceptions rather than the rule while practically the whole field will have to be covered by private enterprise."

Wholesale nationalisation of land is a "far-off divine event" simply because India is not Russia. In India individual possession and cultivation of land has a very long history and is deeply rooted in the minds of the people. Hence if private interests in land are sought to be abolished, then 70 per cent of our people now engaged in agriculture will put up a stout resistance to such a measure. Can our Government carry forward a measure which is vehemently opposed by 70 per cent of the population? If it does, then surely our government would not be called democratic but the opposite of it.

If state farms are advocated as a step to mechanised agriculture, we can level another objection to it. Mechanised agriculture will displace labourers from the rural areas in staggering numbers and thus the problem of unemployment will take a frightening shape baffling all solutions. A labourer who is now able to plough one acre a day with a pair of bullocks will be able to plough at least 12 acres a day with a tractor. In an old country like ours where man power is running to waste and where there are no vast areas of virgin soil to be exploited, big mechanised farms would be nothing short of a calamity; industrialisation would not absorb the millions of workers who would be ejected out of the rural areas. Hence we want such an economy which will achieve for us the

greatest happiness of the greatest number by providing employment to the maximum number of people.

The second proposal, aiming at the transference of land from the small owners to a handful of capitalist farmers, is nothing short of a lunacy on the part of its advocates. Apart from ideological issues involved in this choice, there are obvious practical considerations which preclude such a solution. In the first place, we know that attempts to create a landlord class in India similar to that in England have failed in the past and there is no reason to expect that history will not repeat itself. Secondly, a capitalistic transformation of agriculture presupposes commercial farming, whereas the keynote of our agriculture is and must remain, for a considerable time, subsistence farming. Again such a land system will also lead to unemployment. It would be quite undesirable to reduce vast masses of people to the position of hired labourers working under the supervision and control of private capitalists. Such an attempt would provoke grave discontent and a political upheaval especially in India, where peasant farming has a long history and tradition.

The third proposal of pooling the land by small holders for the purpose of cultivation, or what is technically called co-operative or joint farming, will enable the farmers to retain interest in their land and at the same time obtain all the economies of large-scale farming. This type of farming can be easily introduced in the 89 million acres of cultivable waste land spread over the country but in the rest 244 million acres of land now under cultivation, this system does not seem to be practicable. The reason for this is that in the newly reclaimed areas a homogeneous peasantry will be rehabilitated but in other areas the prevalence of the caste system will render our attempts to bring about co-operation among the farmers futile. Surely, it is too much to expect that a Brahmin will join hands with a Harijan for the purpose of farming! The farmers are most averse to merge their little bits of ancestral land in a common pool if that should mean the resignation of their proprietary rights to their particular plot of land or their right to dispose of it as they please. Again when simple societies like credit have failed, is it not too much to expect that complicated societies like joint farming would prosper in India? So long as our ryots are illiterate and do not have any enthusiasm for co-operation, it is sheer moonshine to expect that it will work wonders in the rural areas of our country.

We now consider the claims of peasant proprietorship which is the ultimate goal of the rural economy of our country. It aims at translating into actuality the slogan "the tillers of the soil must be the owners." Any body who misuses the land will be deprived of his possession by the State. Thus this system is a reconciliation between private ownership and State ownership. Such a type of land system was prevailing in ancient times in our country and hence our peasants would readily welcome it. Ownership of land by the largest number of ryots will restore contentment and tranquillity in the rural areas and this will

constitute a bulwark against the onrush of communism in India.

Hence "what we have to aim at is the restoration of peasant proprietorship and an increase in the size of holdings so as to constitute them into economical units of cultivation." Economic units of cultivation can be brought about if the surplus population on land resources is taken out and absorbed in the various occupations to be started in the urban centres. This means that there must be a simultaneous development of industries and diversification of employment channels to relieve the pressure of population on land.

Here the question arises: what type of industries should be started—large-scale or cottage and small-scale industries? To a country haunted by the Malthusian Devil and suffering from dearth of capital, large-scale industries cannot show the path to an Eldorado. Since 1931 India has been following a course of industrialisation. But has this addition of factories increased the percentage of population? According to Dr. R. K. Mukherji, between 1911 and 1936 the number of factories increased from 2700 to 9300 and during these 25 years the percentage of industrially occupied people—factory and non-factory—to working population fell from 11 per cent to 9.4 per cent and from 4.5 per cent to 4 per cent of the total population. In the 1931 census out of 15 million workers engaged in industry only about 1.5 millions were employed in large-scale industry. In 1939 the figure stood at 2.03 millions. All this shows that large-scale industrialisation will not give employment to the largest number of people, which is the aim of any planned economy for India. Again large-scale industries situated in a few cities will prove good targets of aerial bombing and if a war comes, the whole economy will collapse. This is one of the reasons why England has fallen prostrate after the second world war. If there is decentralisation and dispersal of industries over our 7 lakhs of villages, our economy will become atom-bomb proof, and this is the weapon with which a poor country like India can face aerial bombing.

All this and many more reasons go to show that the only wise and practicable policy for India would be the development of cottage industries. These industries will supplement agriculture and thus increase the income of the cultivator. This is the picture of the type of an economy which Gandhiji envisaged for our country. All consumers-goods industries must be started on a cottage basis and worked on improved lines; but the basic and key industries should be started on a large-scale basis by the State. We have to earmark big factories only for the production of those things which cannot be manufactured on a small scale and without which we cannot supply the needs of the country. Cottage industries must be the rule and big industries the exception. Unless we aim at peasant proprietorship in agriculture and cottage industries as our first targets and big factories

as the second targets, we shall not be able to employ such a huge population.

We can well conclude by a reference to Gandhiji who gave us the above solution to our diseased economy. If Indians want to be prosperous economically and thus build up their country's greatness on this foundation, they must adopt his ideas. If we fail to appreciate and translate Gandhism into actuality, we will also fail to realise our prosperity. He has not only secured indepen-

dence for us, but has also shown the way to preserve it. If we do not realise this, if we blindly think that Gandhism is a fad, if we feel that it amounts of mediocrity and hence reject it, then surely we will revert to a state of nature which Hobbes has so painfully described for us as "poor, nasty, brutish and short."*

* Summary of a lecture delivered in the Education Week of the Khalikote College, Berhampur on 7th January, 1951.
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"I DECLINE TO ACCEPT THE END OF MAN"

By WILLIAM FAULKNER

"I feel that this award* was not made to me as a man but to my work—a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before. So this award is only mine in trust. It will not be difficult to find a dedication for the money part of it commensurate with the purpose and significance of its origin. But I would like to do the same with the acclaim too, by using this moment as a pinnacle from which I might be listened to by the young men and women already dedicated to the same anguish and travail, among whom is already that one who will some day stand here where I am standing.

"Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: when will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.

"He must learn them again. He must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid; and, teaching himself that, forget it for ever, leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed—love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice. Until he does so he labors

under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value, of victories without hope and worst of all without pity or compassion. His griefs grieve on no universal bones, leaving no scars. He writes not of the heart but of the glands.

"Until he relearns these things he will write as though he stood among and watched the end of man. *I decline to accept the end of man.* It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because he will endure; that when the last ding-dong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny inexhaustible voice, still talking. I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail."

--From *Saturday Review of Literature*

* Speech delivered by William Faulkner in Stockholm on the occasion of the Award to him of the Nobel Prize in Literature, December, 10, 1950.



THE INDIVIDUALISM OF JOHN STUART MILL

By PROF. RAGHUVeer SINGH, M.A.

It is advisable to preface any discussion of Mill's philosophy with the remark that any categorical judgment on his political and philosophical theory is certain to give a wrong conception of the real spirit of Mill. The reason of it is to be sought in the position of Mill as a transitional thinker which made his philosophy a curious blending of diverse currents of thought. A professed protagonist of utilitarianism, he attempted to combine it with the positivism of Comte, the socialism of St. Simon and the idealism of Coleridge with the result that the narrow and bald utilitarianism of Bentham was transmuted into a more humanised and liberalised creed, though to the detriment of logical coherence. From the conception of liberty as freedom from coercive restraint, Mill rose to the conception of freedom as "the highest and most harmonious development of his (man's) powers to a complete and consistent whole" and catching up from Von Humboldt the phrase "individual vigour and manifold diversity" he sketched an inspiring picture of society, rich in constructive thought and action and luminous with a galaxy of geniuses in the multifarious walks of life. It is this enriched and positive individualism, and not the limited individualism of "Hands off," which was the ideal of Mill.* In his essay on "Representative Government," he conceived popular institutions not merely as a means of pursuing self-interest at the expense of 'sinister interest' of classes and sections, but also as a necessary condition of moral and intellectual growth of individual. Unlike Bentham he did not think that State interference in economic life necessarily destroys individual liberty; he even postulated the State-control of the process of distribution which was, in fact, a confession of faith in socialism. He sympathised with the growth of trade unionism and as he informed George Grote, it was but half plan of the *Liberty* to point out when and where the State ought not to intervene, the other part of the plan being where it ought to but did not intervene. He stood for compulsory education, for legal prohibition of improvident marriages and for legal restraint upon 'domestic tyrants' who would condemn their children to premature labour in the name of freedom of contract.†

Thus "the individualistic radicalism of Mill," as John Maccunn has truly remarked, "was neither an arrogant dogma like the exploded radicalism of natural rights nor was it a narrow and bald utilitarianism like

that of Bentham. It was a creed fed on wider outlook." It was avowedly positive in character and necessarily related to social environment. But despite all we have said the fact must be conceded that, to quote Prof. Barker, "Mill was the prophet of an empty liberty and abstract individual." As Ritchie has well said :

"Mill disclaims a theory of abstract rights, yet his way of reasoning implies it.

"He had no clear philosophy of rights, through which alone the conception of liberty attains a concrete meaning; and he had no clear idea of that social whole in whose realisation the false antithesis of 'state' and 'individual' disappears."‡

The theory of right is, in fact, the essential basis of any sound philosophy of State. It is as essential for an individualist like Locke as for an idealist like Hegel. It is through right alone that both the 'life, liberty and property' of an individualist as well as the Real Freedom of an idealist are accomplished. It is the greatest misfortune of utilitarian philosophy that while it discarded the 'natural right' theory of Locke, it never accepted the 'positive right' theory of Hegel, with the result that despite all his cravings for a rich and varied life the individual of Mill remained "a beautiful, ineffectual angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." In the absence of any determinate ideal and proper means for its realisation, he frittered away his precious energies in displaying his "eccentricity" which has been truly spoken of as a "parody of individuality." Even the positive freedom of thought and action became ineffectual due to the lack of requisite conditions to stimulate thinking and encourage action.

In spite of the explicit insistence of Mill on the social character of man, and in spite of all his avowed faith in Comtean positivism, German idealism and French socialism, the real foundation of Mill's philosophy remained the atomistic individualism of the eighteenth century. Far from conceiving the individual as a member of the social organism, he conceived him as a ring-fenced personality, jealously trying to guard his individuality against all social impact. Far from conceiving society as a corporate personality, he conceived it as an aggregate of self-seeking individuals, and in economics though he displayed some leanings towards socialism, he still believed in the clever "economic man" of the classical economists. The unfortunate result was that in his writings the individual and society continued to figure as unreconciled rivals.

* John Maccunn : *Six Radical Thinkers*.

† John Maccunn : *Six Radical Thinkers*.

‡ Barker : *Political Thought in England from 1648 to 1914*.

This supposed antithesis not only sometimes drove him into the untenable position of regarding every increase in the activity of government as inimical to individual liberty, but also led him to stake the noble plea for spiritual laissez-faire on the fictitious dogma of distinction between "self-regarding" and "other-regarding" activities.

Mill's *Liberty* is, perhaps, the finest plea in the history of political philosophy for the freedom of individual conscience and for a rich and manifold growth of human personality. It is one of the most vigorous protests against the coercion of individuality under the dead weight of tradition and governmental despotism, yet the pity is that it should be based on the "self-regarding action" principle which is not only a fallacious but also a dangerous dogma. "It is only an untenable atomism or a dangerous self-sophistication that can foster the illusion that in the hour of our self-regarding actions we are engaged in what concerns ourselves."* There is no act of individual which is unrelated to society, for, as Ritchie said:

"Apart from society the individual is a mere abstraction, a logical ghost, a metaphysical spectre which haunts the habitation of those who have derided metaphysics."

Mill himself realised the insuperable difficulty of drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the two supposed fields of activities, but instead of facing the logic of the situation, he tried to seek shelter under the cover of self-contradictory examples. Having admitted himself that "the mischief which a person does to himself may seriously affect, both through their sympathies and their interests, those nearly connected with him, and in a minor degree, society at large," he in the very next page made the blunt assertion that "no person ought to be punished simply for being drunk; but a soldier or a policeman should be punished for being drunk on duty," as if a soldier or policeman is a social being only so long as he is on duty.

But the theory of Mill was not only inconsistent with reality, it was also inconsistent with itself. This latter inconsistency drove him into an endless maze of logical fallacies and contradictions of which the last chapter of his *Liberty* is a sufficient proof. To begin with, his argument was really circular: it was his avowed intention to safeguard the private concerns of individual from the encroachment of society, but the private concerns of individual are those which society chooses to regard as such. Thus in practice the self-regarding conduct proved to be indeterminable, and recourse was had to various self-contradictory principles in the discussion of the legitimate sphere of State-interference. State-control of trade and manufacture was considered feasible on the ground of public welfare, while control of liquor was prohibited for the

sake of individual liberty, without even the slightest regard to the fact that public good and individual liberty except on idealist postulates are not necessarily identical. Mill moved still further from his original position when he declared that a person may be forcefully prevented from crossing a dangerous bridge without any real infringement of his liberty, for "liberty consists in doing what one desires, and he does not desire to fall into the river." Here Mill made an unconscious approach to Bosanquet's theory of "Real Will." But without that legitimate distinction between the external conditions of liberty which the State can rightfully maintain with force or coercion and the inward autonomy of will which it cannot touch without destroying the very essence of freedom, the doctrine of Mill became a dangerous dogma. Professor Ritchie showed the utter unsoundness of Mill's above-mentioned argument by carrying it to its logical conclusion. On the premises of Mill, Ritchie thought, a heretic can forcefully be made to conform to a particular creed, for he never desires that he should not obtain salvation. It is the just nemesis of an abstract theory, he said, that it can be made to yield meaning directly contrary to the intention of the author.

"An uncriticised individualism", said Dr. Bosanquet, "is always in danger of being transformed into an uncritical collectivism."

Bosanquet has rightly argued that Mill desperately fell a victim to this "uncritical collectivism," when he objected to State education deeming it inconsistent with individual liberty, but proposed a system of State-enacted system of examination by way of enforcing the parental duty of educating children.

The unphilosophical conception upon which this "theorist of the first look" based this sophisticated doctrine was that "all restraint qua restraint is an evil" and that liberty consists in acting according to the caprice of individual. This wrong notion led him to regard all governmental act as prejudicial to liberty. But real liberty, as the idealist defined it, "is the positive power of doing and enjoying something which is worth doing and enjoying," and the State not hampers but helps by providing requisite conditions for that "doing and enjoying." Liberty is not a quantitative notion, but a qualitative concept, and restraint on the lower self is the very condition for the freedom of the higher self. Individual liberty and State activity are not like the too limited and fixed heaps of coins in which case you cannot add to the one without subtracting from the other. Both can grow side by side without any infringement on either. Mill's theory accentuated the paradox of self-government which remained to be solved by the idealists like Green and Bosanquet.

* John Maccuan : *Six Radical Thinkers*.

THE CRISIS IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

By SUDHIRKUMAR GHOSH, M.A., B.T.

"Has the schoolmaster abdicated?" asks the man in the street today as he looks agape at the noisy and arrogant band of youngsters who parade the streets shouting slogans, haunt the cinema houses and restaurants and make the lives of fellow passengers in the trams and buses miserable by their flippant and dirty talk. He curses the poor schoolmaster, the common scapegoat, for the rampant indiscipline that he finds to be the order of the day. He does not know that the maintenance of law and order in the school world has now become no less difficult than in the world outside. The disruptive and anti-social forces that have become the headache of the police chiefs of every State in the Union have their counterpart in the delinquent tendencies of our schoolboys. Never in the history of school education had they appeared so overwhelming and so uncontrollable. A veritable crisis is impending and we are sitting on a volcano but we do not seem to realize it fully as yet. This is due to no one single cause but a plurality of causes, nor have all the causes cropped up overnight. It is really the culmination of a long historical process.

Every student of history knows that the foundation of the system of education introduced by the British in India was artificial and weak. It was meant to produce a class of persons, "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." It was an exotic, not native to the soil. It was anti-Indian and unjust as it indirectly aimed at the gradual liquidation of Indian social and religious traditions. The immediate object was not to produce *men* but clerks for their administrative offices. It is true that education as a means of all-round development of character was not thought of in England till towards the end of the nineteenth century but in India even the beginning of the twentieth did not see any improvement in the theory of education. While rapid strides were made in the West in the field of education, India had to lag behind in spite of the existence of all the paraphernalia of a Government Department. Most of the schools went on turning out clerks, teachers, lawyers and doctors, most of whom sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. The hollowness of the system began to be felt after the First World War. Economic depression and general unemployment which followed in its wake drew the attention of the thinking public to the fact that it was not all right with the country's education. But no real initiative was taken to set things right. A policy of drift was followed, for our rulers were afraid that true education might endanger the stability of their Empire which was being threatened by the Congress and other nationalist forces then at work.

A feeling of discontent among the so-called educated community grew and people began to realize that education was no longer a sure means of solving the problem of livelihood. The youth of the country began to lose their faith in the efficacy of education. It appeared to be synonymous with passing of examinations with a view to obtaining certificates, degrees and diplomas of doubtful

value. This state of things continued till the second global war shook the world from end to end. During the years of war people were too busy to see what was going on in the schools and colleges. The horrors of the Peace that the Atom Bomb brought were more appalling than the war itself. In India it brought unemployment and economic distress as in other parts of the world. Then came the tragic upheaval called the Partition of India and the Transfer of Power. It shook the crazy structure of education to its very foundation and it now stands tottering about to topple down.

Let us now picture the conditions of our schools as it obtains to-day. In overcrowded schools hundreds of children are huddled together and in some Calcutta schools their number runs to two thousand or more. Many schools work in two or three shifts as in factories. Class rooms which according to the most lenient regulation should provide sitting accommodation for forty boys are being used by seventy to eighty at a time. It is reported that some of the enrolled students do not attend school at all but loiter here and there or go to the cinema simply because the school authorities as well as the guardians have no time to find out where they spend the school hours. It is impossible for teachers of such schools to pay individual attention to the pupils or to correct their class work and home work. Personal contact between the teacher and the taught is out of the question and naturally the teachers have no real influence on the conduct and character of the students who are an un-shepherded flock and little wonder many of them go astray. The teachers can hardly be blamed. They draw as pay a small pittance that even the menial staff of Government offices and mercantile firms would not care to accept. They have their families to maintain and have, therefore, to go from door to door coaching private pupils during the rest of their waking hours. The school authorities who cannot pay them a living wage, are not in a position to control them. The schools have thus become places where children are kept confined for a few hours. There they learn how to make a lot of noise, to indulge in idle chatter about the cinema stars or other undesirable topics. Discipline is, of course, at a discount. Extraneous influences exerted by the Communists and other anti-social forces find the young boys and girls their easy tools. The parents whose time is wholly absorbed in earning the bread and procuring the bare necessities of life have no leisure to look to the moral training of their children. The so-called good boys and girls are only spiritless parrots who cram 'notes' and 'short-cuts' and disgorge them at the examination.

This state of things has led to the rapid growth of delinquent tendencies among our school boys. The general tendency is to break all rules of discipline. The laws of the school are no longer held sacred by the students. They have no respect for the teachers for the simple reason that they do not command it. They have developed an over-consciousness of their rights to the

entire neglect of their duties. Knowledge in its true sense as well as reverence are things of the past. If a boy, guilty of a serious breach of discipline, is punished by a conscientious Head Master, most of the boys resent it so much so that strikes are organised and a nasty situation is often created. The sympathy is usually with the law-breaker and rarely with the administrator. When fee rates are enhanced for the improvement of the teachers' lot, the boys shout slogans against the school authorities, and again when teachers protest against their poor pay and allowances they do the same thing for the mere fun of it. If questions are stiff, they threaten their teachers with physical violence, abuse them to their heart's content and walk out of the examination hall in a shameless manner. Copying or adopting other unfair means at the examination is not regarded as immoral and he who dares raise his voice against it, does so at his own peril. Cases have been reported of invigilators having succumbed to injuries inflicted by young delinquents whose attempts were thwarted by them. We also hear of answers being dictated through megaphones from neighbouring houses or trees to candidates sitting in public examination halls. In such cases organised gangs of young delinquents are at work. No wonder our young hopefuls lurch public vehicles and play into the hands of the anti-social elements of today. This general delinquent tendency of indiscipline must be checked at any cost without further delay or the newly won independence will turn into a Dead Sea apple.

Needless to say that in such a vitiated atmosphere studies are badly neglected. This is corroborated by the high percentage failures at the last Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University. In this examination taken by nearly 34,000 candidates only 33 per cent of them have passed which means that 66 per cent of them have failed to get through. What a wastage of youthful energy and hard-earned money of thousands of starving middle-class parents! It is a danger signal to those who are at the helm of our educational machinery. Unless something is done at once on a national basis the crisis in our school education cannot be tided over.

Poverty is no doubt one of the causes of this lamentable state of affairs, but it is not the sole cause. It is really due to the inherent defect in our system of education. Education in this country has always been a bookish and cheerless thing with undue emphasis on examination results. Some of the best products of this system were no better than intellectual Gargantuas. It neglected the physical and moral or social aspect of education and allowed no scope for building of character and development of the child's personality. Religion which was the sustaining force in Indian life through the ages was made a taboo in the school world. It is a thousand pities that education should be godless in a land where the greatest religions of the world have flourished. Physical and moral education was left to the care of the home. In the late twenties of this century an apology for physical education was introduced by the

appointment of physical instructors. But little real headway was made in this direction. So long as the home was not shattered by the economic depression of post-war years, it looked to the moral needs of the children. But now that the home of the average middle class citizen has lost all its sanctity, hell has been let loose and we stand on the brink of a precipice.

The problem is too vast and too complicated to be solved in a couple of days or so. But it must be tackled without delay and a start must be made somewhere. Let us first of all devote all our time and energy to the improvement of the health of our boys, for a sound body is the pre-requisite of a sound mind. Again as food is the physical basis of life, our children must be fed properly, that is to say, they must get sufficient food of the right sort. In view of the prevailing poverty of the country the State must come forward along with philanthropic bodies to help the school authorities to feed the children during school hours. This may make up the deficiency of food which they have at home. The parents should also sacrifice every personal comfort to see that their children get sufficient nourishing food. The Director of Physical Education, West Bengal, recently told the writer of this article that the health of the school children of this province was going from bad to worse day by day. He has rightly diagnosed that it is a case of general malnutrition and his prescription is sufficient nourishing food. This is confirmed by the doctor's reports from schools where there is an arrangement for periodical medical examination of the students.

The problem of education is thus no longer a problem only for the school or the Education Department, it is for the whole nation to tackle and solve it. If a catastrophe is to be averted, public opinion must be mobilised by our leaders and social workers who must impress upon all and sundry the importance of true education, education that expands the body, the mind and the soul of the child. Educationists must evolve a system of education which will create a new social order. The men and women of this new order must be persons of character, of leadership and not mere shadows. The new education should enable the youth of today to take their rightful place as responsible citizens to-morrow and prove worthy sons of their motherland. If the Nai Talim or Basic Education of Gandhiji has been given a fair trial and found suitable for this country, we should forthwith start building the new edifice on the underlying principles of that system. God willing, the united efforts of our countrymen will make our dream of a happy and prosperous India come true. Let us hope that another India

"shall arise

And to the remoter time
Bequeath, like sunset to the skies
The splendour of its prime;
And leave, if nought so bright may live,
All earth can take or Heaven can give."—Shelley

THE WAY TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

BY PROF. AMRIT LAL, M.A.

In spite of the emphatic assurance of the Agriculture Minister in the Parliament to achieve self-sufficiency in food, cotton and jute by 1952, our food position remains as uncertain as it was ever before. Acharya Kripalani, on his part, put forth in a nutshell the ills of Indian agriculture when he said during the Food debate in the last session of the Parliament :

"We seem to have forgotten that our land is miserably sub-divided, the holdings are not consolidated, some of the best lands are being used for crops that are worthless and some of the worthless land is used for crops that can be grown with benefit elsewhere."

One of the most potent causes of our low yields is that our land utilization has been faulty, haphazard and out of tune with the demands of times. Unless we tackle this problem of misuse of land by taking some revolutionary measures much of our talk about "Grow-more-food" may end in smoke.

The two fundamental resources of a country are its land and its people. The use made of the former depends to a large extent upon the intelligence of the latter. Examples are not wanting where an ingenious people have converted their resourceless land into the most productive of lands, but in India the conditions are otherwise. While we talk so much about National Planning, we ignore the basic fact that it is our land which is the most neglected and misused resource. Although we fix our targets of self-sufficiency off and on, yet we do not realise the need of evolving a healthy and balanced land use policy which should form the basis of all our plans. The value of such a policy has been amply realised even by the most highly industrialized countries like Great Britain. In fact India, which is predominantly an agricultural country and is faced with a chronic and acute food problem, should hardly afford to neglect this vital aspect of National Planning.

By a healthy and balanced land use I mean to say a balance of crops to fit in with the rotation best suited to the climate and soil of a particular area, a balance between the farming of one region of the country and another, a balance between the various uses of land which has multiple uses, and a balance between the present uses and the changing social, economic and political environments. Only through such a balance can we hope to increase and maintain the yields from land. This balance cannot be achieved from such incomplete data, statistics and records as we possess today. It requires a thorough land use survey and analysis of the type conducted by Dr. Li. Dudley Stamp, a great geographer, before the World War II. Our frequent and sad failures in the Grow-more-food campaigns in the past owe much to the absence of such a survey. Without it any attempts in the direction of crop planning would amount to putting the horse before the cart.

The aim of Land Use Survey is to ensure that every available piece of land in a region is used to the best advantage in relation to its intrinsic qualities that spring from its natural and cultural environments. Without dilating upon technicalities it would suffice to give a summary of the processes involved in the survey, viz. :

- (a) A survey of a region on the spot with the minutest details regarding the present land use.
- (b) Mapping of these details on a large-scale* (say 4 in. or 6 in. to a mile) with such cartographic methods so as to make these maps convenient to study and interpret.
- (c) Their interpretation in order to correlate the present use and the natural potentialities as derived from the relief, structure, soil, hydrography, climate, microclimate, etc.

On the basis of the interpretation of such maps it would become possible to make recommendations to the cultivator in each village as regards :

- (1) what part of his holding should be kept under trees, grass, crops, houses, embankments, roads, etc.,
- (2) what kind of crops should be grown or preferred and what rotations be adopted for a particular piece of land,
- (3) what optimum yield of a particular crop is likely to be under the existing circumstances,
- (4) what treatment is needed by way of levelling, bounding, weeding, drainage, etc., and
- (5) how derelict and marginal lands should be best utilized.

It is thus that the land resources of the country can be put to the best possible use and a balanced policy can be evolved with success.

It may, perhaps, be asked, and to some extent with justification too, that such a balance as envisaged above already exists, that the tiller of the soil knows it better through the experience of centuries what crops can be best grown on his land and any recommendations would only disturb the existing balance. In reply we may say that neither we doubt the common sense and experience of the Indian peasant nor we deny that the best balance is the outcome of centuries of use. But we can reject the need for a new balance only in the case of a progressive community. In India, however, the conditions have been too archaic and static and the balance that exists has also become obsolete.

It may be true that each peasant grows his food or cash crops on the best portion of his own holding. Moreover, such a use may be sufficiently productive as to support his family and afford him a small saving for the marriage or funeral ceremonies. But in view of the changed economic and political set-up our farmer is required to produce enough food for the nation which sooner or later is to embark on a planned life. Here the situation changes. The 'best' land under the *status quo* might be adjudged to be the 'best' only for some inferior

hay or fodder crop and not for wheat or cotton as today. Thus land utilization maps would help us to mark out millions of acres of our agricultural lands which are being inappropriately used through the shortsightedness of the cultivator and the total absence of expert guidance from our four-figure-salaried paper planners.

Our Minister for Agriculture has reiterated his intentions to make India self-sufficient in food, cotton and jute by 1952. A welcome decision no doubt, but how and in what proportions are we to distribute our land between these crops without any risk of inappropriate use, is not known. Any haphazard allotment of land among these crops would surely cut at the root of the idea of self-sufficiency. Here again is required a land utilization survey which could make our task pretty easy.

The achievements of the Land Utilization Survey in Great Britain may serve as a beacon light to all those interested in making India self-sufficient in food and vital agricultural raw materials. As a result of the recommen-

dations based upon the Survey, Britain tided over her grim food problem during the war. To the surprise of the British themselves, the output of human food was increased by over 70 per cent. Acreage under crops increased from 6.8 millions in 1939 to 11.6 millions in 1944 and under temporary grass from 2 millions to 2.9 millions during the same period. The acreage ploughed was thus doubled in spite of the big losses to military installations. And yet the survey which saved the nation from a virtual disaster, did not cost the Government much, since the stupendous task was accomplished by armies of University students guided by teachers and a few experts in the agricultural economics and geography. According to the Director of the Survey, Dr. L. Dudley Stamp, the contribution of the peasants was "miraculous".

"They were helped to do this by the threefold boon of guaranteed prices, a guaranteed market and a wise guidance and help in their work".

It is high time that we undertook such a scheme.

—O:

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SATYAGRAHA (Non-violent Resistance): By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. xvi and 406. Price Rs. 5-8.

It is curious that Mahatma Gandhi has been treated by us more as a national leader or a religious teacher than as the inventor of a means of collective action, which promises in future to be an effective substitute for war. He himself applied Satyagraha for the purpose of India's national liberation, which, according to him, was a limited but necessary step towards the final liberation of the masses from all forms of economic, political and social forms of exploitation. This is evidently the reason why only two of India's Satyagrahas, viz., Champaran and Bardoli, have been studied in some detail, while the rest like Vaikom, Nagpur, Patuakhali, Midnapore, Brikutsa, Gurudwara, Mulshipeta and a host of others, not to speak of the nation-wide movements of 1921, 1930-33, have failed to evoke no more than a passing interest among historians or students of political science. Gandhiji's writings on God or Brahmacharya have run through several editions, while his articles or comments on various Satyagraha movements have only been collected for the first time by the Navajivan Press as late as 1951. Natesan of Madras did a yeoman's service in former times by bringing together similar

articles in their collected edition of Gandhiji's writings and speeches; but all that has become out of date now. The present publication will therefore be very welcome, particularly because it contains, in classified form, Gandhiji's instruction to satyagrahis as they were issued from time to time in course of the numerous movements which he either led, or allowed others to lead under his direction.

AN ATHEIST WITH GANDHI: By Gora. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. 55. Re. 1.

The pamphlet contains a report of conversations and correspondence which an atheist had with Gandhiji. It is covered by an introduction by Shri K. G. Mashruwala in which he has tried to show that although the author claims to be an atheist, yet, his morality and concern for the welfare of common human beings, i.e., his humanism, proves him to be a truly religious man.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MAHABHARATA (Bhismaparvan): Fascicules 15 and 16. Demy Quarto. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1946-47.

The foundation of the Bhandarkar Institute synchronized with the termination of the first World War and with the end of the second World War bringing independence to India, we welcome the com-

pletion of the Bhismaparvan under the joint collaboration of the late lamented Dr. U. S. Sukthankar (dying January, 1943) and Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. Dr. Sukthankar's great contribution was the development of the critical apparatus of the Mahabharata text—editing, acclaimed now all over the world. After his death Prof. Belvalkar took upon himself the full editorial responsibility and amply vindicated his claim by satisfactorily handling most of the problems relating to the Bhismaparvan and especially to its noted adjunct the Bhagavad-gita: whether the Gita formed an integral part of (or a later addition to) the Mahabharata remains still an open question; for, as admitted by the Editor, the very old manuscripts K_4 and Da_2 omit entirely the Bhagavad-gita, and even its existence was not recognised by the commentator of the *Devabodha* who belonged to circa 1150. However, Prof. Belvalkar made a most important contribution by showing that the “constituted text” of the Gita is very similar to that commented on by the great Sankaracharya. This text (with minor variations) holds an All-India circulation, for over 1,000 years! Even then some Western scholars have suspected the Gita to be an interpolation into the Mahabharata, but at what date none could be definite.

Prof. O. Schrader who discovered the Kashmiri recension of the Gita, claimed for it greater authenticity than that of the Samkaracharya version. Schrader's variants have been largely explained away by Prof. Belvalkar, who however has still to illumine us on some complicated textual problems; for the *Devabodha* as late as 12th century A.D., is found to ignore the Gita, while commenting on the Bhismaparvan. The *Devabodha*, like K_4 and Da_2 manuscripts omit the text of the Bhagavad-gita; and even when Schrader's researches led to the finding of many variants of the Kashmiri and Sarada versions, Prof. Belvalkar considered them to be less important; while in most other cases, those versions were taken as more authentic. Such paradoxes may get clarification in future, meanwhile we are grateful to Prof. Belvalkar for having vindicated the millennium-old text tradition from Sankaracharya to present-day and to present on the eve of another Kurukshetra (the possible third World War!) the most scholarly edition of the Bhagavad-gita.

KALIDAS NAG

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN CULTURE: By B. N. Luniya. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal. Agra. Pp. 524. Price Rs. 6-4.

Written as a text-book for the B.A. History course of the Agra University, this well-written work seeks to trace the evolution of Indian culture from pre-historic times down to the present. A perusal of this book shows that the author has succeeded remarkably well in his attempt. In his short Preface (p. ii), he rightly fixes upon two important characteristics of this culture viz., its unity of spirit and its remarkable continuity. His reviews of social, religious, economic and administrative conditions as well as of the state of literature, art and architecture during the successive periods are judicious and full. His critical estimate of institutions and movements are usually marked by sobriety of judgment and clarity of thought—witness his accounts of Aryan and non-Aryan contacts in the Rigvedic period (p. 78), of the consequences of caste (p. 105f), of the legacy of the Aryans (p. 114f), of the causes of the success of Buddhism and its subsequent

decline (p. 158f), of the contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture (p. 167f), of Greek influence upon Indian civilisation (p. 294f), of the legacies of the Muslim age and Mughal rule (p. 480f), and of the far-reaching aspects of the modern Indian Renaissance (p. 502f). On the other hand, it must be admitted that the book, as a whole, suffers from a want of proportion, disproportionate space being given to the Vedic Age and the rise of Buddhism and Jainism at the cost of the periods of Indian reaction to the impact of Islam and of the Christian sea-powers. Exception may rightly be taken to some of the author's statements in connection with the Vedic Age, e.g., that all land originally belonged to the tribe to give rise to the later idea of its ownership by the King, that the Vedic *jyeshtha* corresponds to the Pali *jethaka* (sic) and points to an organisation parallel to that of the tribal republics (sic) of early Buddhist times (p. 51) and that the victory of Sudas led to the conception of the paramount ruler and established the political assimilation of Aryans and non-Aryans in the Gangetic plains (pp. 70-71). It does not appear on what ground the author has thought it fit to tag his account of “the Epic Age” immediately to the end of his description of the Vedic period (p. 94f). To say that the Vedic Age has been recognised as the ideal and all subsequent attempts have been made to approximate the life of man to its conditions (p. 111) is to indulge in an unwarranted exaggeration. The author's description of Hindu cultural expansion is marred by a few errors of omission and commission: in his reference to Afghanistan (p. 313) he makes no mention of such outstanding centres of ancient Indian civilisation as Bamiyan and Hadda; his mention of Nepal and Kashmir in the same breath with Tibet (p. 314) is inexplicable: his acceptance of the story of “King Vijay of Bengal” (sic) having conquered and colonised Ceylon as an undoubted fact is uncritical (p. 318). His characterisation of the government of the Rajput States in the late ancient period (p. 376) is correct, but his use of the terms *jagirdars* and *khalsa lands* in this connection is an anachronism. Some of the author's statements are inaccurate, e.g., that the invasions of Sultan Mahmud were altogether barren of permanent political results (p. 389), that voluntary conversions to Islam were few and far between (p. 402), that the Chola king Rajendra I sailed over to Burma and annexed it (p. 317), that the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja was established in the south of Champa and that Angkor Thom was a wonderful temple (pp. 319-20) and that there was an ancient trans-Caspian trade route from India to the West (pp. 182-89). On p. 497, the reference to ‘revival in arts’ is a mistake for the progress of archaeology. Diacritical marks unfortunately are completely wanting in the printing of proper names, while the transliterations of Sanskrit words are regularly geared to the exigencies of modern Hindi pronunciation. Printing mistakes are not uncommon, e.g., Bharti (p. 17), ganapati (p. 51), prevalence and extention (p. 312), Visapati and Visa (p. 50), luster (p. 91), monoism (p. 420) and Chandela (p. 422). Instances of mistakes in the transliteration of proper names are Borobunder (Preface, p. i), Muhvarman (p. 323), Dandian (p. 363), Lodhi (p. 395) and Hultz (p. 497), while gramin (pp. 80-1) is an unfortunate slip. There are occasional slips of composition, e.g., resembling to (p. 53) and the Northern India (p. 389). The illustrations are selected with good judgment, but the execution as well as the paper is of poor quality.

U. N. GHOSHAL

(1) **GREAT INDIANS:** By Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 103. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **NOBLE LIVES:** By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 2-8.

The first book discusses the greatness of four Indians in the realm of the spirit and thought. They are Mahatma Gandhi; Bhagavan Sri Ramana; Sri Ramakrishna; Rabindranath Tagore.

The interpretation of Gandhiji does not add much to our understanding of this spiritual man turned a politician. It is in the latter character that he is known the world over—"The one man more than any other who is mainly responsible for the mighty upheaval of the Indian nation who has loosened its chains" (p. 1). This portion is unsatisfactory because it appears to be a summary of his old book—*Mahatma Gandhi—Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work*. Taking 60 pages of the 103 of the book the great philosopher has done less than justice to himself. This is the price that a busy thinker is made to pay today.

The second character-sketch is devoted to Bhagavan Sri Ramana, the sage of Arunachal or Arungiri in South India. Its key-notes are struck in the assertions that needed to be made that "in the Indian religious tradition, religion has meant not an imaginative or intellectual apprehension of Reality but its embodiment in regenerated living" (p. 61). "Men like Sri Ramana recall us to that larger dimension of Reality to which we really belong though we are generally unaware of it" (p. 69).

The interpretation of Sri Ramakrishna's life and thought is related to the Indian tradition referred to above, and the author has brought his wealth of knowledge, Eastern and Western, to illustrate it through the saint and seer of Dakshmineswar. The author is right in saying that Sri Ramakrishna's life created "a powerful revival of social compassion." This was the inspiration of the Ramakrishna Mission started on the initiative of Swami Vivekananda—a part of the "lokasthiti" of which he is one of the architects.

The study of Rabindranath Tagore is the least satisfying portion of this book, though it is a reprint of the presidential address at the General Conference held in connection with the poet's 70th birth-day anniversary (1931). The present book was published in 1949. During the interval innumerable lights have been thrown on the poet's achievements specially since his death. Sri Sarvapalli could have utilized these in illuminating these with his special quality of India's cultural ambassador, the only one that we have at present.

Nagendra Nath Gupta's book speaks with an intimate knowledge of all the personalities discussed here. A master of the English language, a journalist who had helped pioneer journalism in Sind, in the Punjab, in Uttar Pradesh (Allahabad), Nagendra Nath was young when his heroes had made their mark in India's renaissance—Vidyasagar, Paramhansa Deb, Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath, Vivekananda; Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru came later. And out of his intimacy he has been able to illumine a great chapter in India's recent history.

Nagendra Nath was a Bengali scholar of note, a literary craftsman whose quality is illustrated in the Appendix of this book (pp. 209-12) where a translation of Rabindranath Tagore's "Urvashi" appears. The publishers are to be congratulated on collecting in a

compact volume the character-sketches of men who have become a memory to our present generation.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

CARAMEL DOLL: By Abanindra Nath Tagore. Translated from the Bengali by Bishnu and Pranati Dey. Kutub—Bombay. Price Rs. 5.

Abanindra Nath in his fairy tales is perhaps untranslatable, especially his *Khiser Putul*, which is written in a language so full of allusions and references to current nursery tales that much of its beauty is bound to be lost in translation. The combined production of Bishnu and Pranati Dey, though not up to the original, is fairly good. Foreign readers will at least have a glimpse into the domain of Bengali fairy tales. The illustrations of Sheila Auden, in themselves very good, have been too much "dolloed". In the story, however, the doll is only a part and not the whole. While comparing the translation with the original cursorily, we have come across some mistakes which should be corrected in future editions, viz., on pp. 60-61 we find: "Blue horses grazed in the fields and golden peacocks strutted about the lanes and ghats. The boys saddled the blue horses and the golden peacocks and, accompanied by the music of drums" etc.

The original is :

"সেখানে নীলে ষোড়া মাঠে মাঠে চরে বেড়াচ্ছে, গৌড় দেশের সোনার মোড়র পথে বাটে গড়াগড়ি যাচ্ছে, ছেলেরা সেই নীলে ষোড়া নিয়ে সেই সোনার মোড়র দিয়ে ষোড়া সাজিয়ে" ইত্যাদি (পৃ. ২৭-৮)। Here মোড়র is not ময়ূর - peacock, it is মুকুট - crown.

Unfortunately, this is not the only instance of wrong translation.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

REAL HINDUISM: By Sir Gokul Chand Narang, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at Law. With a foreword by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, Former Minister, India Government. Published by New Book Society of India, Devnagar, Karol-bagh, New Delhi. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 6-4.

Sir Gokul Chand is an eminent lawyer, a distinguished scholar and a front-rank leader. He was the minister for local self-government in the Punjab towards the end of the British rule in India. In the book under review, which is dedicated to the sacred memory of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the learned author gives a fair pen-picture of Hinduism as conceived by him. In short sixteen chapters of this book, which is decorated by a good many illustrations, Hindu conception of God, soul, creation, transmigration, emancipation, proselytisation, government and other relevant topics are treated in a scholarly way. Each chapter is documented by a wealth of quotations of well-known orientalists and savants, both Indian and Western. In the first chapter entitled "Hinduism as World Teachers" the antiquity and superiority of Hindu culture are very impressively shown with suitable observations of Maxmuller, Wendell Thomas, Goethe and other western authorities. Thoreau, the American saint, after reading Manu Samhita remarked, "I cannot read a sentence in this book of the Hindus without being elevated as upon the table-land of the Ghouts. The great tone of the book is of such fibre and such severe tension that no time or accident can relax it." The title of the fifteenth chapter is named after Dr. Wendell Thomas's interesting book *Hinduism Invades America*. This chapter gives an idea of how Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement has been spreading wide Hinduism in U.S.A. for about six decades last. In the eleventh chapter it has been made crystal-clear how Hinduism has been a proselytising faith

BOOK REVIEWS

from the Vedic times. The Rig-Vedic injunction "Spreading the Vedic lore aryanise the whole world" is appropriately quoted and Bratyastoma, the Vedic ceremony of proselytisation, is rightly mentioned. Swami Vivekananda used to say that to make Hinduism as proselytising as Islam and Christianity was the mission of his life. Sir Gokul Chand rightly appeals to the Hindus of all classes to make Hinduism aggressive and boldly points out that reclamation and conversion are clearly sanctioned by Apastamba Sutras and other authentic scriptures. In the last chapter many serious problems that confront the Hindus and Hinduism to-day are discussed in different aspects.

In this book the Hindu cause is very strongly vindicated with facts and figures from the standpoint of a true Hindu. The author makes it clear that if Hindu consciousness is not awakened among the Hindu masses, their future is very dark. Now that even the national government is indifferent to safeguard Hindu interests or to protect the Hindu religion it is for the Hindus to be equal to the occasion and establish Hindu unity in an organised way. If the Hindus do not solve their own problems and reform their faith according to the needs of the times they cannot survive long as a nation. Out of 27 illustrations excepting that of the author, all are indistinct and deform the book. Hinduism defined and described in this book is mainly based on Rig-Veda Samhita. It is, therefore, not real but basic, not whole but skeletal. Sir Gokul Chand's real Hinduism is like the trunk of a tree stripped of branches and leaves, or like the skeleton of a man deprived of skin and flesh. To overlook the wonderful variegated development of Hinduism that has taken place from the Vedic age to the modern is to deny its growth, power and potentiality. Upholding the narrow view of the Arya Samaj the author wrongly says that Samhita alone should be termed as the Veda, and not the Brahmanas and Upanishads. It is a very mistaken and superficial view to omit the Upanishads from the Vedas. If the Upanishads, which contain philosophical speculations of the Vedas, are removed what remains is an amputated and mutilated form of the same. It is high time for the Arya Samaj to get rid of their fatal narrowness and adopt the broad views of the Hindus, if they want to be a real part and parcel of the Hindu society.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

NALANDA YEAR-BOOK AND WHO'S WHO IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN, 1950-51: Edited by Tara-pada Das Gupta, M.A. Nalanda Press, 159-60, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price, Special Edition Rs. 7-8 and Ordinary Edition Rs. 5-8.

This Year-Book, which is the eighth year of issue, has won a unique distinction in the long list of its kind, published in this country. It is virtually 'an Indian and international annual of current statistics, events and personalities.' Each issue is an improvement on the previous one, so far as the different items are concerned. 'Statistics of Production, Trade, Currency, Banking, Exchange,' says the Editor, 'have in most cases been brought up to 1950'. An exhaustive summary of the new Constitution of India has also been given. The Who's Who as well as other sections have been expanded and improved upon. One suggestion for the Editor: Is it not possible to insert a separate section or a part in the Who's Who for the literary figures of India, with special reference to Bengal? The Year-Book will be very much useful not only to the merchants, tradesmen and men of affairs but also to the publicists, students and educationists.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

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WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT CLERKSHIP EXAMINATIONS : By B. Sanyal, 106, South Sinthee Road, Calcutta-30. Pp. 320. Price Rs. 5.

It is the practice not to review any text-books and aids to studies in *The Modern Review*. But we make an exception in favour of this book. The subject of this book is indicated by its title; and the treatment unlike many other career books, is to the point, precise and instructive. The lamentable lack of general information shown by Bengalee Students, is responsible for their failure in many a competitive examination. The information supplied in this book is correct and exhaustive within limits. Not only those who aspire to sit for competitive examinations but general readers will also be profited by it.

J. M. DATTA

(1) THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS (Pamphlet II); (2) THE INFLUENCE OF HOME AND COMMUNITY (on children under thirteen years of age—Pamphlet VI): Published by UNESCO, 19, Avenue Kleber, Paris 16c. Pages 61 and 53 respectively. Price 1s. each.

The two pamphlets under review have the laudable aim of creating a mental alertness towards world understanding through education. Education is undoubtedly the most potent factor in bringing about a millennium. What is required is the vision and sincere zeal of the educator and of those who shape the policy of the state and thus the destiny of the nation. Pamphlet II deals with the problem of preparing teachers for this noble task.

Pamphlet VI gives an account of some method of child-rearing in Europe and also of the out-of-school influences which may make children friendly, co-operative and responsible members of the world community or may produce the opposite, undesirable effect. Both the pamphlets are written in a simple and lucid style. They make teachers conscious of their potential powers in transforming the modern world of warring humans into a happy and noble society of cultured mankind. Teachers will find these booklets valuable and inspiring.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

VERDICT ON CALCUTTA : By Sri Sibdas Bosue. Published by the author. Pages 230. Price Rs. 5.

It is not understood why a book of 230 pages has been published to abuse men and things found in Calcutta and in Bengal. Any person reading those pages will have a nauseating feeling not only for the bad taste but also for weak and faulty English and innumerable mistakes in printing and other defects.

A. B. DATTA

TOWARDS A NEW SOCIETY : By Sri Nolini Kanta Gupta. Published by Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay.

The book is divided into three parts. First and second parts, each consists of six articles and the third part contains four articles with Sri Aurobindo's view on war in the Appendix. The theme of the first article in the first part, obviously written during the second world war, is that even the spiritual seekers cannot be indifferent to this war, as it was a war between the Asuric forces headed by the Fascists and the human instruments of the gods represented by the Allies. The ruling life of the Asura implies the end of progress, the arrest of all evolution. In the past there were such wars when human agency was seized

by the Asuric forces but in the present war the Asura himself with the whole band of his army, has descended upon the earth. Thus the dark forces have precipitated their destiny and with the victory of the divine agency, opportunity will be afforded for the creation of a better world, which is India's mission. How prophetic are the words: "The fate of India too is being decided in the world crisis." From Nature's weapon of tooth and claw, man has developed the atomic bomb. It has been dubbed as the 'Devil's engine' by the Christian moralist while the practical politician thinks that the weapon has prepared the way for putting a stop to war thus saving more lives. The League of Nations failed as man could not rise to the height demanded of him. The third, fourth and fifth articles emphasise that difficulties on the way to peace and reconstruction arise out of man's failure to grasp the clear issue that humanity is one and indivisible, and all the nations are inter-dependent members of one organisation. Further, in mutual aid and self-limitation lie the growth and fulfilment of each collective individuality. The unit today has to be a federation of free peoples and nations. Therefore, we cannot neglect the vanquished member nations such as Germany.

In the second part, the author deals with the following themes: India is one and indivisible. But there should be several units which must be not only geographical wholes but also cultural wholes.

The author thinks that proper solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem would be by not living in isolation but by living together. Independence is not a gift but a prize to be won. And to maintain it we require the virtues of discipline, impersonal ability, and skill of execution in minute details. Nature moves towards a synthesis and harmony. Discords and differences are but parts only of the process working out its consummation. To discover the basis of unity, not only among the Indians composed of Hindus, Muslims and others but also of the races of the world, is the mission of India.

The article "On Social Reconstruction" deals with a very important and thought-inspiring subject which can be easily expanded to a treatise. According to the writer, the centre of interest is changing from bourgeois to a proletarian society. But what this movement aims at cannot be achieved, unless the soul of the individual, the tendencies in him, are understood, fathered and ultimately flowered. It is not necessary, nay, it will be harmful to bring the bourgeois to the proletarian standard, but to uplift the latter to the status of the former should be the aim. Communism, Socialism, Nationalism, Internationalism have all their defects since they aim at aggrandising and solving the outer problem of man. But man has a divinity in him. Man in his journey towards the divine in his first attempt found the word 'right' and later on the word 'duty', the former representing *tamasic*, the latter the *rajasic* attitude, but to fulfil his aim he must find out his *swadharma* in the dictation of his soul and then the Self. It is then and then only that the division and conflict, the stress and strain of the lower egoistic consciousness of the present-day man, will disappear.

We would recommend the book to the youth of the nation and specially to the teachers whose sacred duty is to impart proper education to our younger generation.

SYAMADAS CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT

VIYAKARANA MAHABHASYA : By Patanjali with *Pradipa of Kaiyata and Mahabhasyapradipoddyotana of Annambhatta, (Part 1—Ahnika 1st—4th) : Critically edited by the Late Professor P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras) and A. Sankaran, M.A., Ph.D., L.T., with an Introduction by T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T., Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Series—7. Pp. I-XIV + 1-240. Price Rs. 20-12.*

The Mahabhasya with Kaiyata's commentary has been edited several times. The special feature of the present volume is the sub-commentary of Annambhatta, a famous scholar from the South, with several works on Nyaya, Vedanta, Mimamsa and Vyakarana to his credit. His elaborate, erudite and lucid *Uddyotana* will facilitate the study of the Mahabhasya to a great extent.

The Introduction gives us some information about Annambhatta. Gadadhara Bhattacharya, a Bengali Logician of Navadvipa, has been supposed to be 'a native of Mithila' through oversight.

The volume is an important addition to the published literature of Sanskrit Grammar. But considering its size, the price seems to be too high.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

(1) **BANGA-SAHITYE NARI**. (2) **SAMANK-PATRA-SAMPADANE BANGA-NARI** : By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Visva-Bharati Granth-alaya, 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Each volume : Price eight annas.

The two volumes, *Women Writers in Bengali Literature* and *Bengali Women as Editors of Periodicals and Magazines* included in the Visvavidya-Sangraha series, are complementary to each other. They give a fairly comprehensive survey of Bengali women's efforts and work in the field of literature.

Banga-Sahitye Nari contains a vivid, and as far as possible complete, account of those women writers of the nineteenth century who are no longer in the land of the living. The living writers have been excluded or obvious reasons. The first half of the nineteenth century is conspicuous by the absence of women writers, for at that time the urge for women's education was stirring the hearts of only a few social reformers. 1856-66 is a formative period and within these ten years we meet with no less than seven women authors. The appearance of Swarnakumari Devi (1855-1932) in the field of Bengali literature changed the complexion of the literary movement among the women writers of the last century. She was a novelist, poet and essayist at the same time, and the touch of genius transmuted baser metal into gold. Saratkumari Chaudhurani, the author of *Sabha-Bibaha* a novel of real merit, was born in 1861; and the celebrated poet Kamini Ray (1864-1933) was a contemporary to Swarnakumari Devi.

In the field of periodical literature Bengali women have not been behind-hand, and have proved their merit as successful editors. *Samank-patra-Sampadane Banga-nari* gives an account of these journals and their editors. The first monthly was published in 1875. There is an unbroken continuity in the appearance of periodicals edited by women, and the account has been brought up to date. This is the first successful attempt at presenting an entire picture of Bengali women's journalistic endeavour.

The two volumes under review dealing with women writers and editors complete the account of the performance of Bengali women as such. The books

have been well-documented with pictures which enhance their value. They are well-written and the style is lucid. The research has been executed with a thoroughness characteristic of the author.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

MARATHI

DEVADUTA : By K. D. Bhate. Available from the author, Dhulia, East Khandesh. Pp. 40. Price Re. 1-12.

Nature is an attorney and ambassador of God, an instructor of man and an art-museum as well as a playground of the senses and sympathies and sentiments of the human heart. In these twenty-eight prose-poems, unveiling the unspoken secrets of the queen of night, sunflower, spring and other aspects, agents, and expressions of Nature, there is much to learn and also to laugh over with the innocence of childhood. Shri Vinoba Bhawe has contributed an illuminating introduction. If the price had been kept moderate, the book would have been easily accessible to a still larger number of readers.

G. M.

GUJARATI

HAMMIR GADHI : By Muniraj Shri Jayant Vijayji. Published by the Yashovijaya Jain Granthmala, Bhavnagar, 1947. Thick paper-cover. Pages 51. Price six annas.

Hammir Gadhi is a place of pilgrimage for Jains and is situated in a juncal about four hours' journey from Sirahi in Marwar. Muniraj wields a facile pen in the description of the holy place of Jains with a historical background, as witness his books on Abu Delwada and Shankhodhar. The book under notice keeps up the same standard and is like a guide, in all senses of the word.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The First Opposition to the Congress

P. C. Roy Choudhury writes in *The Indian Review* :

Almost immediately after the Indian National Congress was born as an institution there were forces of opposition and within the first few years when the Congress movement created for itself a tremendous hold on the educated public in India it had also excited the opposition forces combined into an organised party headed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and others. This opposition move was backed by the private and official influence of the Anglo-Indian community and at times by some of the hard-boiled English administrators.

The opposition camp took upon itself to preach through a section of the Press in England that the Indian people are not in sympathy with the demands of the Congress and that the Congress had been trying to bring the Government into contempt. So strong was the opposition move at one time that the liberty of the Press sympathetic to the Congress or to the popular demands was threatened. In this campaign a certain section of the official and European elements had also joined.

By the time the third session of the Indian National Congress was held in Madras there was a considerable force in the oppositionist party and thanks to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan there was great attempt to describe the Congress institution as a Hindu body. It is however remarkable that inspite of all this propaganda the third session of the Indian National Congress was presided over by that great Mohamadan Badruddin Taiabji and was attended by a considerable number of Mohamadan delegates from all parts of India.

A reference could be made to some of the pungent criticisms in the English Press regarding the Congress.

St. James Gazette hailed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as "one of the leading Mohamadan gentlemen and landowners of Upper India."

"When the Mutiny burst Syed Ahmad Khan was enabled to save the life of a number of Englishmen and women. From that day Syed Ahmad Khan has remained one of our truest friends. At the same time, he has never ceased his efforts to promote the welfare of his own countrymen specially those of his own faith. A strict Mohamadan gentleman, though without the least bigotry, he says that if Mohamedanism in India is to hold its own it must be equipped with intellectual weapons and training of the day. The foundation of a large Mohamadan College for the education of the upper classes of Mohamadans is due to him.

"What Sir Syed Ahmad says is this:

"It is time that we Mohamadans should assert ourselves. These Bengali Baboos, clever as they are, never ruled India yet; and if they want to rule us, the descendants of men who fought and ruled under

Moghal Emperors, they are mistaken. The Government of India has hitherto for the most part dealt with fairly all classes. Lord Ripon, indeed a kindly man, but weak and impractical, did no little mischief; but we can afford to forget this if we only resolve to keep a better lookout in future. We must not be talked down by these Bengalis. They are not the nation and can never be the nation."

The Times had something more bitter to say:

"Both the Bengali and the Bengali's admirers in this country have forgotten the fact India is a country made of races which we found in a state of continual feuds The Mohamadans would see themselves practically deprived of the share of Government to which their position and influence entitles them, and they would find their condition intolerable Sir Syed Ahmad's address is on the whole, an important political event. It shows that the Mohamadans are waking up to the sense that they are not making the best of their advantages or their capacities We welcome a sign that Mohamadan loyalty of which the Nizam and the other Princes have recently afforded so brilliant an example, is asserting itself as a counter-poise to Bengali factiousness."

These sentiments expressed by the *Times* so far back as 1888 have a very common familiarity to those who have followed current events in the last two decades. The great idea of "Divide and Rule" and exciting the Mohamadans against the Hindoos were seized with alacrity by the ruling power.

In 1888 immediately after the third session of the Indian National Congress was held in Madras the *Morning Post* wrote, "The agitation in short, is an agitation founded and carried on by the Baboos."

Just at this time Nawab Mehdi Hasan Fatah Nawab Jung wrote a letter in *St. James Gazette* re-opening the discussion on the subject of the political attitude of the landlords of India towards the British Government and the English race respectively. He was of the considered opinion along with Sir Syed Ahmad that great dangers attend the premature spread of radical ideas in India. He however had the frankness to say:

"The sentimental cause of our alienation for the purpose of the National Congress is what I must admit to be a narrow-minded feeling. We are aware that the Hindus are far superior to us in intellectual education while we are superior to them in other qualities which are requisite in a nation of rulers. Thus it is impossible for either to rule the other."

An agency was established in 1888 at 25 Craven Street, Strand, London, with William Digby as the agent to interpret the Congress in England. A number of Englishmen helped in the work of the Agency and two of them were Sir W. W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth who wrote a series of articles on the new India. They did not escape notice. *Home-*

ward Mail referring to the activities of Hunter and Garth wrote:

"But both are dangerous, the one from his ambition and the other because of sincerity. Much in their own way they are now actively helping the Baboo agitation which has been started in England. We do not say that the combination we have sketched is formidable but it can do a good deal of mischief and the time has come when it should be met by counter agitation."

This paper went a step further and wanted not merely an attitude of patronage to the opposition in India against the Congress but wanted that the Anglo-Indian journals and the Anglo-Indians should actively join hands with Sir Syed Ahmad and his colleagues. The journal also wanted an effective counter-move in England. It wrote:

"Agitation must be met by agitation. Speeches must be answered by speeches, lectures by lectures. The Mohamadans must be forced to study the issues and qualify themselves for meeting the organisation on the other side."

Homeward Mail even in that distant year of 1888 openly suggested that the Englishman in any way interested in India should begin to organise a resistance to the perilous demands of the National Congress. Almost prophetic were the words of this editorial paper:

"A number of the Englishmen of India, and men of wealth of India to those abroad, it would be a grave error in tactics to put them toward in country as the chief antagonists of the Congress agitation. The real character of the agitation must be brought home to the masses in England, Scotland and Ireland. The absurdity of heading over India to a minority of half-educated Babus, must be clearly exposed. That can only be done by an Anglo-Indian organisation acting in concert with the Mohamadans and Hindus."

This is how the encouragement came for the founding of the European Association or the Placers' Association in India.

In 1888 Moulvi Mehdi Ali Mohsin Ul Malik Bahadur, representative of the Government of Nizamat in Brighton and he published a few of the interviews he gave to some of the English papers regarding the opposition to the Indian National Congress which had been started by Sir Syed Ahmad. He also gave out that the Indian National Congress had originated with the so called Baboo or educated Bengalis. He was however cautious in his analysis and said that the Bengalis and the Parsis or the educated few who were sponsoring the Congress had neither an experience of administration nor they had anything to do with the

military class who mostly came from among the Mohamadans. He painted a lurid picture when he said.

"If the day of danger ever comes to England in India upon whom England can rely, not on the timid Baboos but upon the Mohamadans or Pathans with their loyal sword."

Another favourite theory of the Opposition to the Congress in the first few years was that the Russian gold was being employed for the agitation.

Sir Edward Watkins gave an interview to *Pall Mall Gazette* and openly vouched for this theory. He said that

"I was also struck by the numerous pictures of the Tzar and Tzarina who are to be found in private dwellings in many of the places I visited and I am strongly of opinion that the Russian gold is being circulated perhaps not in large quantities but among these native agitators of whom you admire much. You can compare this with the American dollars in Ireland."

Mr A O Home, that great Englishman who was the General Secretary of the Congress at that time, contradicted this in a lengthy letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he mentioned that

"The growth of the Congress movement means the destruction for ever of Russian hopes if she really entertains such of (it will not say of invading India) giving England trouble by creating riots in India. Sir, be sure of this, Russian gold may be employed to oppose the Congress and never a gram of it be given to support it."

William Digby also contradicted this theory of Sir Edward Watkins in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He denied the charges "as a fabrication of rumours."

It will be seen that the seed that was sown by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the debarred element in the European both officials and non-officials and the Conservative English Press sprouted quickly as an opposition force to the Congress and the various nebulous ideas, such as the cry that the Moslems will be nowhere soon, the British interests will suffer or that foreign influence or money was encouraging the Congress movement, quickly crystallised, and nursed by a few brainy people later on took a definite co-ordinated shape. In the earlier years of the twentieth century there was an ebb in the tide of the opposition so far as the Muslims were concerned but in the later years this was the biggest factor as we know. This is another story but what we want to emphasize is that the opposition to the Congress took a pattern which was deliberately given the shape by the three elements mentioned above.



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Towards A United World

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. L. S. Dorasami analyzes the message of UNESCO's idealistic Director-General, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, as enunciated on three important occasions his recent Asian tour :

Three suggestive and significant speeches were delivered* by Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Director-General of UNESCO, on March 14th in Ceylon, on March 19th in Pakistan and on March 24th in India, before the respective National Commissions of those countries. They were all informed by a high idealism; the address at New Delhi particularly was one of the great statements defining UNESCO's ideal of a harmonious, prosperous and peaceful world.

Space does not permit detailing the many admirable projects in which UNESCO is sponsor and/or participant, many of which were enumerated in the addresses at Colombo and Karachi. Some are primarily to assist the under-privileged, nations and individuals, towards the equality of opportunity which justice and, in the long run, peace demand. Such are represented by Technical Assistance Projects, like the help in the fields of meteorology, geodesy and radio now being given in Pakistan; the work of the Regional Science Co-operation Offices etc.

Other no less important projects subserve more directly the spread of the mutual appreciation and fellow-feeling upon which harmony between peoples so largely depends. For if, as Dr. Bodet pointed out at Colombo, "intellectual and spiritual aspirations must be consecrated and expressed in action," it is equally true that the improvement of material conditions alone will not bring lasting unity or peace, or relieve the intellectual starvation and mental destitution which, as Dr. Bodet implied at Karachi, meant an "intellectual proletariat," holding the "mortal threat to society" of which Arnold Toynbee had warned.

At New Delhi he put thus the need for unity on higher level than the material:

"The inner problem confronting every conscience today may be summed up as that of progressing from the sense of one physical world to the sense of one spiritual world. The exchanges which make of this earth one world may bring them life or death . . . beyond that there must be an awareness of effective solidarity driving men to act according to the demands of equity and universal brotherhood . . . The soul must work for the ideal of peace."

It is, it may be mentioned in passing, the recognition of the need for fostering mutual sympathy between peoples which inspires the efforts of the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore, though necessarily on a much smaller scale. To that Institute's special interest in UNESCO'S project for a scientific and cultural history of mankind, which promises so great a contribution to such mutual understanding, Dr. Bodet referred in his New Delhi address.

UNESCO'S projects of this second type include the promotion of translations of the classics of different countries; regional centres of fundamental education, regional or international seminars, at which there can be a meeting of minds from different backgrounds for the consideration of common problems; the fostering of study abroad; the popularizing of the cultural achievements of great citizens of different countries; pilot education projects like that planned for Ceylon and the pilot library project for India.

Dr. Bodet retorted at Karachi the charge that UNESCO was merely adorning the facade of a tottering building when it should be strengthening the foundations. In one sense, he admitted, culture, education and science were superstructures, "frail achievements, painfully won," and yet they represented the sum of mankind's accumulation of wisdom and skill, the international administration of which legacy was UNESCO'S function. In fact, he declared, in propagating science, education and culture, UNESCO was "going to the very root of the most grievous problems afflicting humanity today," and the harvest of the future would spring from the seeds which it was sowing.

At New Delhi he further defended UNESCO'S addressing its efforts to these instruments, which "act on



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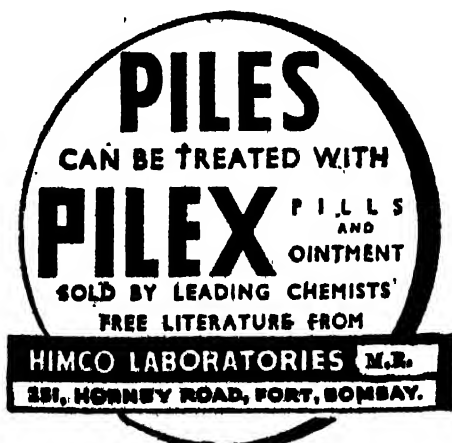
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the mind alone." "The mind is the alpha and omega of all action: it gives the order and stimulates the deed."

He made it plain that the aim of UNESCO was not uniformity, but a harmonious diversity. It sought to help each civilization "to achieve self-realization, while simultaneously participating more fully in a pacified and peaceful world community." It tried to turn the very diversity to account for the progress of mankind. Thus, for the good of all mankind, India, as she advances, will yet keep her soul.

Among UNESCO's Member States, Dr. Bodet said, India had been one of the most active and receptive to the idea of co-operation between peoples. "Its antiquity has set on Indian civilization the crown of wisdom but has in no way lessened its surging vitality." He praised the "goodness allied with decision," to which the Rock Edicts of Asoka bore witness, and his concept of "a universal comity seeking the good of all created things."

Can India, as Dr. Bodet hopes, abolish poverty and hunger "while remaining faithful to an ideal of peace and brotherhood, justice and liberty?" He praised the "calm courage and vision" with which India confronted "the uncharted problems of integrating modern technology into an ancient civilization," as found in the poet Rabindranath Tagore's magnificent acceptance of this challenge:

"I feel proud to have been born in this great age. I know that time will be needed for us to adapt ourselves to circumstances not only new but almost a complete reversal of what has been. Let us proclaim to the world that the dawn is breaking, not that we may withdraw behind barricades, but that we may meet one another in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust on the common ground of co-operation; never to nourish the spirit of denial and negation, but for that joyous acceptance which ever brings to flower the best that is in ourselves."

In "that noble cry of faith" Dr. Bodet seemed to hear "the echo down the centuries of the dawn hymn of the *Rig Veda* summoning men to action." Significant was the role which he assigned to India; heavy the responsibility that he laid upon us, a responsibility which India's sons dare not fail to discharge:

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Deep Sea Fishing in India

Science and Culture observes:

The role of Fishery Development in contributing to the solution of the problem of India's food deficit is being increasingly recognized. Dr. S. L. Hora, Director of Zoological Survey of India has in recent years, by means of lectures and articles, focussed public attention on the fishery resources of India and to the importance of their proper utilization. His views and those of other experts on the feasibility of deep sea fishing in the Indian Ocean area were summarized by Dr. Hora in a lecture given recently before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been published in April 1951 issue of *Science and Culture*. It appears that opinions amongst experts differ with regard to a number of aspects of developmental measures as applied to Deep Sea Fishing in Indian Waters.

The term Deep Sea Fishing apparently conjures up visions of limitless harvests in the vast seas, to be had just for the reaping. It has, however, to be remembered that in the boundless ocean, the marine harvest is generally confined to definite fishing grounds on the continental shelf within the 200 fathoms limit. The great abysses of the real deep sea hardly bear any fish crop, and hence what is commonly termed 'deep sea fishing' refers actually to the offshore regions of this shelf, which generally remain inaccessible to the common inshore fishermen, whose frail craft of limited speed do not allow them to venture beyond five or six miles from the shore without entailing delay and decay of the catches. The mobility and fluctuations of the crop, which is often subject to oceanographic influences and migratory habits of the species render the marine harvest further elusive even in the offshore waters. The disappointing failures of some of the recent large-



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scale enterprises for deep sea fishing both on the West Coast and the East, not to speak of the several attempts of doubtful success on the part of the major maritime States in the same direction in the past, point to the urgent need for clarifying the issue, so that any further private or public effort at deep sea fishing may be rationally directed with reference to actual possibilities. The views of fishery workers are by no means unanimous on the prospect or methodology of deep sea fishing in India. While some enthuse over the untapped resources of the vast seas, others who have been concerned with marine investigations, contend that the "Tales about the richness of tropical waters are mere fairy tales, and to get as large catches as in the temperate waters is difficult in tropical latitudes, if not impossible." It is observed from available statistics that out of the total world production of sea fish, the Pacific Ocean contributes 48 per cent, the Atlantic 47 per cent and the Indian Ocean only 5 per cent.

The cooler offshore waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic in the Northern Hemisphere abound in commercial fishes, which, though limited in species, are numerically rich. There are thus the demersal or bottom forms like the flatfishes, cods, skates and rays, which are exploited by trawling and long lining, and pelagic forms like the herring, sardine, pilchard and mackerel caught by drift nets, drag nets or seines. Though the warmer waters of the tropics, on the other hand, contain a variety of species, fishes which mass in shoals capable of commercial exploitation seem, as far as known, to be limited to a few pelagic forms. In the Indian seas these are mainly the mackerels, the clupeoids, the carangids, etc. Hence surface operations like seining, long lining, etc. seem to offer better scope in the offshore waters here than trawling proper. Apart from the availability of adequate bottom fishes, trawling to be successful requires an even sea bottom fairly firm and free from boulders or mud. Even though a few such probable grounds are known to exist in the Wadge Bank off Cape Comorin, the Basses San Pedro Bank off Mangalore, etc., as yet deep sea fishing in India on a large scale has not met with economic success. The continental shelves in the North Atlantic are wide and extensive. In fact the whole of the North Sea is but a shallow basin which hardly exceeds 100 fathoms in depth. The annual convection overturn which occurs in temperate and cold waters and returns an abundance of nutrient salts to the surface layers has also been offered as one of the explanations for their abundant crops.

Explaining the limitations of Indian seas it has been cited that "the coast line of India—and especially so along the triangle-shaped part of the great peninsula—is for the greater part devoid of bays, inlets, estuaries with their mudflats or shoals, and lacks islands or groups of islands with their inter-crossing channels. The surrounding sea is deep, the slope of the continent is generally rather steep, which means that the hundred fathom line is close mostly about twenty to fifty nautical miles to the shore so that the shelf fringe is narrow and for the greater part is closely following the coast line. As a consequence, biological conditions are rather monotonous and conditions are not favourable for a teeming fish life."

Apart from the divergent views on the scope of trawling in the Indian waters, it is recognised by all that every potential field of a natural renewable resource like that of the offshore waters of India should be explored and exploited on a rational basis. The wealth of the variety of edible Indian sea fishes is indeed known. Since, however the populations of most of these species are reported to be comparatively small and diffused, large gear as used in temperate waters may not be economical.

As each kind of seine, fish trap or other device is more or less selective, the catches per unit gear time are also found to be small in our waters. Hence there is a feeling that the progressive development and mechanisation, with due modification of the existing craft and gear of Indian fishermen are likely to yield better immediate results than large-scale experiment with foreign craft and gear which may ill fit in with the socio-economics of our fishermen not to speak of the uncertainty of the yield.

While gradual and progressive evolution of improvements in existing methods of seafishing may thus be advocated, the need for actual assessment of the sea crop as well as the habits and biological features of the species constituting it is important. Exploratory work with this end in view has already been attempted at different times during the past half century by Provincial and Central Governments using craft and implements of the western countries. The results of these experiments cannot be said to have been so far quite encouraging. They have also been fragmentary and not co-ordinated. Sustained and methodical investigation of our seas and of the fisheries thereof alone may enable us to have the final word on deep sea fishing in India.

In the light of the discouraging results of the various Governments' efforts at deep sea fishing in the past—though it cannot be gainsaid that in many of these, pioneering effort was confused with commercial profit—the work of this type which has just been undertaken by West Bengal is to be watched with interest.

Since the first attempt at scientific marine investigation in the Bay of Bengal in 1892 by R.I.M.S. *Investigator* several efforts in oceanographic research have been made in India. The Marine Biological Stations of the Madras Fisheries Department at Krusadai, Ennore and West Hill, the laboratories of the Universities of Madras and Travancore and of the adjoining island of Ceylon have all been gathering a good deal of preliminary data on our seas. The recently established Fishery Research Stations of the Government of India have taken such work on systematic lines and the properly co-ordinated efforts of all these and other similar institutions in South East Asia should in the near future throw light on several problems relating to our sea fisheries. Advantage could also be taken of the possible co-operation of the merchant ships and the navy in the collection of oceanographic data. Meanwhile the provision of inexpensive mechanisation of craft and gear, of adequate landing harbours, ice and cold storage and transport and marketing facilities seem to be problems of urgency for the immediate improvement in the utilisation of sea fish.

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Highlights of the Indonesian Struggle for Freedom and Unity

The *Merdeka*, August 1950, of the Indonesian Information Service, summarises the main outlines of the history of the building up of new Indonesia from 17th August, 1945 to 15th August 1950, the year of the 5th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence :

If we trace back the happenings of the past five years of the freedom struggle and the fight for unity, we cannot fail to record the most important events and facts which may in broad outline be summarized as follows :

(1) The proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. The first erstwhile colonized people in Asia proclaimed their own free state, the Republic of Indonesia.

(2) Foreign intervention in the form of the landing of British troops in September 1945 who were supposed to disarm the Japanese and to release Allied prisoners of war only, but it turned out instead that they in many instances were using the Japs against the Indonesians and were also at the same time helping the Dutch in re-establishing colonial rule. The consequences were intermittent clashes between these British troops and the Indonesians; these clashes became intensified with the landing of large numbers of Dutch troops under the protection of these already arrived British forces. The result of all this was the wresting of other territories of the Indonesian archipelago outside Java, Madura and Sumatra, from Republican hands.

(3) The signing of the Linggadjati Agreement on March 25, 1947, resulting in the *de facto* recognition of the Republic of Indonesia as exercising *de facto* authority over Java, Madura and Sumatra by the Netherlands, Britain, America and some other countries. This *de facto* recognition was soon followed by the *de jure* recognition by Egypt and some other Arab countries. Under this agreement both the parties, the Dutch and Indonesians, agreed to set up in mutual cooperation, an independent and sovereign United States of Indonesia to be associated with the Netherlands under the Netherlands Indonesian Union. The first puppet states were set up after the Malino conference in a policy of encircling the young Indonesian state.

(4) The first Dutch military action termed as "police action" was launched against the Indonesian Republic on July 20/21, 1947.

(5) The intervention of the Security Council resulted in a cease-fire in August 1947, and the signing of the Renville Agreement on January 17, 1948 under the auspices of the U.N.3-Nation Good Offices Committee for Indonesia. Under this agreement the territories of the Republic of Indonesia were reduced to about one-third of Java and nine-tenths of Sumatra. More artificially created states were set up from the territories carved out from the Indonesian Republic.

(6) Encouraged by the success and gains of their first "police action" a second attack, also called another "police action," was launched by the Dutch against the

Republic on December 18/19, 1948. Jogjakarta was invaded by paratroops and the captured Indonesian leaders were exiled to Bangka Island.

(7) Second intervention of the Security Council in the fighting, resulting in the so-called Roem-van-Royen agreement in May 1949, negotiated under the auspices of the U.N.3-Nation commission for Indonesia. This Agreement stipulated among others :

(a) The speedy evacuation of the Jogjakarta residency by the Dutch troops and the gradual return of the other territories of the Republic of Indonesia as defined in the Renville agreement;

(b) The setting up of an independent sovereign Indonesian State associated with the Netherlands in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union;

(c) to hold, as soon as possible, a Round Table Conference at the Hague, to implement (b) decision;

(8) The Round Table Conference negotiations at the Hague from August 23 to November 2, 1949, resulted in the formal transfer of unconditional sovereignty of the Indonesian archipelago—with the exception of Irian whose status is to be decided in 1950—to the Indonesians on December 27, 1949; the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (R.U.S.I.) was inaugurated; the Republic of Indonesia with its capital Jogjakarta became a member-State of the 16-State-Federation.

The happenings after the formation of the R.U.S.I. may be further recorded as follows :

(9) The withdrawal of foreign authority from the once artificially created states resulted in the speedy dissolution of these states and their merger with the member-State, Republic of Indonesia. This was in consequence of the strong popular desire in those territories.

(10) The series of foreign inspired revolts,—like the Westerling affair in January, 1950 and related to this, the Hamid case; the Aziz rebellion at Macassar in April and the Ambon affair shortly after this; and again the recent Macassar disturbances—were aimed at sabotaging the new Indonesian State and hampering its consolida-

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tion. These revolts, however, had instead the opposite effect, namely the acceleration, of the dissolution of the artificially created States, so that by May 19, other than the Republic of Indonesia, there remained only the constituent States of East Indonesia and East Sumatra. These states also agreed on that date to be submerged into a unitarian State.

(11) On July 20, agreement on the provisional Constitution of the future Unitarian State was reached between the Republic of Indonesia and the R.U.S.I., representing both these two other remaining States.

(13) This draft Constitution was approved by the provisional Parliament of the member-State Republic of Indonesia on August 12, 1950 and by the R.U.S.I. Parliament on August 14. On August 15, President Soekarno after winding up the Governments of Constituent States of the R.U.S.I., dissolved the federation and proclaimed a new unitarian State; the new Republic of Indonesia was inaugurated with its provisional Capital in Djakarta, the city where the original proclamation of August 1945 took place.

Cultural Relations Between Italy and India During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

The following article, which is reproduced from the *Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information*, was found among the unpublished papers of Carlo Formichi. It is part of a longer one on historical and cultural relations between Italy and India, from ancient times up to the present day :

For five centuries, Rome was able to keep East and West together, but, with the fall of this city following the invasions of the barbarians, the two worlds once again drifted apart. In all Europe, as well as in Italy herself, civilization practically disappeared. Famous cities became heaps of ruins; poverty and want took the place of wealth, while humiliation and dismay were in the souls of all people.

With the fall of Italy in Odoacer's hands, in 476 A.C., the Western Roman Empire fell to pieces. Byzantium, the capital of the new Empire, protected the Italian coast on the Adriatic Sea, i.e., Venice, Ravenna, Ancona and Bari; also that on the Tyrrhenian Sea, i.e., Amalfi, Naples, Pisa and Genoa.

Thus civilization in Italy, already on the point of being extinguished, began to assert itself again. Under Constantine, the "bezant" was the currency employed in international trade and proved that Byzantium—which was afterwards Constantinople—occupied the first place. Only after the year 1,000, the Byzantians were deprived of their last possessions in Italy by the Normans.

During the period of Arab supremacy—when trade with India fell into the hands of the Mohomedans and Hebrews and all traffic between Europe and Asia was interrupted—Byzantium received her merchandise only through the Black Sea. With the collapse of the Califate of Bagdad, trade between Europeans and Asiatics revived and the Mediterranean acquired once again its former importance.

Italian coastal towns became independent and found new markets for their goods, while the Lombard and Tuscan cities of the interior gave a great impulse to industry and gained predominance in the banking world.

The Italians who, in Europe, ruled the money market were called Lombards.

The maritime towns of Southern Italy—above all Amalfi—were in active commercial with the East. The citizens of Amalfi (Amalfitani) went to all countries of the world. They traded with the Saracens and the streets of their populous town were frequented by many Orientals, amongst whom there were also Indians. In 1076, Amalfi fell in the hands of Normans and later—having also Genoa and Pisa as her enemies—was sacked by the Pisans.

Venice, Genoa and Pisa, the three maritime Republics, carried on their trade, at first only in the Western part of the Mediterranean. However, during the Crusades, they sent their fleets to the East, in order to help those who fought and also to victual them. In 1099, 120 Pisan ships were the first to touch the Philippines. After a few months, 200 Venetian ships arrived and finally, in 1100, also the Genoese fleet—20 galleys and many transport ships.

The presence of these three powerful Italian fleets off the Syrian coast, were a proof that the commercial maritime supremacy had changed hands; from those of the Byzantians and Islamites to those of the Italian maritime Republics. During the Crusades, not only Arabs but also Italians, earned on commercial traffic with Persians, Indians and Chinese. Indian goods carried by land, fetched in Syria very high prices, therefore Italian merchants preferred buying them in Egypt. The Crusades greatly developed trade with Egypt.

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Frederick II sent his own ships from Sicily; became an intimate friend of the Sultan, and sent from Egypt—by land and by sea—his agents to distant Indian regions, in order that they might carry on trade with those populations. Italian shops in Alexandria astonished all travellers. But Egypt, the cradle of Islamism, had to be wiped out—and not exploited—by those Italian merchants who ardently wished to trade with India. Therefore, the Genoese, who had installed themselves at Kaffa and in the port of Tana on the Black Sea, constantly tried to find new land and sea routes, so as to bring Indian spices and aromas to the West.

The Vivaldi brothers' attempt to circumnavigate Africa, goes back to 1292. When Asia suffered invasions and devastations at the hands of the Mongols led by Genghis Khan, the Persians and Arabs ceased to predominate over the trade between Europe and Asia. The Mongols—though converted in part to Islamism—showed themselves tolerant towards merchants, protected caravans, favoured traffic and laid the foundations of Tauris, the metropolis of their Western empire.

The Italians looked anxiously to the new lords, and reached the interior of Asia.

The Venetians and a larger number of Genoese remained at Tauris; and trade, between the Italian maritime Republics and India, flourished. Marco Polo, together with his father Niccolò and his uncle Matteo, accomplished his famous journey to China. Admitted to the presence of the Emperor Kubilai, in 1275, he won his trust, by immediately learning the different idioms and writings in use at the time in the Empire, by adapting himself to Chinese customs and respecting everybody. He behaved in such a way that his words truly answered his thoughts and his actions his words.

Kubilai sent him as inspector to various parts of the Empire and named him governor of a province for a period of three years. Finally he put him at the head of a special mission to India. He was the first to give definite and certain news of this country, though he visited it in a hurry, driven, as he was, by the fact that the Emperor had ordered him to escort to Persia a Tartar princess, the future wife of the Kan Argun.

All news which had reached Europe concerning India, was fantastic. This was due to the legendary stories told by Greek and Latin writers, to which must be added the myths narrated by the monk Cosma Indicopleuste of the VIth century. This monk—who had been a merchant when a young man—had visited India and had given a description of this country which did not answer to reality. The descriptions which Marco Polo gives us concerning Chinese ethnography, statistics and economics, are extensive. Those of India, instead, are short but worthy of being believed. His book *Il Milione* (The Million) which describes the marvellous things he had seen during his travels, was dictated by him when a prisoner in Genoa. All that Marco Polo tells us of the products of India, has since been confirmed by facts. He was present at pearl-fishing at Malabar and described it in a sure and very efficient manner. The passage in which he depicts diamond-collecting in Golconda, is also very interesting.

Up to the discovery of America and the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, relations between Italy and India became ever closer: travellers, merchants, Italian missionaries landed on the Indian coast and sent back news about the products and customs of that marvellous country. It is impossible

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to name them all; but the most well-known are Giovanni da Montecorvino, Oderico da Pordenone, Giovanni dei Marignolli, Girolamo da Santo Stefano, Girolamo Adarno, Niccolo' dei Conti.

The first three were missionaries; they visited India in succession, from 1292 to 1317. Of Niccolo' dei Conti, a native of Chioggia, we have an interesting report on his travels which began in 1400 and ended in 1453. The Genoese, Girolamo da Santo Stefano and Girolamo Adarno stayed in India from 1496 to 1499; to the first we owe information on red sandalwood and kermes.

Cristopher Columbus landed in the and Vasco de Gama reached India, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The away supremacy in trade from the Me

the Portuguese stepped in the place of Genoa and Venice in the Eastern trade.

The Venetian Seignory, informed by secret agents of the development of relations between Portugal and India, offered to buy all the Indian spices which reached Lisbon, pledging themselves to distribute them throughout Europe; but the Portuguese King refused the offer. Venice renewed the old treaties with Egyptian Sultans, in order not to be wholly deprived of the possibility of buying Indian spices, but had to accept sale and came to an agreement with the Portuguese, according to which Venetian galleys in the port of Lisbon were allowed to unload their marchandise.

Also at Genoa, Government and private persons tried to find a way out of their difficulties. Paolo

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The Florentines, more shrewd and luckier than the Venetians and Genoese, established banks in Lisbon at the beginning of the XVIth century. The commercial firms of the Gualterotti, Frescobaldi, Giraldi and Marchionni were very well-known.

Florentine capital helped to arm, in 1503, Alfonso de Albuquerque's fleet, which carried to India Giovanni da Empoli, whom the Frescobaldi and the Gualterotti had entrusted with the sale of a large quantity of Florentine woollen cloths.

In Giovanni da Empoli's letters valuable advice is to be found concerning goods to be bought in India: pearls, rubies, sapphires, cinnamon, pepper and cotton-stuffs.

The Bolognese, Lodovico di Varthema, travelled in India from 1502 to 1508; he has left us some very interesting news not only about spices and the Indian flora but also about the social and religious orders of that country.

Many are the names of Italians—particularly Florentines—who visited India during the first half of the 16th century: Andrea Corsali, Piero Strozzi, Piero di Giovanni di Dmo, Luigi Roncinotto and others.

Of great importance is the initiative taken in the second half of the XVIth century by Francis I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. He sent to Lisbon Antonio Vecchiotti, on a special mission, to obtain from the

Portuguese sovereign the right to purchase pepper and other goods coming from the East. A Company of Florentine firms which already had offices in that city, became members of it.

Francis gave one hundred thousand ducats and offered the ships to bring the pepper to Leghorn. The enterprise flourished from 1576 to 1580, but all activities ceased when Portugal was annexed to Spain. Florentine firms did not only content themselves with the transport of goods between Italy and Portugal, but went on sending their agents to India, amongst whom there was a Florentine patrician: Filippo Sassetti.

The latter—besides giving in his letters a great deal of information on the climate and health conditions of that country—was the first to notice a relationship between certain words of the Indian "written language" (which he called Sanskrit) and ours. Thus, for example: between *sapta* and *sette* (seven); *nava* and *nove* (nine); *sarpa* and *serpe* (serpent); and so forth.

Sassetti's observation has no scientific basis, but is true and it needed the genius of Franz Bopp to lay the foundations of a new science: Comparative Grammar.

Other Italians travelled to India at the same time as Sassetti, but one thing is certain, i.e., that the volume of traffic between Italy and the East steadily diminished till in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, it definitely disappeared, when the Dutch, English and French landed in India with the purpose of trading with and conquering that country.

The efforts of Venetians and Genoese to keep up with India a steady exchange of goods failed, and no Italian merchant crossed again the Indian Ocean. The only Italians who gave us news of the nature of the country and the customs of the people, were either travellers desirous of seeing new things—such as the Roman patrician Pietro della Valle, the Calabrian Gemelli-Careri, the Venetian physician Legrenzo—or Missionaries, whose task was to spread Christian faith. By remaining in contact with the people, learning the language of the country and studying the psychology of the race, these Missionaries were able to acquaint us with the Indian soul. A very famous one was the Jesuit Roberto de Nobili, who learnt Sanskrit, Tamilian, and other idioms and even dressed like a Brahman. Another Jesuit, Father Costantino Giuseppe Baschi, who also had a great philological culture, lived for a long time in India, died there and left two valuable grammars of literary and vulgar Tamilian. Another famous Jesuit missionary, Giacomo Fenicio of Capua, a man full of enthusiasm and zeal, who had lived for quite a while in Malabar, wrote a book on Hinduism full of interesting details. He lived in the second half of the XVIIth century and in the first three decades of the XVIIIth.

Other Fathers well deserving for their knowledge of India, were: Marco della Tomba, Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina, Giuseppe Sebastiani, etc.

While merchants only gave news concerning products which could be profitably exported to the West, missionaries, instead, spoke of beliefs, customs and Indian rites. But merchants and missionaries cannot spread their knowledge easily. Only cultured people read Marco Polo's *The Million* and learn from it, though vaguely, that the religion of Buddha is especially significant for its high moral level. Those who read the report of the Jesuit, Father Cinamo, born at Naples, are few. Yet they can identify the philosophic

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system of the Vedanta in the words with which Father Cinamo informs us of his discussion with certain Brahmans of Mysore: "Among them, there are some who affirm that all the world is simply appearance. That men, animals, or other beings or elements do not exist and that all things are but a dream and only the appearance of reality."

Only now these words can be fully understood and we cannot help but admiring that missionary who wrote them in the XVIIth century.

The Indonesian Language

The birth of the Indonesian language preceded that of the Indonesian Republic. Indeed, the first origin of the Indonesian and Malay languages are one and the same, with what appears to be a form nearer to that common origin spoken today in the islands of the Riau Archipelago, a part of Indonesia. The development of Indonesian is closely connected with the political struggle in this country, which was crowned with success by world-wide recognition of Indonesia's Independence.

In colonial days, the area now called Indonesia bore the name of the Netherlands East Indies. The Dutch Government denied that the word "Indonesian" truly qualified anything in this country, instead, they talked of Javanese, Sumatran, Sundanese, Madurese etc.; even the common language which has now developed into the "modern Indonesian" was then called "Malay" in spite of its differences from the language of the peninsula.

On October 28, 1928 the Indonesian youth met in a congress in Djakarta and proclaimed its conviction that the people of this Dutch colony were in fact one nation, with one country and one language, and that this language was Indonesian. This statement was at the same time a demonstration of the unity of all the peoples of Indonesia against the Dutch colonial rule of that period.

As from 1926, when the political struggle against the Dutch became a real threat to the continuation of colonial rule, the Dutch government took such stern measures that free political expression became extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible. Some cultural avenues were, however, left open, and especially the youth, convinced that the days of colonialism were numbered, rallied strongly behind this front. But official recognition of the statement of 1928 came only with the proclamation of independence and the founding of the Republic of Indonesia. The constitution of August 17, 1945, provides that the official language of Indonesia is the Indonesian language.

The history of Indonesian is an interesting one. At some much earlier period the language from which it originated was the vernacular for a part of the archipelago, it was then used as lingua franca for commerce and general communication over a much wider area, where the potentials of the language were not understood, and where it was less well-known; recently there has been at one and the same time, much research into the original potentials, and a conscious "modernization" through the addition of those technical and other terms necessary to equip it for use as the official language of a modern state.

The Dutch scientists Spat, Van Ophuysen and others are of the opinion that the Malay language was first used by the inhabitants of the Malay peninsula, the Riau archipelago, the East Coast of Sumatra and the Malay settlements in Western Borneo. Other

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scientists, however, believe that it did not originate there but along the borders of the river Batanghari in the present Residency of Djambi in Sumatra. Here formerly was situated the Kingdom of Malayu. In the seventh century the Kingdom of Sriwidjaja, centred around Palembang, to the South of Djambi, conquered that Kingdom, thus beginning to popularize the vernacular of the Malayu people in other parts.

Indonesians who wanted to communicate with people originating from different areas in the archipelago also used Malay. And so it came about that not only were social conditions and attitudes in Indonesia affected by the presence of many foreign people, of foreign cultures and foreign religions, but the common language of the people of the archipelago was likewise affected and enriched by "borrowings" from other tongues. In this way, Chinese, Hindu, Arabic, Portuguese, English and Dutch—to mention only the most important—have all contributed either with individual words or with new ways of thinking which produced new impressions.

The movement for the use of the Indonesian language now had the support of nearly all educated Indonesians and gained more and more followers. Soon it became customary to use Indonesian in public meetings. That the Dutch disliked this was apparent from articles in the Dutch press at that time. For example, the Dutch saw a demonstration of Indonesian nationalism in the declaration by the nationalist group that Indonesian would be used instead of Dutch in the "general reviews" of the Volksraad (the so-called people's council). The Indonesian press was up to then in an unfavourable position compared with the colonial Dutch press, which was backed by capitalists with much interest in the continuation of Dutch supremacy in

Indonesia. From this period, however, the Indonesian press increased in strength almost daily, and swiftly headed for the eminent position it has now obtained.'

A real boom period for the Indonesian language occurred during the Japanese occupation. Having found themselves champions of the Asian cause, they banned the Dutch and English languages, which they branded "the language of the enemy." Because they could not install the Japanese language in the place of those European languages, they had to resort to Indonesian, too, like all their predecessors. Local vernaculars were prohibited for writing except in the case of personal correspondence. That is why we can say, that the Japanese occupation was a period for the flowering of Indonesian. However, it should be noted that the Japanese talked about the "marcigo" (the Malay language), and the Indonesians about the Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language) in referring to one and the same thing. Only close to the surrender of Japan did the Japanese mention "Indonesia-go" as a sop to please the rebellious Indonesians. Japanese efforts to popularize the study of Japanese among Indonesians were not popular, and moreover were handicapped by the difficulty of a script, though some Indonesians did acquire a knowledge of spoken Japanese.

Now that the political status of Indonesia has become settled in the unitarian Republic of Indonesia, it goes without saying that the Indonesian language has a better future secured. The language has grown in importance and has become more and more complete, enriched by words originating from the other languages of the archipelago (Javanese, Sundanese, etc.) and from the languages of all the other people who have left their mark on this country.

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It is a fact that the Indonesian language at present still lacks many terms, particularly for technical purposes. This is one of the reasons why it is sometimes easier to use western languages when dealing with technical subjects, but we are convinced that before long our language too will become a language suited to express all the needs of modern life.

Indonesian is very receptive, and, although, etymologically speaking, it is still in an early formative stage, it has certain useful qualities. Amongst these are the facilities of Indonesian for expressing human reactions, feelings, and states of mind, which often present translators with marked difficulties when translating into English for instance. Because the development of Indonesia requires much technological advance, it is certain that technical terms will be readily incorporated in the language of the people; therefore, possessing already a certain richness in dealing with the problems of human psychology, we feel justified in predicting that Indonesian in future will become a language rich in all the requirements of a people.—*Indonesian News Bulletin*, April 7, 1951.

A New Library for New Readers In India

A public library of a new kind—especially designed to meet the needs of readers using books for the first time in their adult lives—is to be opened early this year in the city of Delhi, India. The institution is the result of an agreement between the Government of India and Unesco, providing for a pilot project to show how public library services can effectively support literacy and adult-education campaigns.

The library is to be housed in a crowded part of the city, in a building with ample room for book services and educational meetings, and a spacious court for outside reading during the summer. The services will stress the needs of adults just learning to read, taking over where the current literacy campaigns of the Indian Government leave off. Adult readers, newly-literate, will be helped to improve their efforts in self-education.

MODEL FOR THE FUTURE

During the first year, the library will assemble a collection of about 10,000 books, plus periodicals, pamphlets, maps and pictures. Most of the material will be in Hindi and Urdu but some books in English, particularly reference books, will be provided. There also will be services for children and young people.

Books are to be lent free for home use, and advisers will help the borrowers, particularly those who have just learned to read, to plan appropriate courses of reading. Reading interest is to be stimulated through film showings, discussions, publication of reading lists, gramophone record concerts, exhibitions and story-hours for children.

Unesco's interest in the library extends far beyond Delhi, for the project is intended not only as an end in itself but as a demonstration of what can be done. When the project proves its usefulness, other cities in India and in other parts of Asia will be encouraged to use it as a model.

The Delhi library programme will be integrated with the work of local organizations in the fields of fundamental and adult education, especially with that of the Delhi Education Board and Jamia Millia, a Muslim voluntary organization. The former now operates seven adult education centres and sixteen literacy centres, and plans to add nineteen more centres to its present network. Jamia Millia operates five centres in Delhi.

One of the critical problems in developing the project will be the provision of publications. Many books in

Hindi—one estimate is 2,000—which are suitable for the general reader with some formal education, have been published in the last five years. But there is a great shortage of easy-to-read books for adults and appropriate publications for children. Jamia Millia has published 250 sixteen-page pamphlets for newly-literate adults, and has prepared 200 additional manuscripts in the local languages. But the stock of all but fifty of the published manuscripts was destroyed by a fire, and publishers are unwilling to reprint the old pamphlets or publish the new ones at a price the average man can afford. An effort will be made to solve this problem, and ways of stimulating the production of easy-to-read adult books and publications for young people in Hindi and Urdu will be studied by the librarians of the new institution.

By the terms of the agreement between Unesco and the Government of India, Unesco is contributing a fellowship for study abroad to the Indian librarian who will be permanent director of the pilot project. Unesco will also pay the salary of a temporary foreign director to carry out the organizational activity, and will provide technical advice and funds for publicity. In addition, Unesco will purchase an audio-visual library van for the project and pay the salary of the permanent director during 1951. A second fellowship may also be contributed for a children's librarian, and it is proposed to ask future Unesco General Conferences to continue the financial assistance.

PIONEER VENTURE

The Government of India is contributing 150,000 Rupees (\$31,175) and use of the building provided by the municipality of the city of Delhi for the establishment and operation of the project. The agreement also provides for a further annual grant of 25,000 Rupees (\$5,196) contributed by the city of Delhi.

Staff members of the library, who are granted fellowships, will prepare themselves for their work by studying public library methods in other countries, and on their return will work with the temporary foreign director in assembling the book collection and organizing the services of the project. While these services will emphasize primarily the needs of persons just learning to read, who without practice might slide back into illiteracy, they will also take care of more advanced readers. The pilot project, in addition to being a pioneer venture in a special field, will be developed to fit local educational needs of all kinds.—*Unesco Courier*.

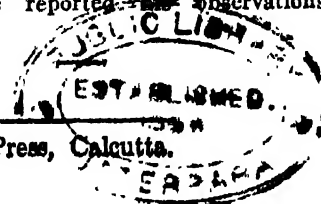
World's Tiniest Plant is Leafless Parasite

Science Service of Washington summarises the following news from the *Nature* of London:

London, April.—The tiniest plant of its class in the world is now yielding up its life's secrets to scientists. It is a leafless parasite, a distant relative of mistletoe, and its small size is indicated by its name . . . *Arceuthobium minutissimum* Hook. f.

Found only in the high Himalayas, the plant often is less than a fifth of an inch in length. Its flowers are greenish in color. Scientists cannot yet tell whether the same individual is normally both male and female, as in most flowering plants. They will have to wait until the seeds are allowed to germinate on fresh and previously unattacked pine stems.

Dr. R. M. Datta of Jute Agricultural Research Institute, West Bengal, India is investigating the characteristic of the tiny plant. He reported his observations in the journal, *NATURE*.

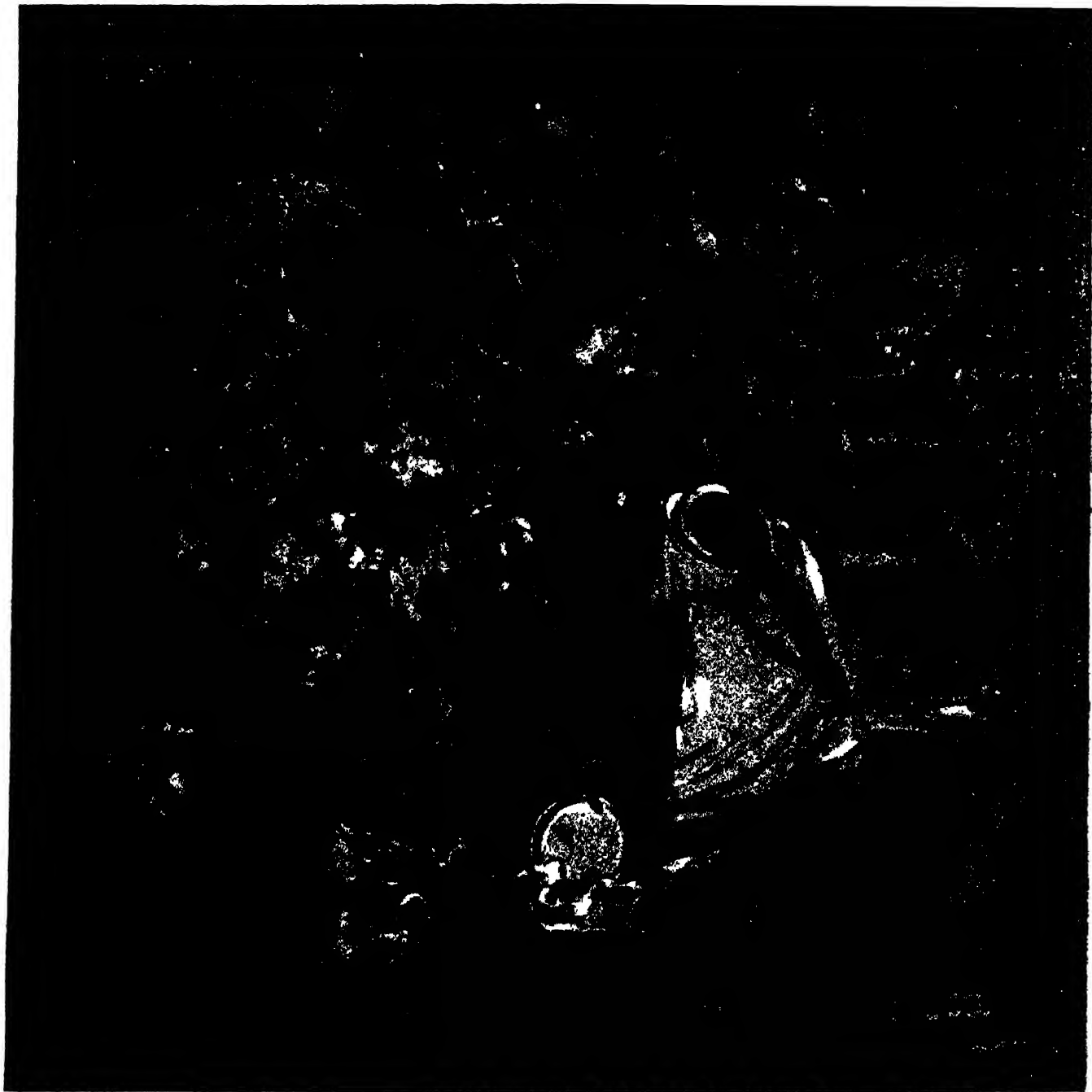




Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Srimati Indira Gandhi, Miss Singh, daughter of India's Ambassador to Nepal and Sri Koirala, Home Minister of Nepal, visits a temple at Bhadgaon, 8 miles east of Kathmandu



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visits the Guhveswari Temple, two miles north-east of Kathmandu



DOMESTIC MEMBERS
By Birendranath Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1951

VOL. LXXXX, No. 2

WHOLE No. 536

NOTES

Prospects for the Coming Election

The elections for the Parliament and the State Legislatures are coming near. The contest will be as between the Congress and a whole host of opposition groups, of which there are no less than fourteen odd in West Bengal alone. There is schism within the Congress, both open and furtive. There are elements within the main body of the Congress itself, that are getting restive due to their confidence in leadership being increasingly lowered.

Apart from the splinter groups, which up till now have not been able to form effective opposition coalitions, there are the Hindu Mahasabha, the Socialist Party and the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party led by Acharya Kripalani. The so-called Progressive Group and the Leftist parties are even now negotiating with all and sundry to form election combines in order to conduct an effective campaign against the Congress. They have had some petty successes in District and Local Board elections, mainly due to the action of recalcitrant local elements that are dissatisfied with the arbitrary and high-handed methods of the Congress.

The Socialist Party has issued an election manifesto, the substance of which is printed elsewhere in the editorials of this issue. Acharya Kripalani is touring the country on behalf of his party and the K.-M.-P. party has also issued a manifesto. Acharya Kripalani's speeches have been mainly directed against the Congress, in and out of office.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerji's campaign is also directed against the Congress. His main plank is the question of appeasement of Pakistan. Hindu Mahasabha leaders are not much in evidence. The Communist party has come out in the open and is carrying out its propaganda throughout the country through a highly-skilled dissemination of news, views, propaganda articles and cartoons by the channel of its personnel that has infiltrated into almost every newspaper in

India. The Party Politburo does not seem to have received any definite instructions as yet from Moscow.

The rest of the contestants, whom we have termed 'splinter groups,' have only localized influence and significance. In some provinces, like the State of West Bengal, they have as yet only considerable nuisance value, and where their influence is manifest, there will be a very considerable chance of violence and disruptive activities during the elections. None of these parties have any All-India significance, but if the proposed coalitions materialise then there is some likelihood of their affecting the Parliamentary elections to some appreciable extent.

All these parties, the major groups and the splinters are actively canvassing the support of disaffected Congressmen, the Have-nots or Have-littles within the party in power, as also the few genuine Congressmen who have stood aloof, with distressed minds, as silent spectators of the acts of perfidy against the nation being perpetrated by the dishonest ones in the Congress. Indeed the main strength of disruption lies in the corruption and malfeasance that is rife within the Congress, the administration as well as the body-politic. Honest men there are galore, inside the Congress, but they are powerless and are chewing the bitter curds of frustration in silent despair.

The Congress has issued an Election Manifesto, and the Congress Government has had a Five-Year Plan prepared in draft, a few copies of which have been circulated with discretion, so that there might be as little considered criticism and as much of empty fanfare as possible. And the A.I.C.C. has capped the Congress Manifesto with a bombastic proclamation, which in substance means that the A.I.C.C. is willing to accept and nominate for election "good men" from outside the Congress, provided the said "good men" are such congenital morons as to be willing to sell their very souls to that assemblage of pompous mediocrities and dumb nonentities who sit together in the

A.I.C.C. with the notoriety that have reduced the once noble edifice of the Congress to a veritable Augean Stable! We shall consider all the manifestos in due course. But before that let us confess to a mind charged with dismal forebodings. Unless a miracle happens, we do not see how chaos can be averted in the elections and its aftermath.

The makers of the Constitution and the members of the Constituent Assembly have made an appalling mess of their jobs, and the High Courts—or at least some prominent judges—have completed the disaster. Today the Four Freedoms—indeed a hundred times four—are for those criminals who wage war against the nation and the social structure. Honest men are at the mercy of the corrupt ones who have filled the administration with their minions. The case of the Satyagrahis of Manbhum in Bihar is so shameful as to force us to hold down our heads. We know Pandit Nehru or Babu Rajendraprasad have no time to cogitate on the prostitution of justice in corrupt governments, but what has happened to President Purushottamdas Tandon's principles? In the Manifesto itself, the issue of linguistic readjustment between Bihar and West Bengal has been evaded in a fashion that is not only cowardly but flagrantly dishonest as well.

The crying need in the Congress, both Official and National, is a purge of corruption. Corruption has permeated into the very vitals of it, right from the top to the bottom. Ministries, administrative services, the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. all need to be rid of those vile elements. *The Public Services Commissions have been reduced to fraudulent farces, nepotism and favouritism is rife everywhere.* So until such time as we see a determined move on the parts of the Congress Governments and the Congress body-politic, we shall take the Congress Manifesto in the same light as a prospectus of a shady company promoter. If the ricketty Congress of Nehru, Tandon and their satellites and sycophants is to be reconstructed, then let them implement their declarations of faith into actual deeds. We are unable to gather any inspiration from the Manifesto as it stands, but we have substantially reproduced it *infra*, for record and for the judgment of our readers, whom we request to judge for themselves as to whether any of the noble sentiments, pious wishes and plans for the coming of the millenium contained therein, are ever likely to materialize unless the entire structure of the Congress, political and administrative, be deloused, disinfected and rebuilt from the very foundations.

The Manifesto of the Praja Party, at the very first sight, betrays a bewildering lack of consistency and weakness in its treatment of the most vital problems of the day. Two of the most burning problems,

viz., nationalisation of industries and abolition of zemindary have been practically evaded. Both these points show confused thinking. The third point of vital importance, *viz.*, the formation of linguistic provinces have been completely ignored. An air of Marxism has been injected in the manifesto, but a Marxist stand on the burning problems of industries and land has been avoided. Undue disparity between the lowest and highest income groups is admitted, but the framers of the manifesto have remained content only with a barren appeal to the good wishes of the people, knowing fully well that wishes of the people, unaided by State power, means little. In their urge to support democracy, they have laid emphasis on small units and greater decentralisation, but have totally ignored the defects of this step as revealed in the working of the Panchayat system in the U.P. Desire to strike a balance between a strong Centre and a thorough decentralisation has been expressed, but the golden mean has been left undiscovered. Decentralisation of industries has also been emphatically spoken of, but the exact structure that will bring about a synthesis of both big and small industries is missed. Too much trust has been laid on co-operation with Pakistan, about the fruitfulness of which most people have much doubt. Foreign policy of the present Government has been supported. Nationalization of major industries has been opposed by singularly muddle-headed arguments. The real objective, seems to be to give sop to the rapacious Labour-Caucus that is a part of the Party. Heaven help the Nation if they come into power!

The Socialist Party Manifesto is more bold and definite, but inexperience, woeful disregard for realities, fanaticism and finally frustration is writ large all over it. The Land policy aims at victimisation of all middle-class tenant farmers as well as large landholders—for unless there is victimisation of the bourgeoisie how can Marxian fanaticism be satiated? We for ourselves, neither possess land nor do we hold any brief for landlords but we consider forcible acquisition of anyone's property without compensation to be against all civilized moral codes. The other projects regarding land, industry, etc., seem to be permeated with an atmosphere of unreality.

Caution is the watchword of the much vaunted Five-Year Plan. Perhaps that is born out of the hard realities of the last four years' experiences. There is no bold display of imagination, neither is there any evidence that the Planning Commission has ventured beyond the secretarial dossiers of the development departments of the Central Government. We had only a cursory glance through the draft plan—for obvious reasons—but it seems to be a rather expensive plan for going bankrupt slowly in five years.

The Plan has been presented by the Commission as a Draft Outline. "Planning in a democratic State," says the Commission, "is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of future development is a task of such magnitude and significance that it should embody the best thought of the country and reflect as fully as possible the impact of public opinion and the needs of the community." The Draft is "intended to be a document for the widest possible discussion" and therefore its circulation has been restricted as far as possible!

The distribution of expenditure in the first part of the Five-Year Plan, which has been worked out in detail, is shown by broad categories:

First Part of the National Plan, 1951-52 to 1955-56

(Rs. Lakhs)

	Central Government States	Part 'A' States	Part 'B' States	Part 'C' States	Total
Agriculture and Rural Development	18.04	127.47	37.93	8.26	191.70
Irrigation and Power	175.90	191.60	79.91	2.85	450.26
Transport and Communications	300.69	56.47	16.37	5.67	388.20
Industry	75.38	18.04	7.10	47	100.99
Social Services	54.24	160.25	28.70	10.89	254.08
Rehabilitation	79.00				79.00
Miscellaneous	21.76	5.79	1.00	—	28.54

Total: 734.00 559.63 171.00 28.15 1492.77

(Figures in Thousands)

	Food (tons)	Jute (400 lbs. bales)	Cotton (392 lbs.)	Oil-seeds (tons)	Sugar (Cwt)
Assam	311	440	—	—	—
Bihar	879	390	—	8.5	50
Bombay	367	—	168	63.0	84
Madhya Pradesh	347	—	128	27.0	—
Madras	834	—	218	142.0	78
Orissa	295	200	—	—	—
Punjab	650	—	79	—	57
Uttar Pradesh	800	330	46	61.0	410
West Bengal	797	700	—	—	11
Hyderabad	633	—	88	49.0	—
Madhya Bharat	300	—	91	9.5	—
Mysore	159	—	75	—	—
P.E.P.S.U.	249	—	56	—	—
Rajasthan	86	—	75	—	—
Saurashtra	94	—	159	15.0	—
Travancore-Cochin	141	—	—	—	—
Other States	260	—	17	—	—

Total: .. 7202 2060 1200 375.0 690

(Rupees crores)

Part 'A' States

Assam	12.5
Bihar	55.7
Bombay	120.4
Madhya Pradesh	43.7
Madras	137.0
Orissa	15.0
Punjab	15.5
Uttar Pradesh	91.1
West Bengal	68.8

559.6

Part 'B' States

Hyderabad	40.5
Madhya Bharat	22.8
Mysore	36.6
P.E.P.S.U.	8.3
Rajasthan	15.2
Saurashtra	21.5
Travancore-Cochin	26.1

171.0

Part 'C' States

Ajmer	1.61
Bhopal	3.67
Bilaspur	0.42
Coorg	0.53
Delhi	6.02
Himachal Pradesh	4.48
Kutch	2.68
Manipur	1.00
Tripura	1.50
Vindhya Pradesh	6.24

28.15

ESTIMATE OF INTERNAL RESOURCES FOR THE PLAN

(Rupees crores)

CENTRE

1. Surplus on Revenue Account .. 130
2. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for development expenditure under civil aviation, broadcasting, education, etc., for grants to States for GMF and development, for rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc. .. 119
3. Resources available from Capital Account for development:
 - (a) public loans .. 35
 - (b) small savings and unfunded debt .. 250
 - (c) others .. 78
4. Resources available for railway development .. 30
5. Total Resources available to the Centre .. 641
6. Assistance to States assumed in the preparation of their Plans .. 211
7. Resources available for the development expenditure of the Centre .. 430

STATES

8. Surplus on Revenue Account .. 81
9. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for schemes of expansion under social services, agriculture, irrigation, electricity, roads, etc. .. 275
10. Resources available from Capital Account for development:
 - (a) public loans .. 79
 - (b) others .. 45
11. Assistance from the Centre assumed in the preparation of the Plans of States .. 211
12. Resources available for the development expenditure of the States .. 691

The surplus of Rs. 81 crores on revenue account in the States over five years is to be secured by raising additional resources of the order of Rs. 213 crores. There will still be a gap of Rs. 372 crores over five years in the first part of the plan.

The Congress Manifesto

The following is the substance of the draft election manifesto :

The achievement of independence and the establishment of the Indian Republic concluded one phase of the Indian people's struggle for emancipation.

It was the high privilege of the Congress to serve the cause of the country and of the masses of our people and lead them to success. The Father of the Nation told us to value the moral and ethical basis of national life and made this the condition of political action. He emphasised that means were as important as ends and the means we adopt ultimately shape the end which follow.

Even during our struggle for independence, its content was not merely political freedom, but also the freedom of the masses from exploitation and want. The provision of basic material needs of food, clothing and shelter as the first essential, to be followed by the provision for cultural growth.

The last Great War put an end in many ways to the old world that we knew and posed entirely new problems; the partition of India left a bitter legacy behind. Our civil and military services had to be organised afresh and the very large foreign element in them replaced by Indians. India's relations with her neighbour country, Pakistan, have, in spite of our best efforts, continued to be abnormal and have raised and are still raising difficult problems.

Because of the multitude and complexity of the problems, the country has had to face since the achievement of independence, our economic progress has not been satisfactory. Millions in the country still lack sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter. The objectives of the Congress, which have been embodied in the Constitution in India, still remain, in a large measure, unrealised. The time has come for our struggle for emancipation to enter into its second phase of realising those objectives, without which political freedom can have little meaning for most of us. Economic progress must, therefore, be given first priority, subject only to the maintenance of the freedom and integrity of the country.

The key to the character of the future economic and social organisation of the country and its motive power is provided in the Congress constitution, which has as its objective the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

Thus the objective as well as the method is one of co-operation and the avoidance, as far as possible, of competition and conflict. This conception of social organisation inevitably leads to the secular State in which every individual has equal rights and opportunities, and the removal of barriers which may divide the people into opposing groups on the basis of religion, caste, class or region.

The application of this principle in the national sphere would lead to social progress and peace and would strengthen the nation. Its extension to the international sphere leads to an independent foreign policy basing itself on the promotion of world peace.

blems of progress of the country with limited resources, such as at present depends on the most effective utilisation

tion of such resources for the various aspects of national life and activity. The Congress welcomes, therefore, the functioning of the Planning Commission and considers that the method of planned development is essential for progress and must be continued.

But such planning, in order to be effective, must have full support and co-operation from the public. Planning must include and might not be held up by some backward sector.

In India today, stress must inevitably be laid on the progress of the rural areas and the people, who live there.

The first and vital step has been or is being taken to free the land from the burden of old and out-of-date agrarian systems of tenure. The abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and the like must be rapidly completed.

Small and uneconomic holdings are not the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should, therefore, be co-operative farming with the object of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of co-operative management.

The conditions of agricultural labour should be improved, especially, in the lower wage pocket. Opportunities for work and employment in small-scale and cottage industries should be afforded to them. They should be given preference in allotment of land to newly-reclaimed areas, which should be worked on co-operative lines.

The preservation of milch and draught cattle and upgrading of cattle breeds are important for increasing the supply of milk and improvement of agriculture. Increasing attention will have to be paid to this.

The burden on the land of too many people subsisting on it has to be reduced by the diversion of part of this population to other vocations. Some of these can be absorbed in large industries but, in the main, scope for absorption will come through small-scale and cottage industries.

It is not possible to pursue a policy of 'laissez-faire' in industry. This has been rejected in most countries and is peculiarly unsuited to present-day conditions in India. It is incompatible with any planning. It has long been the Congress policy that basic industries should be owned or controlled by the State. This policy should and must be progressively given effect to.

A large field for private enterprise is, however, left over. Thus, our economy will have a public sector as well as a private sector. But the private sector must accept the objectives of the national plan and fit into it.

The progressive extension of the public sector in the field of what is now the private sector must depend on various factors, including the results achieved, the resources available and the capacity of the country at the moment. The test should always be what serves the social ends in view.

No vested interest or inherited privilege should be allowed to come in the way of the country's economic progress, nor should we allow ourselves to be distracted by slogans and doctrines which sound attractive but which might lead to a worsening of the condition of our people.

The general objective of economic progress has to be

translated into concrete programme in close relation to the needs of the people and the available means and resources. The first consideration must always be to avoid a breakdown of any point in respect of whatever is essential for the life of the community.

This necessitates a system of controlled distribution in regard to commodities which are in short supply. It is also of the highest importance to keep prices from rising and to endeavour to reduce them. Many of our difficulties to-day are due to a high and rising price-level, and economic development has been seriously hampered because of this.

Therefore, it is of essential importance to follow firmly a price policy aiming at first, a prevention of a further rise, and secondly, to reduce present structure of relative prices as between agricultural commodities 'inter se,' and between them and manufactured articles.

If prices have to be held and reduced, some measure of controlled distribution becomes essential. In the matter of food, the fate of millions of people is bound up with the presence of a nation-wide system of controls. But for these controls, the threat of famine might have materialised in different parts of the country.

We must endeavour to create conditions of relative abundance of articles which are necessary for the masses. As this happens, these controls can be progressively dispensed with.

But till we have an adequate supply, we must co-operate to make the controls function more effectively. Hesitancy and opposition to controls themselves produce weakness in their working. It is true that controls have led to corruption. The way to deal with this is to make the controls effective and to improve their administration.

Considerable progress has been made in the development of scientific research and the application of science to industry. This must be continued and adequate provision made for technical education.

Top priority has been given and must continue to be given to river valley schemes which are basic for the development of agriculture and power supply.

In regard to heavy industry, priority should be given to those industries which are considered of basic importance, such as steel, heavy chemicals, fertilisers and machine tools.

Any all-round development of the country on a significant scale must strain its resources to the utmost necessitating the need for much larger savings on the part of the community. In order to build a better future we must be prepared to suffer hardships at present.

The achievement of economic equality and social justice must proceed side by side with economic progress. The post-war shift in relative prices has, to some extent, rectified the disparity between the rural and the urban sectors.

Direction of public expenditure in the interest of social welfare and the imposition of estate duties in succession should be fully availed of as a means for the removal of inequalities. The tax structure should be

examined and other methods explored for bringing about a reasonable relationship between the minimum and the maximum incomes, both in the private and the public sector, in keeping with the economic conditions of the country.

Inequalities have been accentuated during recent years largely in consequence of illegitimate gains from black-marketing, tax evasion, certain forms of speculation and other anti-social activities. To give immediate relief to the people and to promote social justice, these evils should be curbed with a strong hand.

The concern of the State for safeguarding the rights and interests of labour has expressed itself in several advanced measures of legislation. There is, however, much room for improving the implementation of these laws. Housing for workers is of great importance and should be encouraged by the State to the best of its ability and resources in co-operation with the employers and the workers.

A rise in the standard of living of the workers is not only desirable in itself, but leads to greater productivity. The 'per capita' productivity in India, when compared to some other countries, is low. This may be due to a variety of causes which must be investigated. It must be borne in mind, however, that without higher productivity, the interests of the nation as well as of the workers must suffer.

The machinery and procedure relating to arbitration and adjudication of disputes should be so improved as to secure fair settlements, based on the principle of social justice and with the least expenditure of time and money. Legal technicalities, formalities and appeals should be reduced to the minimum.

Considerable improvement has been made in our railway services. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works have been established as a State enterprise for the production of locomotives. The Hindustan Aircraft Limited are also producing railway wagons. The objective is to move towards self-sufficiency. Progress is being made in this direction, though it will necessarily take time. Continuous attempt has to be made to bring about further improvements in administration and for the convenience of passengers, more especially those travelling in the lower classes.

In some States, transport services have been nationalised resulting in greater efficiency and convenience to the public. This policy should be continued.

The public services and methods of recruitment have to be conditioned and adapted for the purposes of the national plan. Special training should be given, where necessary for the purposes of the nationalised or public sector of our economy. It is essential that high moral standards should be maintained in our public work; and while good work should receive commendation, bad work should be condemned. An effective machinery for this should be devised.

There has been frequent reference to corruption and there is little doubt that various forms of corruption exist as social evils to-day. Every effort must be made to put an end to this evil and some form of summary method must be devised to deal with such cases. At present, the

real difficulty in dealing with these matters is due to the dilatoriness of procedure in departmental inquiries and judicial proceedings in the law-courts, and the standard of proof required, which often leads to the guilty escaping punishment.

The importance of education and public health is well recognised, and yet, no marked advance can be made in them so long as our resources are limited. At the same time, it is necessary to direct education in the right channels and remove many of the evils from which it suffers today. Education should be looked upon as something which trains the intellect and builds the character of the student, and not merely as a means for employment. What the next generation will be, depends upon the education given now and the importance of this cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. Our system of education should not be divorced from the productive aspect and other needs of the community, but should be related to and be conducive to their fulfilment. The principles of basic education, i.e., learning through a craft, should be utilised to the largest possible extent. Even in general education, some form of manual work should form an essential part of the curriculum, without which degrees or diplomas should not be given. An essential part of education should be an appreciation of and devotion to truth and beauty in their various forms.

In regard to public health, considerable progress has been made in the control of epidemic diseases and provision of improved water supply and general sanitation.

The Constitution has laid a special duty on the Government to bring about the economic and cultural advancement of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes. Both the Central and State Governments have given particular attention to this important matter. The Congress, under Gandhiji's lead, has always made this social uplift of the backward classes as one of its principal planks and has laboured to this end with considerable success. This work must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others. In particular, the tribal people have to be helped to develop according to their own genius.

Owing to certain historical and administrative necessities of the moment, certain States in India were classified as Part B, and Part C, States. This classification was transitional and cannot be considered to be permanent. It has to be remembered that certain parts of India have developed differently during past years. Certain border areas, as well as certain areas inhabited by Tribal people, require special treatment. The general policy in regard to Parts B and C, States should be to speed up the removal of differential treatment as rapidly as possible.

One of the major problems before us during the last four years which has demanded and must continue to demand priority and full attention, is that of the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from Pakistan. According to the figures of the last census, 49 lakhs came from Western Pakistan and about 26 lakhs from Eastern Pakis-

tan. Of those coming from Western Pakistan, about 30 lakhs came from rural areas. Rural displaced persons connected with Western Punjab, who owned land or had been carrying on cultivation there, have been settled on land except those who preferred urban occupations. These latter number about 5 lakhs. Of the urban people from Western Pakistan, it is estimated that 13,17,000 have been rehabilitated in some way or other, by finding gainful employment in Government or other services or by being given special training in production at various training centres. Of the remaining, about 2 lakhs of urban displaced persons did not require or ask for Government assistance.

The problem of displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan became serious early in 1950 and rehabilitation schemes were drawn up. The position was rather fluid, as large numbers of migrants returned to their homes. Of the 26 lakhs that remained, a little over half, 13.50 lakhs have been rehabilitated.

During the last few weeks, a new problem has arisen in West Bengal, where a continuous stream of migrants from Eastern Pakistan is flowing in.

By the end of the current financial year, the Central Government will have to spend about Rs. 140 crores on relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Western and Eastern Pakistan. In addition, about 56 lakhs of acres of evacuee and other land have been given to them and about 3,56,000 urban houses, shops and industrial premises have been provided. Of these, 86,000 were new houses constructed by Government.

The question of properties left by displaced persons in Pakistan have remained unsettled, in spite of repeated efforts of Government. This is a vital matter affecting millions of people, which should be settled as early as possible.

As India is a secular State, every citizen has the same duties, rights, privileges and obligations as any other. He has full freedom to profess and practise his religion. It is the particular duty of the State to protect these rights of all minority communities in the country and to give them full opportunities for development, so that they might play their part in the economy and public life of the country.

The women of India in the past, and especially in the struggle for the country's freedom, have played a notable part and distinguished themselves in many ways. They suffer, however, from a number of social and other disabilities. It is important that these disabilities should be removed, so that they may take their full part in the economy and social progress of the country.

Demand for a re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the south and west of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other facts also, such as, economic, administrative and

financial which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the people concerned, necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a Boundary Commission, should be taken.

In regard to foreign policy, India has pursued independent line in her own national interest and in the interest of world peace, and has sought to maintain friendly relations with all countries. This has been a positive policy, and, though sometimes criticised by others, has been vindicated by subsequent developments.

Certain small foreign establishments continue in India. The Congress has declared that these must revert to India, and our policy must be so aimed as to bring this about by peaceful means.

India's policy with our neighbour countries has been very friendly. We have welcomed the recent developments in Nepal. Unfortunately, we cannot say this in regard to Pakistan with which our relations have been full of difficulty. We have repeatedly endeavoured to find a solution of the many issues on which we are at variance, but without success. The chief among these issues is that of Kashmir. In spite of the aggression of Pakistan and the continuous provocative propaganda there, we have endeavoured to find a peaceful settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. That policy holds and we cannot permit the Kashmir State to be disposed of in any other way.

The K.M.P. Manifesto

The following is the substance of the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party:

It is easy to lay down certain general principles of social and economic reconstruction by which a political party may promise to lay the foundations of a new social order. Every party manifesto contains some excellent principles to which no progressive school of thought can take exception. We know, however, to our cost that the great aims enunciated in Congress manifestoes or in the directive principles of the Indian Constitution have little value because there are no corresponding plans and policies to give effect to them. Above all, the administrative machinery, as it is today, cannot be depended upon for the effective implementation of any plans. Its members have to deal with problems unknown to them before and in a spirit they never cultivated under foreign rule. As it is constituted today the administration lacks efficiency, integrity, and a spirit of service.

The constitution of our party lays down as our objective the establishment of a casteless and classless society free from political, economic and social exploitation. But here we propose to lay down our immediate programme of work. Our first task will be to overhaul the administrative machinery so that the services instead of acting as masters of the people act as their helpers and servants. The task is urgent because in the complicated economy of today, even the prime necessities of mere existence cannot be obtained except through a clean and efficient adminis-

tration. Till a few years ago the State apparatus touched an ordinary citizen's life occasionally and at a few points only. Today, for a variety of reasons, the sphere of administrative regulation and interference has widened enormously. A corrupt and inefficient administration under the circumstances is bound to harm the country and lower public morale. It shall, therefore, be our endeavour to reform the services. We shall also examine to what extent and in what direction it is necessary and possible to reduce the scope of controls and of administrative interference in the citizen's life and work. In some spheres it may be desirable for the State to extend and intensify its activity to bring under effective control anti-social and disruptive forces. The State must also create a separate cadre for economic as distinguished from political service.

There is a general recognition of the fact that the great mass of our people live at a sub-human level. They are short of the vital necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, education, sanitation and medical aid. Our economy is so unbalanced that it leads to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few, exposing the many to unemployment, poverty, squalor and ignorance. No government which does not address itself to the solution of these grave contradictions has a right to the confidence and affection of the people. The situation we find ourselves in today can be improved only by radical changes to be brought about with the full and enthusiastic co-operation of the people. This co-operation, we believe, will be forthcoming in a generous measure if the leadership sets the example in service and sacrifice and is vigilant, earnest and careful, holding the interests of the masses as paramount. But no government is deserving of such co-operation that lacks the will or the guts to put down with a strong hand hordes of black-marketeers and other anti-social elements that have achieved so vicious a stranglehold on our economy.

In the political field we are pledged to democracy, both by the nature of our struggle for independence and by the Constitution framed for free India. But we believe that this democracy cannot function properly and effectively unless there is devolution of political authority and the local units are given reasonable power to shape their own life according to their requirements and genius. We believe that democracy works best in small units. This, however, need not mean a weak Centre. There are internal and international forces working today which necessitate a strong Centre. But a strong Centre, in a democracy, cannot rest for long on weak and helpless foundations.

The vast mass of Indian humanity is in a suppressed condition and yet there are classes, such as the Harijans, the aborigines and the hill tribes whose condition socially and economically is especially deplorable. Their uplift shall receive the urgent attention of the State.

Our economic life must greatly improve if the miserably low standard of life of our masses is to be appreciably raised. This can be done by increased production, in all fields. For this increased production, it is necessary that for the time being at least there be an austerity drive to create the necessary capital and to solve our present

difficulties. The example of austerity must, however, be set by the leadership in and outside the Government, the administration and by those who today are living in ease and luxury. In the past this austerity drive was sustained by the spirit of Swadeshi. We must review this spirit and impress upon the people the need for using home-made articles in preference to foreign goods, even at a sacrifice which ultimately will replenish the nation. As far as possible no consumer goods should be imported except such as are needed for the health and vitality of the people. Whatever foreign exchange we can build should be used exclusively for the import of capital goods and expert services which we lack. But this lack must be speedily filled so that we may not rely, in a war-threatened world, upon imports from outside for our vital requirements.

With the Industrial Revolution in the West there has been a progressive unbalance in the economy of modern countries. Instead of agriculture being the axis round which industry should revolve, the latter has been the chief concern of modern nations. This over-emphasis on centralised industrial production was made possible by the imperial policies of the Western nations. They got raw materials and food from colonial countries where they dumped unwanted and sometimes injurious manufactured articles. India was one such victim. The loss of balance between agriculture and industry and between the rural and urban economy has now to be restored.

Our agricultural methods are primitive. Our peasants are poverty-stricken and ignorant. There is little incentive to increased and better production. Intermediaries draw away from the cultivator much of the fruit of his labour. Our aim will be to remove all hindrances that impoverish the peasant, create conditions of serfdom and impede increased production. For this the first necessity is to see that all land belongs to the tiller of the soil with necessary safeguards against its misuse. The place of the robust, self-reliant and resourceful peasant proprietor in our agricultural economy should be recognised. It is, therefore, necessary to check the further sub-division of land below an economic holding. The village cannot survive unless there is consolidation of scattered holdings and further sub-division of land is checked. However, we cannot at present deprive the peasant of his uneconomic holdings. We must, therefore, provide him with facilities for co-operative farming whereby the resources of land, labour, instruments and cattle are pooled. Even the holders of economic units must be encouraged to co-operate for various purposes, specially for the disposal of surplus produce and purchase their necessary requirements.

In recent years the question of landless labour has assumed a critical position. It can be solved only if there are schemes for the reclamation of waste and marshy lands. This reclamation must be speedily undertaken and the land divided either into economic holdings to be offered to landless labourers or worked in big farms on co-operative basis. Landless labour must also find employment in decentralised industry. Where there are big farms worked through machinery and hired labour they must be worked

on a co-operative basis or labour there must be organised and so far as possible a scheme of co-sharing must be worked on a co-operative basis.

Our agriculture depends largely on rain. Yet in our streams and rivers we have water enough to make our agriculture largely independent of nature's vagaries. By training our rivers we can secure an assured supply of water to irrigate the land and thus save the agriculturist from the ravages of both drought and flood. This should also help us to get cheap hydro-electric power.

In the field of industry, considering the restricted amount of land available for cultivation in proportion to the population, it will be necessary to encourage cottage and decentralised industry. Our party will, therefore, lay great emphasis on this. Through decentralised industry, we believe, wealth can be widely and evenly distributed. Moreover, decentralised industry avoids a costly and complicated distributive mechanism and greatly reduce, if not eliminate, industrial conflict and unrest. It utilises and stimulates local initiative and skill. It is the only way to provide employment to the largest number of our unemployed and semi-employed population. The guiding principle of our industrial economy will be that whatever can be produced efficiently and adequately through decentralised industry must be so produced, leaving to large-scale production of defence and key industries, such as generation of power, mining and metallurgy, the production of heavy engineering machinery, machine tools, etc. Resources of science will be made fully available for making decentralised production efficient and plentiful, eliminating drudgery. A high priority will, therefore, be accorded to the electrification of the country so as to make available cheap power to the worker in the rural area.

While our bias will be in favour of decentralisation we realise that in the complex conditions of the present-day world, large-scale centralised industry cannot be avoided. For speedy and full exploitation of our resources, it would be necessary to utilise all modes of production, small-scale, large-scale, private and socialised. While some defence and key industries must be nationalised we do not believe in the necessity of the Government directly undertaking and conducting all industrial enterprise. This often creates State monopolies, indifferent to efficiency and cost of production and hence to the consumers' interests. This is more so the case in India where the administrative services are not equal to their own limited tasks. Under nationalisation, labour too in the end fails to get a square deal. Wholesale nationalisation of industry would ultimately create State capitalism inimical to democracy. Therefore, an increasing sector of centralised industries instead of being in private hands will be socialised and run by autonomous corporations or by co-operatives representative of various interests including the State. Some centralised industries would serve as auxiliaries to decentralised industry providing the latter with efficient implements to increase its productive capacity. The destructive competition between centralised industry and

decentralised industry will be discouraged by, among other measures, assigning to each its definite sphere. The large-scale private enterprise, in the sector which may be assigned to it in the light of the guiding principles we have stated above, will be subject to social control and regulated in the interest of the common man who is the labourer as also the biggest consumer.

So far, we have talked of production of wealth only. Proper and equitable distribution of the wealth produced is no less important. We have already said that our economy is unbalanced. Extremes of wealth and poverty not only disfigure our economy but are a menace to any prospect of peace and progress. Therein lie the seeds of greed and hate which are fruitful causes of war and violence. Wealth created must, therefore, be equitably distributed. This distribution can be effected even at the source of production through a decentralised and socialised industry and through co-operatives. This is the only way towards a peaceful and non-violent society. For this it is necessary also to prescribe for all practical purposes the minimum and maximum emoluments that a worker in any field of social activity can enjoy. Our effort will be to level up lower incomes and level down upper incomes so that there be some equitable adjustment between the different strata of society and the various vocations. The emolument potential must bear some proportion to ability and utility potential. Our aim will be to see that no worker in any walk of life gets more than twenty times the emolument or the standard wage the labour gets in the field or factory. The minimum wage must be high enough to enable the worker and his family to live a healthy, happy and decent life.

For all this we must devise a new scheme of education suited to our present needs. The intellectual bias given to our education by our foreign masters who needed cheap local talent in the administrative field needs to be modified. But this need not mean any lowering of the standard of intellectual attainment. Practical education through fruitful co-operative work and activity and the development of the artistic sense will enhance the intellectual capacity of the pupil and make it less theoretical and formal. Co-operative work is the best training for morals. Education will be related to the practical needs of the life of the community. This will not impoverish higher knowledge but will rather enrich it. It will also stimulate original research. But situated as we are to-day, the first great need of the community is a practical kind of basic education for the child and the illiterate adult. It will be our endeavour to wipe off illiteracy in the shortest possible time as had been done in many modern lands, specially in Russia.

There is one question that has affected our economy adversely after the partition of the country and that is the question of the displaced. We could have taken advantage of the enthusiasm of the people for our brethren, who had been made to pay the highest price for freedom, and we could have speedily solved the problem with the help and co-operation of the former. But we got unnerved at the

immensity of the problem and allowed local and provincial considerations to weigh with us. The large-heartedness of the Centre was nullified by want of sympathy of its officers and the apathy of the provinces. The addition of the displaced persons to the Indian population could have been made an economic asset. We could have created with their help model townships and introduced co-operative farming and small-scale industries. However, it is no use regretting past mistakes. Whatever remains to be done must speedily be done, specially with regard to the claims of the displaced persons to their lost property. It must be settled with the co-operation of Pakistan. We recognise the claims of the Muslim evacuees to their property left in India. We expect reciprocity in the matter. However, if this is not possible our Government must settle property claims of the displaced persons on a voluntary basis under mutual guarantees, if Pakistan is agreeable.

We would fain not talk of foreign policy but a party statement is considered incomplete unless this complicated problem also finds a place in its aims and objects. We believe that our foreign policy must spring from, and be directly related to, our home policy. If we are adequately aware of our internal weaknesses and are conscious of the urgent and paramount necessity of building up a decentralised economy that is neither capitalist nor Communist, then the only alternative foreign policy for us is one of strict neutrality. Whatever the inclination of our intellectual sympathies, we must scrupulously avoid any involvement in international commitments which is likely to drag us into a war, either on the side of this bloc or that.

In all this we have concentrated attention on what is immediately possible given the determination and will. We have not talked of any ideology or ism. This we have purposefully refrained from doing. Unfortunately political ideologies have become fanatical creeds over which groups, parties and nations fight. They fight more over undefined, general and abstract terms than facts and substance. Whenever we talk outside ideologies we find that we understand each other better and appreciate each other's efforts at practical reform. In the world today each ideology in practice takes something from the other.

The Socialist Party Manifesto

The Socialist Party has issued a manifesto through its Secretary Sri Limaye. The following are the salient points in the Five-Year Plan therein:

(1) Abolition of zamindari without compensation. The maximum holding per farming family will be 30 acres of average productivity; all land above this holding to be taken over and distributed among peasants and agricultural labourers.

(2) Petty zamindars, however, will be given rehabilitation compensation and proprietors of land possessing more than 30 acres will receive an annuity for 10 years on holdings up to 100 acres.

(3) Village panchayats elected by universal suffrage and the multi-purpose co-operative societies will be the pivot of the reorganized agrarian economy. The panchayats will tabulate the resources and needs of their village

and prepare a crop-plan which will be sent to their higher organs of the Planning Commission.

(4) There will be a thorough overhaul of State machinery, and the present multiplicity of agricultural departments will give way to an integrated administrative machinery consisting of land commissions on regional, State and Union levels.

The commissions will consist of representatives of village panchayats, co-operatives, the Government and agricultural experts. They will deal with rural credit, technical help, land revenue, irrigation, cottage industries, crop-planning, river training, flood control, export and import of agricultural produce and supply of agricultural implements. There will be as great a diffusion of power and responsibility as possible.

(5) To improve land productivity, land volunteers will be organized who will undertake minor construction work, such as digging of wells and compost pits, draining of water-logged land, and the building of bunds, roads, etc.

(6) A food army raised and equipped by the State will bring new and waste land under cultivation.

(7) All forms of co-operation, including joint farming, will be encouraged; collective farms will be organized on land reclaimed through the food army. Here landless labourers will find work, home and land.

INDUSTRY

(1) In order to release the productive power of the community, certain industries will be taken over by the State.

Nationalization of banks and insurance companies will help capital formation; social ownership of key industries—like iron and steel, power, mines, chemical fertilizers and plantations—is essential for planned economic development: taking over of the “derelict” textile, sugar, and cement industries, “which have failed the consumers so utterly,” will enable the State to satisfy the basic needs of the common man.

(2) All other industries will be in private hands. State control will be so devised as to remove all restrictions on production and to give an opportunity to those with initiative to explore, experiment and expand.

(3) Emphasis will be not on capital intensive but on labour intensive technique. The world's best technical talent will be availed of.

(4) In the nationalized sector there will be autonomous public corporations competing among themselves and municipal enterprise which will avoid the dangers of monopoly, centralization and bureaucratization.

(5) Workers will be represented on these corporations through their works committee and production committees. In joint stock company concerns workers' participation in management will be compulsory. In proprietary concerns their interest will be safeguarded through a system of double audit. Management, however, will be the responsibility of the proprietors.

(6) Provision will be made for sickness insurance, maternity benefits and old age pensions. The principle of unionship—every worker a union member—will be intro-

duced and internal democracy within the Union will be safeguarded.

(7) Producers' co-operatives and handicrafts will be encouraged by reserving certain lines exclusively for them. State initiative will break “the stalemate in industry.”

(8) Planning machinery will be built from the bottom upwards: Village panchayats, public corporations, local bodies, co-operatives and associations of small manufacturers, workers and “handicraftsmen” will prepare inventories of their resources and their productive capacity, as well as the facilities required to increase productivity.

These plans will be finalized by planning commissions on State and Union levels. On the commissions will be represented all interests, including the consumers. The primary bodies mentioned above will be responsible for carrying out these plans.

There will be State trading corporations which will import and procure all requirements of the nationalized sector and scarce capital goods and industrial raw materials. All products of nationalized industry will be exported and distributed on a wholesale basis by them as well as important raw materials like jute and cotton.

Village produce will be disposed through multipurpose co-operatives which will also buy the requirements of the village on a wholesale basis. Other trade will be in private hands. “State control over it will ensure both traders' and consumers' interests.”

In order to avoid corruption and black-marketing, instead of “the present partial and ineffective controls,” rational and integrated controls “right from raw materials and capital goods,” will be devised. A “democratic check” will be provided by associating consumers and workers at every stage of manufacture and distribution.

Measures of economic equality, such as capital levy, ceiling on income, etc., will change the character of public finance. Public revenue will be so distributed as to leave increasing resources to the organs of administration closest to the people. Public expenditure will seek to augment production and not merely maintain law and order.

To reduce disparities in wealth the State will abolish “all privileges of Princes and their Saliyanas.”

Taxation measures and graduated capital levy will be used; to curtail privilege and concentration of property; and to bring all incomes within the range of a “floor” of Rs. 100 and a “ceiling” of Rs. 1,000. The floor and the ceiling will rise with increase in production.

All barriers of caste will be pulled down. The scheduled castes and tribes will be settled on reclaimed land. A sum of Rs. 100 crores will be spent over a period of 10 years to provide educational opportunities to schedule castes and tribes. In public services there will be reservation for them at least in proportion to their population.

All disabilities imposed on women will be removed. They will get equal pay for equal work. A civil code granting equal rights will be framed and there will be reservation for them in such lines as teaching and nursing.

Minorities will have the right to profess and practise their religion and to promote study of their language, script, literature and religion through their educational institutions and cultural associations.

Refugee agriculturists will be settled through co-operative land reclamation schemes; middle-class people and artisans will be fostered by the State.

Constitutional changes directed at (1) restricting the property rights enjoyed by a microscopic minority, which stands in the way of community's advance, and (2) expanding the sphere of the people's freedom, will be introduced."

Provinces will be rearranged on a linguistic basis, the boundaries of which will be determined by a boundary commission. All States thus brought into being will have equal status.

India will withdraw from the British Commonwealth and thus redeem the pledge of complete independence.

Administrative reforms will root out corruption, bribery, inefficiency "and red-tapism."

(1) Justice will be made cheap and fact-finding and punitive functions will be separated; (2) Public opinion will be associated at each level of the Executive; (3) There will be periodic departmental meetings of the staff to improve efficiency and abolish red-tape; (4) Talent discovered in the ranks will be offered opportunity of special training and exercise of initiative; (5) Legislative standing committees "will act as vigils"; (6) Promotion and demotion will be based on fulfilment of targets and efficiency audit; (7) An anti-corruption authority will deal with all cases of bribery and corruption; (8) Major offences will be dealt with by special courts.

India's foreign policy will be based on:

(1) Abstention from disputes between "the Atlantic and Soviet camps;"

(2) Collective security arrangements for the belt stretching from Indonesia to Egypt;

(3) Co-operation with such U.N. agencies as might help to increase living standards of retarded peoples and abolish hunger and war;

(4) Opposition to all charters and agreements that bolster up the international caste system of rich and powerful nations on the one hand and the weak and poor nations on the other.

India will also support freedom movements in Africa and Socialist movements everywhere.

Manbhum Satyagrahi's Statement in Court

It is well known in Manbhum how due to a previous intrigue between the local officers and some men of Jhalda, Sri Bibhuti Bhusan Das Gupta, Secretary of the Loksevak Sangha and six workers of the Sangha were arrested at Jhalda on the 22nd April last while they were conducting a peaceful public meeting there. They were charged with the offence of rioting, assault, theft and illegal detention. As Satyagrahis they did not put in a defence but filed a written statement in court—which was held not in public but inside the jail. They were convicted for rioting and assault and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. The judgment delivered by the Magistrate of Purulia shows how justice can be prostituted in the interest of mean and selfish politics. The joint statement filed in court by Sri Das Gupta and others throws a flood

of light on the condition of the people of Manbhum. We publish a substantial portion of this statement which we consider a very important document in the history of the people's struggle against oppression and corruption.

We know this *Sangha*, and have not the slightest doubt that as true followers of Bapu they have observed *Truth* in all their statements and actions. Their punishment is martyrdom, suffered in the cause of humanity. Bapu is dead and so is his beloved Congress, who is there then to offer redress? Even his *Harijan* is silent on this matter.

"We had the duty, as Satyagrahis, to fight against the foreign rule in order to end its autocratic role along with the slavery under foreign domination, we have had our duty also to fight against our countrymen's rule that has become synonymous with misrule and autocratic rule, in order to establish the real "Swaraj," in our country for which we fought so long a period of time. With that conscious sense of duty and responsibility, we have been giving a sincere fight from our Manbhum front against the bankruptcy of this Congress Rule for the last three years; and the Provincial Government also have been fighting against us the Satyagrahis, devising undesirable methods to vainly crush our rightful plans of Satyagraha launched against the misdeeds and falsehood and oppression of the powers-that-be. The Centre have given long ropes to the Provincial Autocracies to do according to their ill-will, and we saw in our own field how the Provincial Government having been aware of this unhealthy state of things, have plunged unrestrained into the unholy games of power-politics and exploitation. So as a last resort, we had to launch Satyagraha to lead Non-violent Crusade against the wrong-doers and to secure civic rights to the People.

This statement of ours is to express our stand as Satyagrahis in a Court under this Swaraj Government. We have realised the necessity of giving this statement, as we have decided not to defend our case, as Satyagrahis, even though the charges are concocted and not those which the Satyagrahis cherish to break. If the charges be according to the laws which a Satyagrahi deliberately and conscientiously breaks, the question of defence does not arise herein. But if the charges are otherwise, the question of defence may naturally arise therein in a free country which is ready to secure justice for its citizens. So, there are baseless charges against us; the court is sitting with us which is expected to do justice to the case in question; there is a Constitution for India which has assured to have provided safeguards to secure rights and justice the people deserve; and every citizen is naturally expected in this situation to exercise his rights to have justice for him through Constitutional ways, when all those things are there. We are fighting today against the mischievous laws, mal-administration and the misdeeds of the Government. We have waged non-violent fight against the misdeeds of the Government, not only not having met with a single instance of justice being done from the part of the Government in hundreds of appeals for rectification of wrongs done by the Government, but also having met with the Governmental attitude of doing more harm in

the matters in question for which the rectification was solicited.

It may be suggested that, if we defend our case we may at least torpedo the false story of the case by the very instrument of their own, having foiled the design of the government to inflict punishment on us for untoward charges which we never dreamt to commit; and that by this, our case may be cleared of all wrong imputations that are made and the opposite party may be exposed therein. By our deliberately refraining from defending our case, we express our protest against the condemnable condition that has come to stay in the field of justice and rule under a National Government.

We know that there is the Bihar Maintenance of Public Safety Act. We unequivocally declare here that we have violated this aforesaid Act with the full consciousness of the action of ours; and we may be considered guilty in the eyes of the unjust executor of that undesirable Act, but we feel ourselves to be not guilty to our conscience and to our sense of duty towards our country and the cause we serve. But here we would do well to mention that such violation on our part of this infamous Act has been made by the holding of many a similar meeting in the recent days, for which the Government have not had the moral courage to take legal actions against us. The Government know that we are on the right and that the Government lack in the moral stand and moral actions.

Hence where the straight way was lacking, the authorities have had to invent, and to take recourse to, many improper and immoral methods to achieve their object.

We have been charged with rioting, theft and making illegal detention of a person whom we are alleged to have assaulted and robbed. Before saying anything about it as our reaction to it, we would like to say that this is not a question of mere defending the particular case of ours in which our position is seemingly at stake, but this is a question how an entire Government machinery is engaged in unclean practice of cooking false stories to serve their purpose for the reason of which, defending of the whole position is involved in the question. What can we gain in fighting our individual cases, in which we are falsely implicated, if the Government themselves are there to enjoy freedom for endangering anybody and everybody they like, having engaged themselves in doing so with unchecked liberty, by taking advantage of their having Governmental powers in their hands? A very important question also is how the agencies of the Government dare to concoct a false and baseless case out of an incident that has occurred before the eyes of thousands of people who are there to reveal truth for the sake of truth. The reason is clear as daylight. Such a deplorable state of things has been made possible to happen openly and daringly in an Independent Country and before the eyes of millions of people to-day, since there is nobody in all the Governmental spheres of India to raise any question for whatever wrongs they commit under this Swaraj life. The Provincial Government is there as the perpetrators of these evil deeds, and the Central Government is there as

willingly silent spectators of all wrong doings of those whom they have had to conduct and control. In this state of things today, it is not the question of defending only this individual case of ours that matters much in the civic life of our present-day country, regard being had to the broader question involved in the case, but what matters much for us to consider is what has become the general condition of the administrative ways of the country in which such cases like that of ours are possible to be made. So our case is a broad-based case; and the defence for it, in order to have the real justice as required for the same, may only take place in some other competent court than the court we are in—that is, the Court of the people at large. In this present setting of things if this present Court expresses his willingness to administer true justice that the case and the condition of things deserve, then it would have to extend the range of its field of investigation, which, we are compelled to say, it is not competent to do, even though it be willing to do the same. If it could do so, then it could see that persons have been made accused by conspiracy on the part of the Government of wrongful confinement of a person after robbing and assaulting him, as a reward of their saving the very person from a trouble at some risk. In such investigation it would have been seen that the peaceful persons are being wrongfully confined in the jail by the very persons who have raided them, without reasons, with deadly weapons and have mercilessly lathi charged their peaceful assembly. It would also show that these men of power who are the cause of this case are men who have unfortunately undertaken to lead a life in which they have left recorded endless unattended crimes all over the district in the wake of their unfortunate Hindi Imperialism and their ill-conceived autocratic exploitation in Manbhum, having been armed with the power of the Congress regime of the country. We say all these with due responsibility involved in it and are ready to fully substantiate what we say; and we think all these evidences are really necessary for arriving at the truth in the case.

We know that the moral and prospering existence of a country consists in its observing the rules of justice in its own life. The Father of the Nation gave us light for it. The Congress of the by-gone days committed itself to it. But now the Congress regime has deserted it in such a pitiable way that the country is on the verge of disintegration to-day. So in this distressing state of things in our country we the Satyagrahis of Manbhum voice our humble warning from a remote corner of India, that by forsaking justice and justice thus we shall bring in our doom."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Statement

"I am deeply disappointed to read your telegram dated July 17, 1951. Instead of revoking the concentration of Indian troops on Pakistan frontiers, which you have admitted, and thus removing a serious threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace, you have proceeded to make a series of allegations and statements unrelated to facts.

"You have asserted that India's policy continues to be to preserve and ensure peace and to avoid war. The use of military force in Junagadh, Hyderabad, and more recently in Nepal, are grave warnings against the acceptance of these assertions at their face value. The continued denial by force of arms to the people of Kashmir of their right of self-determination and repeated threats to the security of Pakistan by massing of Indian troops on its borders are hardly indications of a desire for peace.

"You have referred to a reduction of the Indian Army last year. The facts proclaim otherwise. Your defence budget has risen from 151 crores in 1948-49 to 195 crores in the current year. Last year the original defence budget was 176 crores, but, the revised budget rose to 191 crores. In the current year's budget an announcement was made of a small reduction in the strength of the Indian Army counter-balanced by increase in the Navy and Air Force; but two months later it was reported that even the proposed reduction would not be made. Actual defence expenditure in the current year is thus likely to rise to still higher levels.

"Your allegation that the armed forces of Pakistan were largely massed on Indian frontiers is completely without foundation. This would be borne out by any impartial observer. You have been at pains to distort the significance of expressions of discontent which have appeared in the Pakistan Press over your persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir as propaganda for war against India. At the same time, you have either ignored or belittled the continuous and blatant propaganda for war against Pakistan by the Indian Press, prominent Indian leaders and political organisations. This propaganda has been going on in spite of the Delhi Agreement of April, 1950.

"As any impartial observer will testify, for a long time after the Delhi Agreement, the Pakistan Press strenuously propagated goodwill towards India while the Indian Press and political leaders continued to fulminate against Pakistan and to make attacks aimed at the integrity of Pakistan. When I drew your attention to this violation of the Agreement and asked for action against those responsible for it under Clause C-8 of the Agreement, you pleaded your inability to carry out the obligation undertaken by you.

"You have referred to the recent border incidents which you have reported to the United Nations. These incidents have been magnified by you out of all proportion and attributed entirely to Pakistan.

"I would draw your attention to the statement made by General Nimmo, Chief U. N. Military Observer on July 13 that quite a number of such violations of the cease-fire agreement have occurred on both sides and that the recent incidents were less

serious than some of those which occurred in the past. Surely, it would be a gross distortion of facts to treat these incidents as any evidence of a desire for war.

"You have also referred to the no-war declaration. But as you are aware, the proposal for a no-war declaration could not be carried to a conclusion only because of your refusal to agree that if disputes between India and Pakistan could not be settled by negotiation and mediation, they should be referred to arbitration. In spite of the clear direction in your Constitution calling for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, you maintained that it was beneath your national dignity to agree to this procedure.

"There can be no clearer proof of Pakistan's desire for a peaceful solution of its disputes with India than the proposal I have repeatedly put to you that all our disputes should be settled by negotiation and mediation and failing that by arbitration. Unfortunately you have preferred the threat of use of force in settling disputes in your favour wherever the opportunity has offered itself.

"You have admitted that troops movements have been ordered by you but you claim that these are for defensive purposes. The nature and magnitude of these movements and in particular the forward move of your armoured division and armoured brigade would not lead anyone to feel that their presence so close to Pakistan frontiers is for defensive purposes.

"This plea of defensive purposes loses all validity in the face of the fact that Pakistan had made no troop moves before the concentration of your forces against Pakistan borders.

"There can be no severer strain upon the relations between our two countries than to be subjected time and again to the threat constituted by concentration of forces. I would again urge you most earnestly to withdraw these forces so that this threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace is removed."

Nehru's Telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan

"I am in receipt of your telegram dated July 20. I regret deeply that my message of July 17, which I tried to make as frank and straightforward as possible should have evoked an answer which I can only describe as propagandist.

"Your references to Junagadh and Hyderabad are wrong and irrelevant. Do not propose to discuss these issues because our position in respect of both has been repeatedly explained. Your reference to Nepal is extraordinary and wholly unjustified. The Nepal Government itself has issued a strong protest against it. At the request of the Nepal Government small Indian forces are co-operating with Nepalese forces near the

border in rounding up some terrorist gangs engaged in looting and other acts of lawlessness and violence.

"As regards our defence forces, the Central fact is that our Army was reduced in 1950-51 by over 52,000 men. This is easily verifiable. Your reference to our budget figures is irrelevant and misleading as these reflect certain economic factors, such as rise in prices and change in exchange value. We frame our budget every year in the hope of reducing our Army still further.

"If the further reduction in our forces proposed for the current year has not been carried out, this has been due to Pakistan's war propaganda and to the absence of any reduction in her armed forces. You have not controverted our statement that the size of the Pakistan forces has been steadily increasing. Thus while we have been reducing our Armed forces you have been increasing yours.

"I have neither ignored nor belittled what you say about the Indian Press. Outside a small and irresponsible section there has been no such propaganda as you suggest in the Indian Press. I am quite willing to leave the judgment on this to any impartial student of the Press of the two countries.

"I am surprised that you should dismiss the virulent and persistent propaganda in favour of *jihad* in the Pakistan Press as 'expressions of discontent over' our 'persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution by a free plebiscite in Kashmir.' Threats of war over Kashmir in the Pakistan Press have occurred almost daily for many months. I would quote only a few extracts from reports of views publicly expressed by persons in Pakistan holding the highest offices:

"You can take it from us, that the day we become desperate and lose all hope of a just solution of the problem, not only the entire Pathan population of Pakistan and the tribal areas will rise up for the *Holy Jihad* in Kashmir, but our brothers from across the Afghan frontier will also throw in their lot with us for the cause."—(Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Prime Minister of N.-W. F. P.).

"So long as a single Pakistani is alive, nobody dare snatch Kashmir from Pakistan by force—if the problem was not settled immediately the whole of Asia would be engulfed in the flame of war which might lead to a world conflagration."—(Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of West Punjab).

"I say this with full responsibility that India has now over several months taken up the attitude with regard to Kashmir which deliberately blocks progress along peaceful lines. What does India desire? It has no right to complain if it gets something else."—(Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan).

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan told a Press Conference in Karachi that the Kashmir question cannot brook any delay. He said there were only two courses open to Pakistan to settle the issue—One was to pursue the matter in the Security Council. The second I would not tell you.

"The charge that India has persistently refused to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir is, as we have repeatedly pointed out, wholly baseless. It is the armed aggression of Pakistan against Kashmir and the continuing presence of Pakistan armies there that has come in the way of a peaceful solution. Progress towards a peaceful settlement has not been made because of the non-fulfilment on the part of Pakistan of conditions under which alone a free and impartial plebiscite could be held.

"In these circumstances, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from the views of Pakistan's spokesman and the virulent and frequent comments of the Pakistan Press, than that Pakistan is preparing to seek a settlement of the Kashmir dispute by resort to force. This, and this alone is responsible for the wholly precautionary and defensive measures that we have taken. After what happened in Kashmir in 1947, we should be failing in our duty if we did not take adequate steps to safeguard ourselves against a repetition of those events and the far-reaching consequences to which these would lead.

"I would once more affirm in complete sincerity, that military movements on our side have not been inspired by any aggressive intent or design on our part against Pakistan. India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan or of seeking the solution of any problem by force, but if Indian territory, including Kashmir, is invaded by Pakistan then India will take all measures in self-defence. If, as you say, it is also Pakistan's policy not to attack India, I see no reason why peace between our two countries should be in any way threatened. My proposal for a 'No-War declaration' by both countries was a simple and straightforward one without strings attached. You did not accept this and added many conditions.

"What is needed to ease the present tension is a declaration by your Government that on no account will they attack or invade Indian territory. Even now anyone can contrast the war propaganda and preparations in Pakistan with the absence of any such activities or propaganda in India. If the militant propaganda against India and talk of war in Pakistan cease, I am confident that not only will the present tension ease, but the way will be prepared for a calm discussion, in a peaceful atmosphere, of disputes outstanding between our two countries, and for their amicable settlement."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Invitation

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistani Prime Minister, invited Mr. Nehru to visit Karachi. The invitation was contained in Mr. Liaquat Ali's latest reply to Mr. Nehru, which outlined a fivefold plan for the restriction of a peaceful atmosphere and the establish-

ment of friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

The Pakistani Premier said that the visit should come off "as soon as the first essential step towards the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere, namely, withdrawal of concentration of forces, has been carried out." Other points of the peace plan are:

1. As soon as the troops have been withdrawn "both India and Pakistan should reaffirm their agreement that the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite held under U. N. auspices."

To this end both Governments should state their readiness to implement without obstruction or delay, the obligations undertaken by them under the UNCIP resolutions of August, 1948, and January, 1949.

These obligations include observance of the cease-fire agreement, withdrawal of armed forces from the State and acceptance of the decision of the Security Council in the event of any difference in regard to the interpretation and execution of these agreed resolutions.

2. Both Governments should also declare their renunciation of the use of forceful methods in the settlement of any dispute and refer such disputes to arbitration or judicial determination if they are not resolved by negotiation and mediation.

3. Both Governments should reaffirm the obligation undertaken by them in the Delhi Agreement, particularly that "they shall not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them, and take prompt and effective action against any individual or organization guilty of such propaganda."

4. Both Governments should make a declaration that they will on no account attack or invade the territory of the other.

Auchinleck's Activities in Pakistan

Statesman's Diplomatic Correspondent at New Delhi reports :

"New Delhi, July 27: Informal discussions have taken place between the External Affairs Ministry and the Deputy High Commissioner for the U. K. over the Prime Minister's recent reference to British military officers in Pakistan.

"An informal approach is believed to have been made by Mr. Garner to obtain an amplification of Mr. Nehru's allegation that British military officers in Pakistan had 'added greatly to the prevailing tension.'

"While it is not known what specific complaints Mr. Garner received during his conversations, India's main charge is believed to relate to the activities of

F.-M. Auchinleck, who has been in Pakistan since April.

"A complete dossier about the Field Marshal's movements in Pakistan over the past four months, now in the possession of the Indian Government, suggests that his interests may have been connected with more than trade and business.

"Meanwhile the U. K. High Commissioner's Office here is believed to have received from F.-M. Auchinleck an explanation regarding his movements, apparently in answer to inquiries made by the High Commissioner.

"According to Indian sources, bellicose statements about Indo-Pakistani relations have also been made by General Gracey, whose visit to Pakistan was brief, and certain serving officers.

"That Mr. Nehru could not have intended a sweeping statement about British officers generally is evident from the fact that India herself has two senior British Army advisers and British Chiefs of the Navy and the Air Force.

"A *PTI-Reuters* report from Karachi says that Auchinleck had a meeting today with Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed, Pakistan's Minister for Industries, according to a Pakistani Government handout.

"The handout said that the Field-Marshal met the Minister 'to inform him of the progress of the carpet manufacturing concern he was going to sponsor'."

Conditions in India and Pakistan

Especially since the latest ration cut there has been severe criticism of the policy that our rulers, both Central and State, are following. It is said that the land of Pakistan has become by comparison a land flowing with milk and honey. Whatever may be the faults of our rulers—and we are not defending them, Pakistan is not a land flowing with milk and honey. The following statistics are self-revealing:

<i>Unemployment</i>		
	India	Pakistan
1948	224,900	77,983
1949	293,043	70,996
1950	314,336	96,439
<i>Index of general consumer prices and food prices:</i>		
<i>General</i>		
1939=100		
	India (Bombay)	Pakistan (Lahore)
1947	263	398
1948	286	444
1949	290	408
1950	295	415
<i>Food</i>		
1939=100		
1947	302	460
1948	305	497
1949	321	
1950	334	453

The above informations are taken from the latest issue of the *International Labour Review*, U.N.O.

J. M. D.

The Unity of Leftism in India

We share the opinion of the *Behar Herald* of July 7th last. "There are today a dozen Leftist Parties in Bengal, and more will sprout up by December next. These are: (1) The Socialist Party of India; (2) The Communist Party of India; (3) The Krishak-Praja-Mazdoor Party; (4) Forward Bloc of Nanu Ghosh of Howrah; (5) Do of Leela Roy; (6) Do of Shilbhadra Yajee; (7) The Revolutionary Socialist Party of India; (8) The Revolutionary Communist Party of India of Soumyendra Nath Tagore; (9) Bolshevik Party; (10) The Socialist Republican Party; (11) The Democratic Vanguard; (12) The Party of National Synthesis. While the Leftists will be quarrelling among themselves, the Rightist Congress will have an easy victory in the elections."

We desire, however, to ask a question: Why have the esteemed lady and the gentlemen who have felt impelled to captain these shows differed? They are by profession all followers of Marx and Lenin. Are we then to think that like the pre-1917 Russian revolutionaries they differ because they cannot agree to the position of a coma, or a semi-colon at which Israel Zangwill poked fun?

Zemindari Abolition in Madhya Bharat

The Madhya Bharat Zamindari Abolition Act received the assent of President Prasad on June 25 last. The Act which will be promulgated within 48 hours will bring a new era in the history of the newly-created Madhya Bharat State.

More than 8,600 zamindari, covering an area of 18,636 sq. miles, will be taken over by the Government after the promulgation of the Act. This Act, it is said, would affect 1,21,993 zamindars of the State.

The Patels appointed by the Collectors will take possession of the lands, forests, etc., belonging to the zamindars on behalf of the State Government. The Government have made provision for the grant of compensation to the zamindars, the official announcement said.

The compensation grant would be paid in fifteen instalments. The zamindars have been divided into six grades for the compensation. Those paying an annual revenue up to Rs. 100 to the Government have been placed in the first category, those paying Rs. 101 to Rs. 500 second; Rs. 501 to Rs. 2,000 third; Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 3,500 fourth; Rs. 3,501 to Rs. 5,000 fifth; and above Rs. 5,000 in the sixth and last category.

Zamindars belonging to the first category would receive compensation amounting to 20 times of their net income, the second category 17 times, the third 15 times, the fourth twelve times, the fifth ten times and the sixth eight times. Zamindars whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 3,500 were also to draw

a rehabilitation grant to enable them to settle down in other occupations.

The compensatory rates are patterned after those fixed in the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Acts. These latter are subjects of litigation in the Supreme Court.

Orissa's Financial Crisis

A Cuttack news dated June 21 last told the words that the Governor of Orissa, Mr. V. P. Menon, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, are now daily "holding conferences at Government House to find a solution of the financial crisis" which the State is stated to be passing through. It is understood that as a result of the deficit budget of the State during the last three years the State Government had to overdraw to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores 50 lakhs from the Reserve Bank of India against its capital investments. The over-drawings being progressive without any possibility of repayment so far from Revenue Account, the Reserve Bank of India and the Government of India are understood to have drawn the immediate attention of the Government of Orissa and asked the latter to revise its financial position.

Meanwhile the Ministers of Orissa are understood to have been asked not to leave the headquarters but be in readiness to attend a short notice cabinet meeting likely to be held before June 25 to consider the joint report of the Governor and the Chief Minister and finalise the proposals for the resolution of the "financial crisis."

It is considered likely that the first announcement of the crisis and the steps taken to meet will be made in the Orissa Assembly which meets on July 11.

Drastic cuts in expenditure on unproductive schemes and retrenchment are anticipated in the Public Works Department.

Since then, the Governor and the Chief Minister had been to Delhi and the public have been informed that the news created a darker impression of the situation than the facts justified. Now that the old Governor, Janab Asaf Ali, has returned with health refreshed, we hope our neighbouring State will share his freshness.

India's Food Problem

During the second Vana-Mahotsav (Tree-planting ceremony) a fresh spate of speeches has been released over the country. Its inaugurator, Food Minister Munshi, fertile of ideas and compact of imagination, has not learnt wisdom from the first year's result of his brain-wave.

We do not know who is responsible for the present food scarcity. War and profiteers are there to twist natural economic relations. But with all this, we are afraid that our Prime Minister with his craze for "planning" must agree to share a part of the blame,

forgetful of the lesson of American experience in this line.

For the benefit of his advisers we desire to draw attention to a report of the Rockefeller Foundation in which occur words of wisdom that should have a lesson for all of us. We quote these below:

"The capital required (for the better utilization of natural resources), particularly in agriculture, need not at the start take the form of spectacular dams, power facilities and industrial plants. Rather it could consist of thousands of small improvements, such as local water systems, small dams, wells and a variety of other constructions and implements."

India's food problem can be solved not by 'spectacular' planning but by making the agriculturist realize that his habitual practices have grown out of date. We hope our rulers will yet realize the generally incomplete nature of the experts' advice.

Animal Husbandry—Its Regionalization

We thank the Central Publicity Department for sending us a reprint of an article from the *Indian Farming* of June, 1950. A summary says that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929. But there was lack of co-ordination amongst its various organs and over-lapping. After 1945, this experience led to certain reforms and the setting-up of Regional Committees which work under the following scheme, the result of the enquiry by a Research Regionalization Committee. We cull the following from the article:

(i) *Dry Northern (Wheat) Region*—comprising of the Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Western Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

(ii) *A. Wet Eastern (Rice) Region*—comprising of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and North-east Madras.

(ii) *B. Coastal Region*—comprising of the two coastal strips in South India bordering on the Eastern and Western Ghats, parts of Mysore, Coorg, and Travancore-Cochin.

(iii) *Southern (Millet) Region*—comprising of Jhansi Division of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Eastern Hyderabad (Deccan), West Madras, Bombay and part of Mysore.

(iv) *Temperate Himalayan Region*—consisting of two sub-regions, viz., the Eastern Himalayan Region including Assam (hilly parts), Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and the Western Region including Kumaun, Garhwal, Simla, Kulu, Chamba and Kashmir.

Four Regional Committees were appointed to consider the schemes of research, both current and proposed, with a view to fit them in, into the regional plan. The Committee have since made their recommendations and these would now be placed before the Scientific Committees.

Some of the new schemes recommended for consideration on a regional basis are:

(i) Setting up Regional Nutrition Centres—one in each region.

(ii) Study of sterility in cattle on a regional basis and in various areas.

(iii) Study of trace elements and deficiency diseases.

(iv) Improvement of wool.

(v) Utilization of industrial by-products and unusual feeds for livestock."

There is, however, another side of the problem which mechanized-minded people in India have been pressing forward for acceptance by the people. Their attitude was reflected in an article in the *Nagpur Hitabada* of June 25 last entitled "Draught Animals—A Major Obstacle to Efficient Food Production," with a second title "Form Mechanization is the Key to Prosperity." The thesis contradicts all the purpose of the work of our Animal Husbandry Department. Our readers should know the process of their thought.

According to the standard rations for livestock in Britain, something like five acres of land is needed to feed a horse. If the total number of draught animals in the world is multiplied by five, we find the staggering total of 1,114 million acres are occupied unnecessarily. The best estimates show that between 3 and 4 thousand million acres of the world are cultivated, which means that an area equal to one-third of the world's cultivated acreage is given over to feeding draught animals. Is it any wonder that the progress of civilisation is so halting and spasmodic when the availability of food—the first essential—has such shaky foundations?

It may be argued that some draught animals do not require five acres for feed. It is just likely that a high proportion occupy a much greater area of rough, uncultivated land. The precise area is not important. The vital point is that almost all land used for draught animals could be made available for human food production. If we reckon only three acres for each draught animal, the result is still shocking.

Here are up-to-date figures of draught animals and tractors in the main regions of the world:

	<i>Draught animals</i>	<i>Tractors</i>
Europe	29,982,617	1,300,000
North & Central America	14,558,000	3,214,190
South America	15,155,000	54,638
Oceania	1,076,000	99,759
Asia	148,248,500	27,177
Africa	13,950,000	63,354
	222,970,117	4,759,930

With so great a proportion of the world's cultivable area given over to draught animals, the wonder is that famine is not more constantly recurring than it is in one or other part of the world. Land hunger lies at the root of agrarian unrest in nearly every country. Draught animals are a major cause of land hunger, but their braking effect on human endeavour is, per-

haps, greater in that they rigidly limit man's own effort. The output of work from a man driving horses or oxen is not more than a quarter of what he would accomplish from the seat of a tractor. Thus, tied to draught animals he cannot earn the reward that is expected to meet present-day standards of living.

Bombay's Milk Plan

For sometime past a pamphlet on the subject has been lying with us written by Sri D. N. Khurody, Milk Commissioner, Bombay, holding a position analogous to that occupied by Dr. L. Sikka, Milk Commissioner in West Bengal. There is an impression prevalent in Bharat that Bombay's Milk Scheme has been made a success, and it will continue to serve as a model to others in Bharat's other States. The pamphlet has helped to justify this impression. The Prime Minister of India by laying the foundation of the new offices of the Are Milk Colony on March 14 last added strength to it, and the Bombay press rose enthusiastically to boost it. Friends have told us that the praise showered is fully deserved. We accept their opinion, and wish that other Milk Commissioners make up their minds to be as active as Dr. Khurody.

Plantation Labour in Assam

In the July issue of *Employment News* appears an article on the subject under the signature of Sri Jut H. P. Duara, Labour Commissioner. A summary of it is published below:

"Plantation labour comprises nearly one-eighth of the total population of Assam and plays a very important role in the industrial harmony and peace of the State.

"The tea industry is by far the most important industry in Assam. The name of Major Robert Bruce is associated with the early discovery of tea in India, who, in 1823, found indigenous tea growing in Assam.

"The tea industry in Assam employs nearly a million souls scattered over a wide area, spreading from the heart of the State and extending as far as the foot of the Bhutan Hills in the north, Burmese frontier in the east and East Pakistan border in the south. There are at present nearly 1,000 tea estates in the State.

"The tea labour population of Assam consists of emigrant labourers from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, the Madhya Pradesh and the Uttar Pradesh. The Tea District Emigrant Labour Act of 1932 now regulates the condition of recruitment of plantation labour in the tea gardens of Assam. Although some of these emigrant labourers return to their native lands after the expiry of the contractual period, the majority of them have settled down in the tea estates for generations and have become a part of the population of the State.

"When the Congress Government came into power their first and foremost task was to improve the conditions of Plantation Labour and accordingly, labour laws, enacted by Government of India, were enforced and extended to all tea estates.

"Recently, the State Government have sanctioned a lakh of rupees for the inauguration of a scheme for the welfare of the Plantation Labour, with a view to bringing about all-round improvement in their standard of living.

"It is proposed to open fifteen centres for the male workers in the first year with a target to open fifty centres in course of three years. For the female workers, fifteen centres are proposed to be opened in course of three years; and for the ex-garden labourers five centres will be opened in the first year with a target to open fifteen such centres.

"In housing, the tea industry in Assam has made quite a good start although there is still a lot more to be done to bring it up to the standard as envisaged by the Royal Commission of Labour on plantations."

Corruption in India

We have been making such a display of our own shortcomings and corruptions in places high and low that we lose sight of the fact that other countries have had these experiences. In issues of this journal we have on more than one occasion drawn attention to how the U.S.A. fared after the exaltation of the War of Independence (1772-87) and of the Civil War (1860-64). Today we refer to Italy and to what one of its makers, Cavour, said. When his friends urged the difficulties caused by corruptions amongst Neapolitans (Naples) he is reported to have said in justification: "It is not their fault, poor people; they have been ill-governed; you must moralize the country; but it is not by insulting of Neapolitans that you will modify them." There is a world of wisdom in these words which rivals of the Congress should take to their hearts.

Recognition of Labour's Dignity

Labour has through struggles and conflicts attained the dignity of a separate "estate" in every State in the modern world more than equal with the others. This has been brought out in the news-item published on May 23 last. Much of the tensions in strikes and lock-out is ultimately concerned with this "dignity" question as the following will show:

"Agreement was reached on a large number of important issues concerning industrial relations at the meeting of the development committee on industries which concluded its two-day session here this evening.

"The meeting discussed various aspects of industrial relations in order to formulate an agreed basis for industrial relations in the country as well

as future legislation on the subject. It was agreed that industrial relations are not a matter between employers and employees alone but a vital concern of the community as economic progress is bound up with industrial peace.

"While it was agreed that in an economy organized on the basis of competition, private monopoly or private profit, the workers' right to have recourse to peaceful direct action for the defence of their rights and the improvement of their conditions cannot be denied and should not be curtailed unduly. It was generally accepted, however, that in an emergency, as at present, these things should be dealt with on a special footing. The objective should be just treatment of all concerned.

Complete unanimity was reached on the view that the employer-employee relationship should be conceived of as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the community in the best possible manner. The dignity of labour and the vital role of the worker in such a partnership must be recognised.

"It was also agreed that industrial relations should be so developed that the workers' fitness to understand and carry out his responsibility grows and he is equipped to take an increasing share in the working of industry.

"Members also found themselves in complete accord on the fact that adequate machinery should be provided for arriving at impartial decisions regarding disputes which are found incapable of settlement by conciliation. It was considered advisable to empower labour courts to take cognizance and dispose of any complaints relating to working conditions, health, safety, welfare and kindred matters.

"Reference of disputes relating to such crucial questions as wages, hours, rationalisation schemes, should, as far as possible, be left to be settled by voluntary arbitration, it was further thought.

"The most honourable and patriotic course for both employers and employees, it was felt, would be to agree to submit any present or future dispute or classes of such disputes to arbitration of any person or board of their choice. The number of such agreements would be a good index of real progress in industrial relations in the country.

"It was considered that there was ample need for continuous education of employers and employees as well as the public with regard to their duties and mutual obligations. The conduct of the parties must be in keeping with the objectives of the Constitution and the declared social policies of the State."

Calcutta's Dockers—Their Noble Deed

When a section of the so-called "Leftist" press appear determined by means fair and foul—more by the latter than the former—to stiffen labour's non-co-operative mood, it is a crowning mercy that Calcutta's dockers should have refused to toe this dirty line and risen to accept a challenge to their human instincts.

Between last May 1st and May 20th, the hottest part of this summer's abnormal weather—one lakh tons of foreign food-grains were expected in Calcutta.

And it was apprehended that the dockers would refuse to work during these dog days. But as the event showed they were fully aware of their duty.

And the Port authorities are glad that their fellow-workers should have helped in releasing the ships and in moving 90 thousand tons out of this food-grains to Bihar. Thus was a great anxiety relieved both for Calcutta and for Bihar. And they desire that their noble deed should be known all over India inspiring others to similar deeds. We are glad to act on this suggestion, as ours is an all-India organ of public opinion.

Central Aid to Part B States

"The States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Saurashtra will receive from the Central Government annually for five years, beginning 1950-51, a sum of over Rs. 10 crores in all as grant-in-aid. Following federal financial integration, the Centre entered into agreements with these States which provide for such assistance on a graduated diminishing scale subject to the review of the Finance Commission to be set up under the Constitution.

"Under the above agreement, the Centre will also assume liability for an equitable share of the public debt of Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore. No other Part B State has any public debt. The Central Government's share of the public debt of Travancore-Cochin has been fixed at Rs. 276.4 lakhs and for Mysore at Rs. 470 lakhs. The figure for Hyderabad has yet to be worked out. Privy purses of rulers to the tune of nearly Rs. 4.8 crores annually are already charged to the Central revenues. The two-year and five-year plans now being finalised by the Planning Commission are likely to lead to further substantial Central assistance to Part B States.

"The aid proposed, it is pointed out, is not in the nature of 'compensation' for the loss of 'federal' revenues. It will be recalled that the Krishnamachari Committee laid stress on the principle that there could be no question of compensation for the Centre taking over the 'federal' functions, together with the connected revenue and expenditures, assets and liabilities. The Committee, however, realise that the States which had so far depended to a greater or less extent on their 'federal' revenues would not be able to maintain their existing scale of expenditure in the 'provincial' field immediately after financial integration without special assistance for a transitional period.

"The guaranteed annual recoupment for Travancore-Cochin has been fixed with reference to a 'revenue-gap' of Rs. 280 lakhs. The 'revenue-gap' represents the measure of the immediate transfer of 'federal' revenues and expenditure to the Centre. The computations have been made according to the principles laid down by the Krishnamachari Committee with reference to the 'federal' revenue and expenditure of the State concerned during an agreed basic period. The corresponding figures for the three other States are: Mysore Rs. 345 lakhs; Saurashtra Rs. 275 lakhs and Hyderabad Rs. 136 lakhs (O.S.).

"The grant-in-aid to cover the revenue gap will include the State's share of divisible Central

taxes, which at present applies only to income-tax. If in a year the divisible tax share of a State exceeds the annual grant, the State will receive the higher figure.

"When the Centre took over the 'federal' revenues and expenditure of Mysore, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad, it was found these States needed special assistance to maintain their expenditure on subjects in the 'provincial' fields as before the financial integration, in order to avoid any dislocation. In the case of PEPSU, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan the reverse was the case, federal expenditure being in excess of federal revenues and, therefore, there was no immediate dislocation to their finances as a result of the transfer to the Centre. A similar scheme of financial adjustments between the Central Government and Part A States is being evolved in respect of the merged States. For Part C States the problem does not arise as the Centre is responsible entirely for Central as well as State subjects.

"With these arrangements there is now complete equality between Part A and Part B States in all matters of financial assistance, subsidies, grants, etc., from the Centre. These settlements between the Centre and the States will be reviewed by the Finance Commission under the provisions of Article 280 of the Constitution. The President may terminate or modify the Federal Financial integration Agreements after the expiration of five years from the commencement of the agreements as provided for in Article 278."

The above New Delhi news, dated June 15 last indicated the financial help that the Central Government of India proposes to extend to its B class constituent States. The cases of A class and C class are being separately considered causing not a little heart-burning.

Somnath's Revival

The colourful ceremony that signaled the rebuilding of Somnath has given rise to various feelings in India. In Pakistan there is fury; in Bharat there is elation. But we are concerned with the revival at the same time of the so-called Dravidian-Aryan conflict that has become the stock-in-trade of a certain school of politicians in the Tamil country (South India). The *Sunday Express* of Madras has become its mouth-piece. And in a recent issue, it summarized from various publications what it represents as a true version of the "Mohmed Gazani" episode. We quote portions of the article :

"MOHMEED GAZANI NEVER REACHED SOMNATH"

"There is no historical proof to substantiate the legend of the sacking of Somnath temple. In fact, there is no evidence to substantiate the belief that Mohmed Gazani ever reached Somnath.

"It is believed according to legend that the invasion of Somnath took place in 1025 A.D. There are two great contemporary works of history of Gujarat of the same period. One is the great classic *Dvayashraya* by Hemchandra Acharya, and another is called *Prabandh Chintamani*. Neither of them mentions even casually the invasion of Somnath."

"Muslim historians of that period would have jumped at this subject. Even if Gazani had just reached Somnath, they would have painted in glaring colours as to how the Kaffir's temple was demolished by the Lord of Gazani. 'But they too make no mention of Somnath.'

"The great Sanskrit scholar and historian of Gujarat, Sri Rasiklal Parikh, writes:

"It is, however, strange to find that no mention of sacking of Somnath is found in the *Tarikh-i-Lamini* of Al-'Utbi who was a sort of a private secretary to Mohmed. He wrote a good account of Mohmed's biography, and is definitely known to have lived for years after this event. Rasinuddin and Hamidulla who came more than two hundred years after and have written accounts of Mohmed also make no mention of this account.' (*Kavyan-usasana*, Introduction).

"The first Muslim mention is by Ibu Asir in 1230 A.D., Shri Parikh concludes:

"From this absence of reference amongst early Muslim historians, we are driven to the conclusion that this expedition against Somnath must not have been an event of that importance which it is reported to be by later Muslim chroniclers upon whom the modern historians have almost uncritically relied. It might have been just ordinary looting of a marauding army as the places came on its way'." (*Ibid*).

"All evidences prove that the idol of Somnath was of pre-historic antiquity. It stood there before the Aryans came to what they contemptuously called the *linga-sisne-devah*. In their onward barbarous march across India, it would be no hazard to assert that the very first destruction of the ancient Somnath temple built by the Sivaite Dravidians was perpetrated by the Aryans. Even as the destruction of Somnath and thousands of other temples and idols by the Muslims did not destroy Hinduism, the destruction of hundreds of *sisne-devahs* by the early Aryan barbarians did not destroy Saivism or the traditional Dravidian form of phallic worship, which was, however, common to all early human civilisations and still goes strong in India. Failing in their attempt either to destroy *linga* worship or the higher civilisation of the Dravidians, the Aryans got civilised by the Dravidians and incorporated Indian phallic worship and the whole system of religion connected with it in Brahmanism, which slowly widened into the all-embracing Hinduism. The *linga* worshipped in Somnath was the *linga* discovered in Mohenjo-daro, When the Aryans destroyed Mohenjo-daro, they must have destroyed the prosperous Somnath in the same period."

National Library at Calcutta

We draw the attention of the authorities to the following letter received from an eminent scholar of international standing:

"The present administration of the National Library has spent large sums in buying expensive racks from England, replacing quite good serviceable old book-racks. But very little money is being spent in buying most necessary and important books of Indian history and culture. For instance, the following books though published a year ago have not been purchased:

- Dr. J. Leeuw: *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, published in 1949.
 Basil Gray: *Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue of Indian Art*, published in 1950.
 Mazumdar: *Vedic Age (National History of India, 1951)*.
 G. H. Gijree: *Caste and Class in India*, 1950.
 Sir J. Woodroffe: *Serpent Power* (4th Edition), 1951.

This list is not exhaustive. Formerly, the Library used to maintain a suggestion book, book for suggestions on the part of readers. This has been stopped. The Library publishes a Report of its administration. But this is not available to the public, so that no criticism could be made."

This system has militated in every way against the usefulness of the library for scholars, therefore this procedure has to be altered.

Massacre of the Innocents in Bengal :

The public have learned with admiration how the devoted and thoughtful Vice-Chancellor Mr. Justice Shambunath Mukherji has added another task to his tireless activities for improving the Calcutta University. He has held a conference with the heads of colleges to discover how it was that only 27 per cent of the students who sat for the last Intermediate examination have passed. That over seventeen thousand youths have wasted one year of their lives and all the expenses of study for twelve months and gained nothing in return—except bitterness of soul—is not a matter to be dismissed with one day's thundering in the morning papers and two days' talk in the public parks. It needs probing; but no committee is necessary for discovering the cause, which is well-known to guardians and teachers alike.

The roots of the mischief are two—lack of common sense in the teaching and examination and greed for money as the supreme consideration on both sides. Any honest teacher could have told half of these youths after their test examination (I am assuming for the moment that the test examination is not a sham in most colleges) that judging from their state of preparation they had no earthly chance of passing the University examination three months later. Any honest head of a college should have told them that he was not going to send up such palpably immature candidates. A college venturing to do so would at once lose customers.

But why blame the colleges? The holy mother (*alma mater*) herself is not sinless in this respect. A Matric examination that does not truly sift those who have received the necessary preliminary grounding for a college course from those who are unfit, brings shoals of lads to the University, and thus swells the University's income in various ways, particularly that "best seller in India," the I.A. English Selections, a paper-

cover booklet of some 200 pages, costing Rs. 3, without any illustration or copyright extract that has been paid for. And the University's own Bible Selection too,—which happily few students buy and fewer still read; a note-book sufficeth. If, under the inexorable law of nature, the myriads thus easily entering the colleges, are two years later subjected to a 73 per cent massacre, the University has at least pocketed six lakhs of rupees in fees (of diverse kinds) from these failures alone, without giving them anything in return. After all, the ancients hit at one or two truths in spite of their lack of modern civilisation: the Christian Chhreh has proclaimed *Radix malo-rum est cupiditas* (Love of money is the root of all evils). And Sankaracharya too, with his *Artham anartham bhavaya nityam*.

The path of reform lies in (1) freeing the curriculum of its cumbrous pretentious mass of books (whose mass and cost drives the student to seek refuge in Notes). (2) Holding a commonsense practical test in modern English prose, as an instrument for reading, —and no niceties of grammar or subtleties of aesthetic criticism below the Honours stage. (3) Curbing the natural tendency of the (compulsory) Bengali paper-setter to maintain the dignity of his subject by making it as stiff as the Honours paper in English. (4) Ensuring that the questions are fairly well-distributed over the entire subject or book, and not confined to one corner of it, which happens to be the examiner's special preserve. In 1927, the question paper in Pass Economics III (Indian Economics) was almost entirely confined to Banking,—in which the paper-setter had taken his Doctorate. Such irrational action on the part of the question-setter drives the student to be dishonest; it discourages industry, as leaving everything to chance. A revision (called *moderation*) of question papers by actual teachers of the subjects, before they are printed, is indispensably necessary. The chance of leakage is not ruled out, I admit; but that is a lesser evil than the present freaks and caprices.

Above all, disciplinary action against the inefficient mercenary colleges—which swell the percentage of failure, should be rigorously taken. Mushroom colleges after the first year's trial, should be compelled to die out like mushrooms. And that hoary-headed sinner—with 2,000 youths on the rolls (which was the laughing stock of the British members of the Radhakrishnan Commission) and whose boys pointed out the Sealdah Station third class passenger shed as their Students' Common Room to the Sadler Commission, well, a little blood-letting reducing its numbers to 500 will certainly cure it of its present elephantiasis. The accepted conditions of affiliation, if honestly enforced, can effect this surgical operation.

J. S.

Assassination of King Abdulla

The assassination of King Abdulla will have consequences far into the Arab world. He became a part of history during the first World War of the 20th century helping to overthrow the empire of the Turks. All seemed hopeful for his family. His younger brother, Emir Feisal, was the instrument through whom the fates found a leader of the Arab Revolt. In Lawrence's book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, we get a glimpse of the policy of the British Government, and the betrayal of Arab hopes by Prime Minister Lloyd George and his civil advisers.

Lawrence was an archaeologist, digging into the ruins of the area in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and the Hejaz. Then unconsciously to himself he got entangled in Britain's far-flung scheme of a vast South-West Asian Bloc with herself as the boss. This required the break-up of the Turkish empire; and Sherif Hussein, Emir Abdulla and Emir Feisal were its dupes. Lawrence saw before his eyes the wreck of all he had laboured for, and was naturally very bitter with Lloyd George and Clemenceau. And throughout the book he gave the freest expression to it on every conceivable occasion.

In the earlier pages he threw out pen-pictures of men and things that will remain enshrined in the English language. Of Emir Abdulla he had no high opinion; Emir Feisal was his hero. We quote from the book portions that have become relevant today:

"... nothing was futile in the atmosphere of higher thinking and responsibility which ruled at Feisal's... Abdullah would sometimes ride a little, or shoot a little, and return exhausted to his tent for a massage... He was fond of Arabic verses and exceptionally well read... He was also interested in history and letters... He affected to have no care for the Hejaz situation, regarding the autonomy of the Arabs as assured by the promises of Great Britain... The leaven of insincerity worked through all the fibres of his being... His brain often betrayed its intricate pattern... Yet they never separated into straight desires or grew into effective desires..."

Feisal was driven from Damascus by the French, and the British looked indifferently on. The latter made him King of Iraq, Abdulla, King of Trans-Jordan. But when King Hussein was driven from Mecca by Emir Ibn Saud, they did not raise even their little finger to help their protegee. This betrayal explained much of the Arab distrust of British promises; the Palestine episode with a promise for "a Jewish home" in Palestine, was the limit of ignominy.

Abdulla, however, had to pocket it; and in recompense he has been protected by the Arab Legion captained by Glubb Pasha, the best trained and equipped force in Arabia. But this did not avail against Jewish idealism and endurance. The State of

Israel was born. The Arab world, however, feels that in the pursuit of his Hashemite kingdom fantasy—made up of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq—Abdulla has been lukewarm in the common Arab fight against Israel. This feeling will minimize the grief that would otherwise have been felt by them.

But the real loss will be Britain's. With Iran threatening her oil interests, there remains none in the Arab world to speak a good word for her or stand up for upholding these. This appreciation of the Arab situation supports our contention that in life King Abdulla had been a stabilizing factor in the maelstrom of Arab nationalism and the creeping inroads of Com-

"Birth of a Nation Suspended"

Under the above heading Andrew Roth wrote in the London *Daily Herald*, reprinted in the *Leader*, an article indicating the multi-racial elements of the problem.

"Those who planned the Communist revolt in Malaya fervently hoped that the Malays would help them. Instead, hardly a single Malay has joined them in their jungle hideouts, while 30,000 have volunteered as special constables against them.

"Under the harsh impact of the eight-month-old anti-British rising, the growth of Malay national consciousness, rapid after the second World War, has accelerated. The Malays, as a people, are waking up. Except for 30,000 aborigines, they are the oldest inhabitants of the peninsula into which their ancestors penetrated 4,000 years ago.

"During 140 years of British rule these hardy, cheerful people have multiplied more than seven times, but even so they are being outnumbered by the Chinese. Predominantly agricultural, the Malays bitterly resent this influx, which began in strength 70 years ago to meet the labour shortage in the tin mines and on the rubber estates.

"Though immigration has officially stopped, the Chinese in the peninsula and Singapore today number about 2,600,000 compared with 1,700,000 in 1931. The Malays number 2,200,000, compared with 1,900,000 in 1931.

"In the Federation the Malays are in the majority, while in Singapore they form a small minority. The relentless increase in the Chinese population makes the Malays feel they may ultimately become strangers in their own land.

"Since the revolt began, Sino-Malay differences have so widened that some leaders darkly prophesy that if the British left tomorrow there would be inter-racial violence on a large scale. Recently some of the country Malays have been taking their *kris* (scimitar-like national swords) to sorcerers to be blessed. One of them assured me that the spells were so powerful that they can deflect bullets.

"Asking for special benefits to help them increase their members and ensure their security, the Malays assert with justice that the terrorists are almost one hundred per cent Chinese. With equal truth they insist that the ordinary Chinese inhabitants have done little or nothing to combat the

terrorists, while many have actually helped them either by paying 'protection money' or in other ways.

"Of Chinese claims for political rights, made two years ago when the constitutional future of the country was in the melting pot, Malay leaders now suggest that those who gain rights also incur obligations. In a determined effort to bring the communities together, a nine-man Malay-Chinese goodwill committee, with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, U.K. Commissioner-General in South-East Asia, as liaison officer, has been set up. The leading Malay member is Dato Onn Bin Ja'afar, Chief Minister of Johore and President of the United Malays National Organisation. Dato Onn is personally convinced that the future of his race is at stake. With other leaders he is trying to find a way out. . . .

"Most Chinese in Malaya heartily wish that the terror would end, but they seem incapable of assisting openly in its elimination. Only recently have Chinese miners begun to stop paying 'protection money' to the terrorists. As more of the security forces swing into action more information should begin to come in.

"One significant result of the revolt has been its effect on Malaya's embryo Trade Union movement. Before the outbreak in June, 1948, there were in the Federation 302 trade unions, with 149,946 members. Today, with the Communist elements gone, there are only 162 trade unions with 76,925 members. But they are unions, not rackets. Aiming eventually to paralyse industry, the Communists early got a grip on the unions by mailed fist methods. Chinese secret societies, with school-boy thriller names like 'Red Face' and 'Skeleton Gang' and wired initiation rites, also infiltrated, and through them extortion and victimisation boomed."

Later news from Malaya, dated June 18 last, described how a purely Malayan nationalist leader proposed to solve it. We share it with our readers:

"Plans for the achievement of Malayan independence, sketched by the Malay leader, Dato Onn Bin Ja'afar, early this month, have had their strongest critics so far in a section of the Malays themselves, writes K. N. Ramanathan, the *P.T.I.* staff correspondent in Malaya.

"Some observers see in this opposition to Dato Onn from a section of his own community, the working of a 'hidden hand,' which, they consider is trying to divide the Malays and obstruct the development of national unity.

"In the ten days that have elapsed since Dato Onn 'caused a sensation' in Malaya (to quote one newspaper) by his announcement, public opinion has had the time to consider his plans. The Indian and the Chinese communities have generally welcomed them. The British comment has been cautious. It has expressed appreciation of Dato Onn's approach but has also dwelt on the difficulties of the problem.

"Dato Onn, president of the United Malaya National Organisation, probably the most outstanding leader in Malaya today, said early this month that he would form a political, non-communal 'Independence of Malaya' party to work for the achievement of independence.

"He thought that an independent Malaya would seek to remain within the Commonwealth—

'but there is no such thing as independence in self-government, if it is strangled by preconditions of what it can or cannot do.'

"The Malayan Indian Congress—one of the three Pan-Malayan Indian organisations in this country—at its annual session during the weekend, adopted a resolution in favour of forming, or assisting in the formation of a Malayan organisation with membership open to all Malaysians. He said that the Congress would give him every support.

"The Indian-owned newspaper, the *Indian Daily Mail*, has found it difficult to believe that Dato Onn could be really interested in forming a party for the achievement of Malaya's unity or freedom."

We have a certain feeling that the resident Chinese have lost their chance by allying themselves more secretly than openly with the "fifth-column" activities of their own nationals.

Soviet Post-War Reconstruction

Prof. Maurice Dodd, lecturer in Economics, Cambridge University, who is a visiting professor at the Delhi School of Economics from January to March, 1951, spoke to members of the Indian Council of World Affairs on the above subject. Speaking on the success of "planning" there during the last 30 years, he appeared to be appreciative of the courage and endurance of Soviet leadership of rulers and the ruled alike. The following extract from the address will give our readers an idea of the various undertakings. We make this quotation from the *Indian Quarterly*:

"As regards the canal schemes: one of the most interesting is the famous Volga-Don Canal, joining the Volga just below Stalingrad with the river Don. It is a difficult engineering feat because of the substantial difference (some 90 ft.) between the levels of the two rivers. The canal will be just over 60 miles in length when it is completed. It was apparently started before the war, but was interrupted by the war; and the intention now is to complete it by the spring of 1952, if nothing in the international sphere occurs to interrupt it again. The importance of this project is that it will provide a continuous inland waterway system from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and one which will link Moscow with the Black Sea, enabling ships, for example, to carry fresh fish from the Black Sea to Moscow. To give some idea of the carrying capacity of the waterway: it will be capable of taking large cargo ships, and with the deepening of the channel of the lower Don and a raising of its water level, these cargo ships will be able to proceed from the Volga down to the mouth of the Don near Rostov and into the Black Sea. Diesel-engine ships carrying 500 passengers apiece are to be constructed for the Moscow-Stalingrad-Black Sea service when this canal is completed. Power stations with 2½ million and 1½ million kilowatts capacity are to be simultaneously built on the lower and middle Volga at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, and are designed to be completed in 1955 and 1956 respectively. The first of these, the Kuibyshev scheme, will be linked with an irrigation scheme covering 2½ million acres of land,

"Finally, what the article from the London *Times* calls 'the boldest in conception and most difficult of all these schemes'—the highly interesting project of the Turkmenian Canal, which will run from the river Amu Darya or Oxus, across the Kara Kum desert to the Caspian Sea. The canal will extend to nearly 700 miles and will bring some 3 million acres of desert under cultivation (mainly for cotton). This scheme is to be completed in the year 1957. The forest shelter-belt schemes will be applied here also, and according to the plan shelter-belts will be planted on either side of the canal, and subsidiary dams and power stations will also, be constructed along its route. Like the Volga-Don Canal it is designed to carry cargo ships."

Korea War's Cost to U.S.A.

The Korean war has cost the U.S.A. from \$2,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000 depending on how the main figure is worked out, according to the Assistant Defence Secretary, Mr. McNeil.

And if it continues, he told the Senate Finance Committee, the Armed Forces will have to ask for another \$2,000,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000 during the 12 months ahead.

Mr. McNeil was reluctant to give an exact estimate of the war's cost to date because of the difficulty of deciding what factors were to be included. He said he could 'prove any figure from two to ten thousand million dollars' depending on what assumptions were used.

Mr. McNeil said afterward that he would try to get the Committee as accurate a figure as possible on the cost of the Korean War.

A Washington news of date July last told us this story. We have read somewhere that the last World War cost about 4 lakh crores of rupees. Mr. McNeil's estimate is rather vague, and he declined to make himself responsible even for any near exact figure. We do not know what the American ruling classes mean by publicizing this huge expenditure of money and men, the latter being about 60,000 in killed and wounded and prisoners taken by the Communists of North Korea and China. It is time they realized that leadership in international affairs cost money.

Europe's Encroachments into Middle East

In the *Hitavada*, Sri M. F. Soonawala threw light on the doings of European powers in the areas washed by the Atlantic in North Africa and the Persian Gulf in Asia. They are on the retreat today, and their burden is being increasingly thrown up on the United States. And she is, willingly or unwillingly, playing her part, this being her destiny, as her politicians and publicists say with pride. She is inheriting Britain's hegemony; and thus do we find her intervening in

Persia's oil trouble, trying to mediate between the rising nationalism of Iran and Britain's vanishing capitalistic exploitation.

The most interesting and informing portion of the article, however, is where the writer quotes the British publicist Marvin on the contrast between British and Russian technique of dealing with Asian peoples. He thus summarizes the argument:

"During the 19th century the Russian influence over the Muslims became so great that the latter almost completely identified themselves with their conquerors. One proof of this is to be found in the names of Muslim generals and politicians like General Alikhanoff, the Governor of Merv, General Nasir-begoff, Muratoff and last but not the least, Jacob (Yakub) Malik, the present-day Chief Russian delegation at U.N.O., the Suffix 'off' added to the names means 'son'."

And to give added strength to it he quoted Marvin's exact words, written in 1885:

"The people not only identify themselves with Russians, but the Russians identify themselves with the people. Englishmen would never think of placing their home army under a Sikh or a Maratha, or permitting a Bengali to become a Cabinet Minister. An Indian has practically no career in England; on the other hand, every avenue in Russia is open to the Caucasian. The Alumenian, Loris Melikoff, rose there to a position next to that of the Czars. Generals Tergonkasoff and Lazareff, two other Asiatics, commanded Russian troops in the Turkish War of 1877-78, and when Alikhanoff accomplished his famous raid upon Merv, the exploit was acclaimed as a Russian exploit, and not as the achievement of a mere native."

Crown Prince William & Marshal Petain

Within a few days have died two leaders of armies of the First World War—Crown Prince William of "Imperial Germany," first son of Kaiser William, and Marshal Petain who beat back the German attacks on the Fortress of Verdun. Both of them have departed from the field of their mundane activities in disgrace. William shorn of his glory, and Petain as the man who made his peace with Hitler. William's come-down was a fruit of Germany's defeat in 1918; Petain's of 1940. He was put up by French appeasers as the most considerable French leader who would be able to save some part of France's glory. History will say whether or not he succeeded in his venture. But this we know that the conquerors of the Second World War did recognize his status and treated him with courtesy. The death of these two men would, in no way, affect the fortunes of their country. Peace to their souls!

ROLE OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

INDIA has been a land of Village Communities or Gram Panchayats from time immemorial. It is claimed that the system was first introduced by King Prithu while colonising the Doab between the Ganga and the Jamuna. There are definite references to the existence of these "Grama Sanghas" in the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata* and in the *Manusmriti*. Kautilya, who flourished in 400 B.C., has also described these Village Communities in his *Arthashastra*. In the *Valmiki Ramayana* we hear of the Janapada, which was, perhaps, a sort of federation of the numerous village-republics. It is also certain that the system was widely in existence in this country at the time of the Greek invasion, and Megasthenes has left vivid impressions of these "Pentads" as he termed these Panchayats. Chinese travellers Hsien Tsang and Fa Hien tell us how India at the time of their visit was very productive, and the people were "flourishing and happy beyond compare." An account of these Panchayats during the middle ages is provided in Sukracharya's *Nitisara*.

The Village Communities which were self-governing little republics all over India flourished under Hindu and Muslim governments and survived the wreck of dynasties and the downfall of empires. Even the Committee of Secretary of the East India Company reported in 1812 :

"Under this simple form of Municipal Governments, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial . . . The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of the kingdom; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."

"One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India," comments Sir Charles Trevelyan, "but the Village Municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own Kusha grass"

In 1930, Sir Charles Metcalfe described these Village Communities as little republics having nearly everything within themselves, and almost independent of any outside relations:

"They seem to last where nothing else lasts. . . . The Union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I believe, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the village constitutions may never be disturbed and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up."

It is interesting to note that the attention of

Karl Marx was also drawn to these Indian Village Republics. He writes in his *Das Capital*:

"The small and extremely ancient Indian Communities which still exist to some extent, are based upon the communal ownership of the land, upon a direct linking up of manual agriculture and handicraft and upon a fixed form of the division of labour which is adopted as a cut-and-dried scheme whenever new communities are founded. They constitute self-sufficient productive entities, the area of land upon which production is carried on ranging from a hundred to several thousand acres. The greater part of the products is produced for the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the community, not as commodities; and production itself, is, therefore, independent of the division of labour which the exchange of commodities has brought about in Indian society as well . . . In different regions of India we find different forms of such communities. In the simplest form the land is commonly tilled and its produce is divided among the members of the community, while every family carries on spinning, weaving, as an accessory occupation. The simplicity of the productive organism in these self-sufficient communities . . . unlocks for us the mystery of the unchangeableness of Asiatic society, which contrasts so strongly with the perpetual dissolution and reconstruction of Asiatic States, and with the unceasing changes of dynasties. The structure of the economic elements of the society remains unaffected by the storms in the political weather."

Sir Henry Maine points out that

"Indian village community was a living and not dead institution and the Indian and the ancient European systems of village communities were, in all essential particulars, identical."

He further observes:

"That the earliest English emigrants to North America organised themselves at first in village communities for purposes of cultivation."

The Indian villages had evolved a well-balanced social, economic and political system by eschewing the two extremes of *laissez faire* and totalitarian control. They had developed an ideal form of co-operative agriculture and industry in which there was hardly any scope for exploitation of the poor by the rich. As Mahatma Gandhi has put it, "The production was almost simultaneous with consumption and distribution," and the vicious circle of money-lender economy was conspicuous by its absence. Production was for the immediate use and not for distant markets. The whole social structure was founded on non-violence and fellow-feeling. The Gram Panchayat administered the village affairs either on its own responsibility or as an adjunct to the village Headman or Patel. It also administered justice and peace, maintained local order by watch and ward, provided facilities for education, sanitation and public works such as erection and main-

tenance of public buildings, roads, tanks, wells and the keeping of village tracts in order, provided all other common amenities—social, and economic—of the village life and collected and distributed the charity to the needy and the poor. It derived its finances from the rich and wealthy inhabitants of the village and from other donations. The labour for the works of public utility the village community could get from the village people. In this way it was self-sufficient and self-supporting having little to do with the outside world. In the past, indeed, these Panchayats played a very useful role in developing the village corporate life but unfortunately the advent of the British Rule in India led to their decay and disappearance.

An extreme anxiety to enhance the land revenue to its utmost limits induced the East India Company to make direct arrangements with every individual cultivator, instead of with the village community as a whole. An equally unreasonable anxiety to centralise all judicial and executive powers in their own hands led the British administrators to virtually set aside the village functionaries, and thus deprive them of their age-long powers. These republics, therefore, fell into decay. This decay was further helped by a number of factors. The administration of the village by the agencies of the Central Government, the extension of the jurisdiction of the modern civil and criminal courts of the towns, the new land revenue system, increase in the means of communication, progress of education, police administration, migration of the best and ablest persons from the villages to the towns, the growing spirit of individualism and the break-up of the joint family system—led to the decay and disintegration of the so important an institution like the Panchayats. Thus the self-sufficient nature of the old quasi-democratic rural polity was broken and consequently the village Panchayats as a rural institution sank into insignificance. As R. C. Dutt remarks:

"One of the saddest results of British Rule in India is the effacement of that system of village self-government which was developed earliest and preserved longest in India amongst all the countries of the earth."

Gradually the British Government took steps to establish such local bodies as could look after their own affairs. This led to the enactment of a number of Acts between 1842 and 1862 resulting in the setting up of Municipalities in the towns but no attempts were made to reorganise or newly start the village institutions, although in urban areas the municipal bodies rapidly increased. Later on, with the systematic attempts and sympathetic attitude of Lord Ripon (1882) a number of sub-district boards were set up in Madras and Assam, and in other provinces powers were wholly concentrated in the hands of the district boards but the start was made at the wrong end because the

process did not lead to the federation of smaller units transforming them into large ones but instead it led to the devolution of powers by District Boards to smaller bodies.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation remarked :

"The scant success of the efforts hitherto made to introduce a system of rural self-government is largely due to the fact that we have not built from the bottom—the foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people known to one another and have interests which converge on well-organised objects."

It recommended that an attempt should be made to constitute and evolve Village Panchayats for the administration of the local affairs, even though the system can be gradually and tentatively be applied to make the village a starting point of public life. Consequently the Government of India passed a resolution in 1915 and issued definite instructions to all the Provincial Governments to give full trial to a practical scheme of Village Panchayats, wherever it could be worked out in co-operation with the people. The Act of 1919 which transferred local self-government to ministers was followed by measures in several provinces leading to legislative enactments. Consequently a number of Acts were passed in various provinces, e.g., in Bengal the Bengal Village Self-Government Act was passed in 1919; the Madras Village Panchayats Act 1920 (replaced and supplemented by Madras Local Boards Act, 1930); the Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1920 (replaced and supplemented by the Act of 1933); the Central Provinces Village Panchayats Act, 1920; the U. P. Village Panchayats Act of 1920; the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act, 1926; the Assam Rural Self-Government Act, 1926; etc., were also passed respectively in the provinces.

FUNCTIONS AND THE WORKING OF THE PANCHAYATS

For the establishment of Village Panchayats there is no uniform practice and hard and fast rules in India owing to the diverse circumstances and conditions prevailing in the different parts of the country. Thus in Bombay the Village Panchayat Amendment Act of 1939 has made it compulsory to have a village panchayat for every village with a population of 1,000 and above. By the end of January, 1950, the number of such panchayats stood at 3,500, whereas in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Madras every village area is a panchayat area and there has to be a statutory panchayat. In West Bengal there are 500 panchayats, in U.P. 34,755 village panchayats and 8,190 *adalati* panchayats; and in Orissa 528 *gram* panchayats and 173 *adalati* panchayats. Similarly in Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore and Madhya Pradesh there is a statutory panchayat for every village. Since the formation of Himachal Pradesh, the Punjab Municipal Act, the Punjab District Board

Act, the Punjab Small Town Act and the Punjab Panchayat Act have been applied to this state and fresh incentive has been given to the growth of *gram* panchayats. According to the Madhya Bharat Panchayat Act, every villager will be a member of a panchayat. A group of such panchayats will constitute a *kendra* (central) panchayat. The heads of these *Kendra* panchayats will form a larger unit known as *mandal* panchayat. The members of village panchayats will be elected on the basis of adult franchise and the *kendra*, *mandal* and *nyaya* panchayats will be elected indirectly.

The constitution of the village panchayats however varies from province to province. They usually consist of 5 to 11 members. In some Provinces like U.P. they are wholly nominated, while in others they are elected by voters having property, taxation or educational qualifications. In Madhya Pradesh, the members are elected by adult franchise.

The functions of the panchayats at present are judicial or administrative or both. In Bombay and Madras, panchayats are administrative, *e.g.*, in Bombay, the panchayats have been empowered to exercise control over government properties like open sites, waste lands, vacant lands, grazing lands, trees, public roads under the revenue department. In Madras, the panchayats look after the construction, repair and maintenance of public roads in the village, the lighting of public roads and public places, the construction of drains, as well as sanitation and public health. They also have the power to administer civil and criminal justice, besides registering documents. In Madhya Pradesh, the panchayats perform a variety of functions, such as promotion of public health and medical relief, water supply, lighting of streets, opening of schools. The judicial work of the *gram* panchayats has been entrusted to *nyaya* panchayats. In U.P. wide powers and duties with regard to organisation and maintenance of schools, hospitals, community buildings, pastures, public wells, sanitation, justice, village statistics, improvement in agriculture, commerce and industry, have been given to the panchayats. The list of discretionary functions is also very large and includes plantation of trees, breeding and medical treatment of cattle, organisation of village volunteer force, assistance in agricultural credit, co-operation and famine or other calamity and establishment of libraries and village *akharas*. Control of village streets, waterways and power to effect improvements in them and in village sanitation is vested in the panchayat. In West Bengal, these panchayats have been entrusted with the responsibility of village roads, excavation of tanks, planting of trees and sanitary arrangements in the village.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the functions of the panchayats are of two kinds, administrative and judiciary. The administrative

powers relate to village lanes, ponds, wells, drainage, epidemic protection through vaccination, maintenance of school buildings, night watch, etc. Occasionally they may also arrange for lighting, libraries, improvement of agriculture and handicrafts, organisation of festivals and management of travellers' rest houses.* Thus they do useful work particularly in respect of education, health, conservancy and public works. They have been of special service for maintaining dispensaries for villagers in Bengal; for supplying electricity and for enforcing Town Planning Act in rural parts of Madras; for spreading adult education in U.P., C.P., Berar and Assam; for introducing agricultural improvements in the Punjab and Mysore and giving effect to social legislation, such as the Marriage Registration and Child Marriage Restraint Act, the Marriage Expenses Controlling Act in Indore**

The judicial powers of the panchayats relate to the trial of civil suits for money due on contracts, recovery of moveable property or its value, etc., of a value up to Rs 200 (the maximum varies in different provinces) and of petty criminal cases wherein they may inflict fines up to Rs. 50. Judicial powers have been conferred on the panchayats in various provinces. In Bengal, U.P., Bombay, Bihar, Baroda, Cochin, Mewar, Travancore the panchayats are empowered to try minor cases like theft, simple hurt, offences of cattle trespass.

Every panchayat is given exclusive jurisdiction and no other court entertains complaints falling within its jurisdiction. The procedure of trial is informal. No lawyer is allowed to appear on behalf of the party. Usually the only punishment which the panchayat can impose is fines. Whatever the functions of the panchayat be it is regretted that where panchayats have both administrative and judicial duties, they have generally concentrated on the latter to the neglect of the former.

CONTROL

In all provinces adequate provision is made in the Act for the control of panchayats. In judicial matters its actions are controlled by a competent authority with power to quash its proceedings, to revise its decisions, to withdraw or transfer cases to the higher courts, and in the last resort to cancel the jurisdiction or to supersede it.

The administrative control of the panchayat is in some cases entrusted to the government agency ranging from a Tahsildar to the Collector or Commissioner; and in most cases to superior local bodies like the Local or District Boards, *e.g.*, in U.P. the panchayats are requested to co-operate with the District Boards which can delegate duties to them. In C.P., the panchayats are controlled by the District

*Blunt: *Social Service in India*, pp. 362-63.

**Naravati & Anjaria: *Indian Rural Problem*, pp. 290-91.

Board subject to the supervision of the Government officers. Again in Madras and Bengal the village panchayats are controlled partly by the Government and partly by the District Board. In many provinces special government officers or regular salaried staff of panchayats like the Registrars and Circle Officers are appointed to supervise over the panchayats and to direct their growth. Where special officers are appointed the panchayats work efficiently as in Madras, Mysore and Baroda. The control is exercised through audit and inspection. The officers have power to cancel its resolutions and enforce performance of particular duties, and in extreme cases the panchayats may even be superseded or dissolved.

SOURCES OF INCOME

According to the provision made in the Act, nearly every panchayat has a village panchayat fund, to which are credited all allotments, general and special contributions and donations from the Central, and the Local Governments, Municipalities, District and Local Boards. The panchayats also derive their income from some other sources too, viz., all kinds of grants-in-aid, taxes, cesses, rates, tolls, fees and costs, income from property and endowments, sale-proceeds, interest or penalties on arrears, forfeitures, fines and compensations and donations from private persons. In nearly all provinces the panchayats are authorised to augment their income (according to need) and levy fee, tax, or assessment on land with approval of the government or superior local body.

The principal sources of income vary widely from province to province, e.g., in Bengal, the panchayats derive half their income from the proceeds of the Chowkidari tax and one-sixth from the Union rate. In Madras, 46 per cent of the income is derived from house tax, 17 per cent from the markets, cart-stands, and slaughter houses, 16 per cent from the property tax. In the Punjab, special rates and village rates together account for 18 per cent of the total receipts.

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE

As in income so in expenditure, the principal items vary from province to province, e.g., in Bengal (1939-40) out of the total expenditure of Rs. 103 lakhs, Rs. 8.4 lakhs were spent on roads and communications, Rs. 7 lakhs on water supply, Rs. 3.6 lakhs on medical relief, Rs. 8 lakhs on education and Rs. 2.7 lakhs on sanitation, drainage and conservancy. In Madras Province education absorbed the largest amount, it being Rs. 16 lakhs; Rs. 9 lakhs were spent on sanitation, Rs. 7.9 lakhs on lighting and Rs. 3.1 lakhs on road construction and repair in 1940-41, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 65 lakhs.

Many panchayats have also accumulated large balances often disproportionately high when compared to their incomes. It may be possible that the panchayats may be collecting these sums to be spent over

some capital projects in future. Even where this is the case, such a course would mean the postponement of items of minor expenditure but of greater need for some future date. In such cases the better course to follow is that arrangements should be made to give the panchayats financial assistance by way of loans so as to expedite the bigger works for immediate relief and benefit of the people.

DEFECTS IN THE WORKING OF THE PANCHAYATS

The experience of the working of the panchayats has shown that they have not fulfilled the high expectations that were raised about them on the basis of their glorious past. Various reasons have been advanced for the deficiencies in their working. Among them may be mentioned the following as being the most commonly put forth :

(1) That there is faction among the villagers which makes the common acceptance of the decisions of the panchayat impossible. Faction also makes it impossible for a common mind to develop within the panchayat and decisions are coloured by the factious interests of the members.

(2) That there is a lack of proper leadership in the village so that the panchayat becomes a tool in the hands of irresponsible elements in the village population. No respect is possible to develop among the villagers for an institution which is so abused.

(3) That there is indifference among the villagers to the need for the maintenance of proper civic amenities in the village.

(4) That the panchayat is often under the overpowering influence of the big landlord or moneylender in the village and therefore, fails to inspire confidence among the majority of peasants in the village. Further, the powers that are parted with by the Provincial Governments in favour of the village panchayats with a view to training the villagers in the art of self-government are always usurped by this small group. The interests of the small minority are served at the cost of the needy majority. Thus the main ideal of democratic training and exercise of local power for the benefit of the people gets frustrated. Instances have been common where the subsidies given for the village roads or sanitation were spent on the roads in front of the houses of this small group, or only the insanitary and ugly spots near them were attended to while the rest of the village was neglected. Sometimes the funds disappear altogether but the villager cannot dare to call for the explanation of the small group. The villager is loath to court trouble on account of the very scant protection given to him by the distant Central Government and also because he is lost in toil and care for his daily bread.

(5) That the financial resources of the panchayats are very meagre so that they can never hope to look after even the elementary functions assigned to them. Government subsidies go only a little way towards removing this want. Some local works have to be left out on account of their heavy cost, in spite of their urgent necessity. For example, village water-works are in a lamentable condition, because they cannot be constructed on the scale required for the population, and even if constructed, they cannot be maintained for want of funds for

repair. Approach roads furnish another example; they cannot be constructed on account of costs of and opposition to acquisition proceedings as well as of the cost of the construction of bridges and culverts.

(6) That the villagers resist the imposition of taxes like the house tax and would rather go without the panchayat than have one and be subjected to taxation.

REHABILITATION OF GAON PANCHAYATS

In order to reconstruct India on peaceful and democratic foundations, it is desirable to establish self-governing Village Communities or Gram Panchayats as of old, with necessary modification to suit the modern conditions. These Panchayats will be very different from the present Local or District Boards which possess limited powers. They will be autonomous so far as their internal administration is concerned, and will be, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to at least the basic requirements of life like food, clothing and building materials. They will be linked up with the Taluka, District, Division, Province and country as a whole, for purposes of common policy and interests.

Every village with a population of 1,000 or more and having sufficient income for its needs should be declared a *Gaon* (village) Panchayat, and that villages with population below 1,000 should be grouped together to make a panchayat. Grouping of villages should be undertaken when lying within a radius of two miles and after taking into account the local conditions of those villages and their ability to raise the finances required.

Any person of 21 years of age or above, residing within the Panchayat area, should be elected a member and entitled to vote. No voter should be entitled to vote or to stand as a candidate for more than one Panchayat. There should be 9 to 15 members in a village Panchayat and the electoral roll, like the register of voters for each village, should be prepared by a Patwari, and revised periodically by a Kanungo. The assistance of a few non-officials in the preparation of the electoral roll will be appreciable. It will be opposed to democratic principles if the zamindars and moneylenders should be disqualified from standing as members of the Panchayat, although the legitimate fear of the Kisans is for the Zamindars who as a class have considerable power and influence in villages and dominate the Panchayat. Therefore, it will be desirable that at least three-fourths of the members should be tenants and field-workers. The inclusion of the village artisan, the patwari and the chowkidar would, no doubt, facilitate the work of the Panchayat.

Every village panchayat should be assured of a certain income for the efficient working of its plans. The sources of their income should be:

(i) *Fasli Chanda* e.g., 5 seers after each plough in the village may be charged as *Fasli Chanda* per harvest. Such payments in kind are, undoubtedly, very convenient to the cultivators.

(ii) Manual Labour: It is a very natural form of public co-operation. In ancient India, and even now in certain villages of Mewar, public buildings, tanks, wells, etc., were and are constructed by the joint efforts and voluntary and honorary labour of the villagers. There should be at least 5 days of free manual labour after every plough in the village. This will facilitate the work of the Panchayats a great deal without any botheration regarding money and cash.

(iii) Private donations, on the occasion of social functions like marriages, sacred-thread ceremonies, etc.

(iv) Miscellaneous receipts, in the form of arbitration fees and fines, grazing charges and other special cesses for various purposes. Such cesses must, however, be realised in kind.

(v) Capital grants or grants-in-aid for recurrent purposes should be freely provided by the various reconstruction funds set up by the Provincial Governments.

(vi) Borrowings may also be allowed in special cases as regards Panchayats whose position is sound.

Each Gaon Sabha should have a Gaon Fund to which shall be credited the following: (i) Taxes on the rent payable not exceeding one anna in a rupee, and on rent received not exceeding six pies in a rupee, on trade, calling, and profession, and on buildings owned by persons who do not pay any of the aforesaid taxes; (ii) sums handed over or assigned by the Provincial Governments, District Boards, Courts or gifts; (iii) portion of rent or other proceeds from the *nazul* property; (iv) rent or revenue collection charges; (v) income, *adalat* panchayats, fairs and markets; and (vi) loans and the existing balance of the village panchayats.

As regards the functions to be followed by the Panchayats two things must be borne in mind. Firstly, the Panchayats should not be the only local authorities for the villages but there would be the District Boards also exercising jurisdiction over them. It is not, therefore, necessary that all the local services for the villages should be provided by the Panchayats. Secondly, the amount of political initiative and talent available in the village is bound to be small and their financial resources too cannot be very large. In view of these considerations it does not seem feasible to entrust the Panchayats with the maintenance of costly institutions whose clientele should be under the District Boards.

Functions of the Village Panchayats should be of three kinds:

Firstly, their own independent functions should be only a few relating to construction and upkeep of village works like roads, wells and tanks, and buildings; lighting, provision of village libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums and *akharas* and other measures

of public utility. They should also allot the land to the peasants and collect the Land Revenue on behalf of the village. The regulation of the inter-village markets, celebration of the local festivals, establishment and maintenance of the village primary schools, and the organisation of basic and adult education, and management and care of village grazing lands for the benefit of all the people—should also fall under the ambit of the Panchayats.

Secondly, they should be entrusted by the District Boards with a large number of agency functions in connection with the repairs of Board's buildings situated in the village, distribution of seeds and manures, starting of cottage industries, encouragement of co-operation, and consolidation of holdings, marketing of agricultural produce, improvement in the means of communications, regulation and distribution of water-supply for irrigation purposes, extension of village sites and control of rural housing, regulation of hours of work and conditions of employment in agriculture, making arrangements for the co-operative purchase of raw materials and consumption goods, and the co-operative sale of the articles of village handicrafts, and the regulation of village trade, industry and commerce by organising credit and non-credit co-operative societies under the supervision of the experts.

Thirdly, they should have the right of making representation and complaints to the Government and the District Boards regarding the inadequacy or mismanagement of any of the services which it is the duty of these authorities to provide for the villages. Thus they should have the power to enquire and report about the misconduct of certain officials, *e.g.*, Amin, Vaccinator, Constable, Patwari, Patrol, Peon, Process Server, to contract for collection of taxes and other dues on behalf of the Government and proprietors on payments and to acquire land through the collector.

Lastly, the proper judicial duty of the Panchayats should be conciliation and arbitration rather than adjudication. Conciliation is resorted to by disputants for resettlement of disputes informally, even in the absence of legal revision but if the law recognises it as a regular part of judicial administration, its utility and effectiveness will be greatly increased. To this end in view the law should provide that civil suits shall not be filed in a court, until the plaintiff has tried conciliation with the help of the Panchayat of appropriate jurisdiction. A certificate of failure of conciliation from the Panchayat should be necessary to enable the plaintiff to go to a court. When a dispute comes before the Panchayat for conciliation it should summon the parties before it, hear the statements, note the points of disagreements and try to effect a

reasonable compromise by arousing their friendly feeling and pointing out the troubles, delay and cost of litigation. No lawyers should be allowed to appear and nothing said before the Panchayat should be admissible as evidence before the courts should the case ultimately go there.

If an agreement between the parties is reached, it should be formally recorded and signed and should have the same validity as a formal judgment of a court of law. In cases arising out of contracts the Panchayats may also act as arbitrators. The law can help by providing that debt and other contracts up to a certain value shall compulsorily contain an arbitration clause binding the parties to the acceptance of the Panchayat's award, should a dispute concerning it arise.

Conciliation and arbitration have been the traditional role of the Panchayats. If properly organised they can dispose of a very large number of cases out of the courts. It is said that in Denmark and Norway about 75 to 90 per cent of the suits are settled in this way. The Panchayats should have no jurisdiction in criminal cases.

SUPERVISION OF THE PANCHAYATS

The duty of inspection of the work of the Panchayats should belong to the District Boards and they should create for the purpose a force of Panchayat Supervisors or Inspectors each of them having under him 40 to 50 Panchayats or fewer. Their qualification and pay should correspond to those of the organisers of rural development work. The District Boards should be allowed to dissolve the Panchayats where necessary. Their initial establishment and supervision should not be the duty of the District Boards. This work should be entrusted to a Panchayat officer maintained in each district by the Provincial Governments who would work in close collaboration with, but independently of the District Boards. He will also act as a kind of Super-Inspector of the Provincial Government supervising the work of the District Boards' Panchayat supervisors and inspectors in relation to these bodies. He will as well report to the Government cases of failure of the District Boards to foster and promote the Panchayat organisation.

Smooth and cordial relations among the Gaon Sabhas will also be necessary. The spread of proper type of education and appointment of honest selfless workers as Panchayat officers for organising and supervising the working of the Panchayats in early stages of their growth appear to be essential factors for efficient working of the Panchayats. (These duties can be entrusted to the development staff appointed for the development work in rural areas, instead of Panchayat officers, although the existing system of their appointment should be considerably changed.

The rural development officer, on the one hand, should create interest in the village activities for self-help and self-improvement and, on the other, it should represent the village to the Government in the spirit of a spokesman of the former. The Village Panchayat area should be a seat of all public services or a unit thereof. For instance, it must have a veterinary sub-dispensary, a civil sub-dispensary, and it must be the headquarters of the agricultural supervisor, the Sub-Inspector of Weights and Measures, the Head Constable of Police, and the Chief Village Patel for all villages in the group, the beat-guard of the Forest Department; it must have also a small branch of post office, and a secondary school for boys and girls.

During the last 200 years, the spirit for co-operative action and corporate life has been greatly destroyed. Individualism and materialism have replaced community life and moral obligations. The present-day experience of the way democracy is functioning and of party factions even at the top cannot but make one a little pessimistic about the practical working of the existing Panchayat Acts in the provinces. It is certainly a great responsibility on the people's government to see that the provisions of the Act are not misused for the sake of party aggrandisement and for destroying the last traces of the community life. The dangers are not imaginary but real. Finally, let us not lose faith in the innate goodness of human nature and let us share the optimism with Dr. K. N. Katju that

"What is definitely a poisonous fungus of recent growth of human origin can also be destroyed by human endeavour."

MODEL GAON SABHAS FOR U.P.

The U.P.'s lead to the rest of India in promoting Panchayats all over the State is well-known. Finding that the response of the villages to the scheme has been very encouraging, the Government has now embarked on the second stage in the scheme, *viz.*, establishment of an ideal Gaon Sabha in every tehsil to serve as a model to the other Gaon Sabhas in the district and the State.

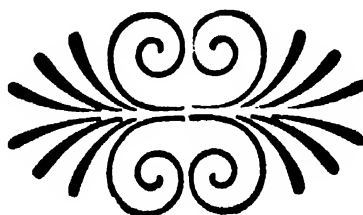
These ideal Gaon Sabhas will work to bring about conditions in the rural life as can promote the mental, spiritual, moral, physical, economic and social uplift of the people.

In order to implement the ideal Gaon Sabha scheme, a committee will be set up in each district, consisting of the president of the district board (chairman); district panchayat officers (secretary); president, district development board; president, district congress committee; district inspector of schools; officer-in-charge, P.R.D. in the district; district medical officer of health; district agriculture officer; district co-operative officer; district engineer; district information officer and two others to be co-opted by the committee.

The committee will select a suitable site in every tehsil for the location of the ideal Gaon Sabha. Though the initiative for building up an ideal centre will rest with the committee, actual work will have to be done by Gaon Sabhas and the members of the panchayats. These ideal centres will be given a 16-point constructive programme and the committees will be expected to secure co-ordination and co-operation of the Village Sabhas in its execution.

The aims and objects of this programme may be summed up as follows:

- (i) To arrange for land for the panchayat house, office of the panchaytai adalat, a hall for meetings, and accommodation, for a library and reading room;
- (ii) To display in the panchayat house the exhibits of village crafts;
- (iii) To arrange entertainments with moral and educative background;
- (iv) To open a dispensary or arrange for a medicine chest;
- (v) To arrange for the education of adults and children;
- (vi) To conduct games and exercises;
- (vii) To hold practical demonstrations to educate the people in regard to sanitation;
- (viii) To demonstrate how nightsoil could be disposed of and how it could be turned into manure;
- (ix) To arrange for the construction of roads, drainage, etc.,
- (x) To arrange for lighting in villages;
- (xi) To plant shade trees on the road-sides;
- (xii) To educate people in respect of animal husbandry problems and proper maintenance of the livestock;
- (xiii) To install cane-crushing and fodder-cutting machines for the village public;
- (xiv) To introduce compost-making schemes;
- (xv) To make provision for the improvement of the breed of milch cattle; and
- (xvi) To organise boy scouts, women uplift societies, etc.



LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

MIDSUMMER Day has come and gone and what seems to many to be the longest year in our history pursues its dismal course. History is full of ironies but it cannot often have happened that in a given year, in a matter of days, its greatest achievement and its greatest failure should be embodied in the person of one man. But such is the present case. 1951 will be remembered in our history books as the year of the Festival of Britain. The Festival it will be recorded owed its inspiration and its success to the organizing genius of Mr. Herbert Morrison. But the year will also be remembered for the crisis which arose in the Anglo-Iranian oil-field. And that crisis it will also be recorded was mishandled from the beginning by the same Mr. Herbert Morrison, now turned Foreign Secretary. Foreign affairs have been the grave of many a reputation. Sir John Simon was too legal and Neville Chamberlain too vain. And Mr. Herbert Morrison? The verdict is: suicide. Hanged himself in his own garters, the garters being the narrow circle of his atrophied views on 'imperialism.'

There have been many important debates on foreign affairs in the House of Commons. There has too for a long time been the assumption that such matters are the concern of the whole nation, to be approached objectively and not from the party angle. On these occasions the House feels entitled to be taken to a certain extent into the Minister's confidence, to be given a survey of the situation and rather more than a hint of the course which the Government proposes to follow. Nothing like this occurred last Thursday when the Foreign Secretary wound up the debate on the Persian crisis. The only hint that the speech gave, it is fair to say, was to the Persians. Plainly they could go ahead without any fear of a check from Whitehall. Mr. Morrison indeed never came down to realities. Instead he spread himself in gibes at the Opposition and the 'imperialism in which they had been brought up' or stooped to a cheap joke about the action of the Persian Government in closing the Oil Company's information bureau. But the most astonishing levity of all was an entirely gratuitous comment about wanting to 'colonize Persia.' This of course brought Mr. Anthony Eden to his feet (with a graceful reference to Persia's long history). But what a gift to Persian extremists was all this irrelevance. For their propaganda hand-outs to the Press, to the world, they have only to garble Mr. Morrison just a very little.

Our modern anti-imperialists are very like Pontius Pilate. All they think they need do is to wash their hands of the past. But who is going to benefit if the

Anglo-Iranian Company pulls out? For if ever an 'imperialism' has done more good than harm, it has done it in Persia. An article by Mr. Hilary St. George Saunders has just appeared in the *News Chronicle*. He was formerly Librarian of the House of Commons and is the author of many best-selling War Reports. And since the War he has travelled Persia from end to end, except north of Teheran where he was barred by Russian influence. A competent and sympathetic observer—and the tale he tells is extraordinary.

He traces the history of Abadan from the year 1909 when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company first appeared on the island. It was then utterly barren, but the land was needed for a refinery to deal with the oil which had been discovered in the hills away to the north. Today Abadan is

"a town of 170,000 inhabitants, of whom about 165,000 are Persians . . . the most modern town in the Middle East, with drainage, electric light, well-built brick houses, lovely gardens, hospitals, schools, cinemas, everything in fact of which civilisation today is proud."

It is connected by pipe-lines with the seven main oilfields, and around the headquarters of these oilfields other towns are also rising.

And "in all these places unemployment, poverty and disease, as it is known in the East, do not exist. In a generation the company has virtually stamped out malaria, small-pox and typhus by an intensive programme of preventive medicine which is unique . . ."

That is what life is like in the Anglo-Iranian concession. Its area, incidentally, is larger than that of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland put together. So that when the present feverish times are past—and the British finally gone—the Persians will have plenty of object lessons around them from which to come to a just conclusion as to the nature of British 'exploitation.' Conditions in Persia proper are very different. Listen again to Mr. St. George Saunders :

"Outside the confines of the concession, no public health or other social services exist and the sewers run down the open streets in Teheran and Isfahan and in all other towns I visited and there are no signs of any change. You hardly see a child who is not afflicted with some loathsome eye disease, the peasants are in rags, not one in ten can read or write."

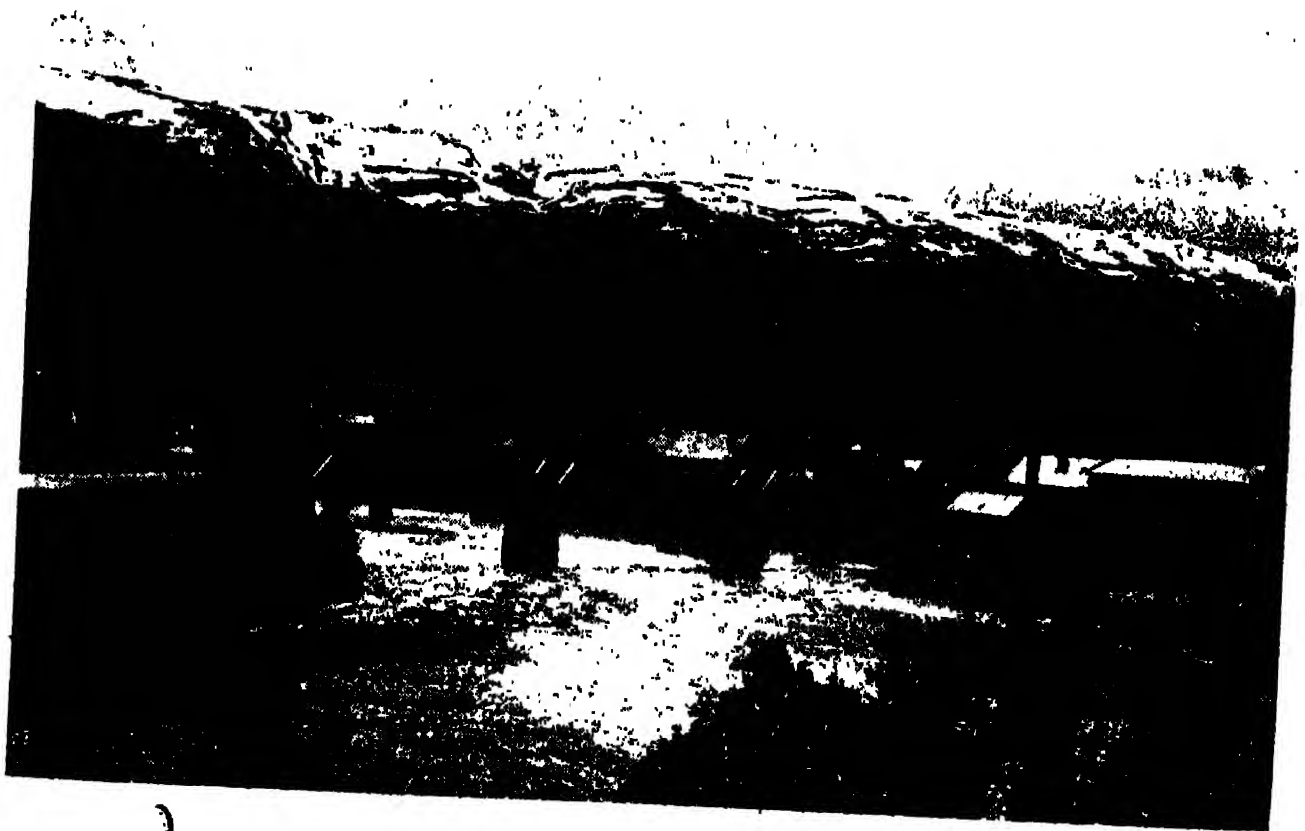
Indeed, in Abadan, the Persians can see the two systems existing side by side. Large parts of it are not under the company's control but in the hands of the local council. And, says Mr. St. George Saunders:

"They contain the second worst slums I have ever seen or smelt. The first are to be found in Teheran."

NORWAY



Voss Station



Voss District



Dr. Frank P. Graham, who is nominated as U. N. Mediator
in Kashmir



Sinclair Lewis, famous American novelist and Nobel Prize winner,
who died in Rome on 10th January, 1951

In Teheran also are to be found the Persian upper classes. They are described as charming, highly civilised, some would say decadent. They count their wealth by the number of villages they own and it is they who are in control in Persia and who receive the royalties paid by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. To a large extent they control the elections to the Majlis. They have plenty of power but will not exert themselves. A 'modest' programme of social services was adopted a few years ago, but they have not implemented it. (It will be remembered that the Persian Prime Minister, in the role of the devil citing scripture for his purposes, the other day conducted foreign newspaper men round the slums of Teheran!)

And it is to these people that we are delivering over our concession and with it the defenceless Persian labourers. How long can such a state of affairs persist? Communism has already found a footing in the Persian towns, in some of which children aged four and five are employed in making carpets at the rate of 4d a day. Communists make it their business to fish in troubled waters . . .

From every point of view it is a mismanaged, mangled business, and no one can feel happy about it. Why could not the Persian Government have agreed to arbitration—and why could not our Government even have drawn up a statement setting out their view of the rights and wrongs of the crisis? In England, the man in the street feels nothing but scorn for our drifting doctrinaires. All his sympathies and respect are with the men on the spot, with the Manager Mr. Drake and the undaunted army of tankers.

Dislocation, unemployment, uncertainty. These are the heritage on which the Persian labourer is entering. The Persians have no tankers. How are they going to manage? And, as the *London Star* points out, the pipelines across Iraq and Transjordan are still the property of the Company. The Company, incidentally, could hardly have conceded more to Persia than it did already and still remain in business. The *Star* gives the split-up of the Anglo-Iranian revenue last year. To the British Government in taxes £26,000,000; to the Persians in royalties £23,000,000. Only £3,900,000 went to the shareholders of which the British Government, the principal shareholder, took half. Well, these figures do not bear contemplating. That a Government should do so well out of a Company and then abandon its servants . . . There are many Scots employed in that company. Thinking of the treatment that has been meted out to them by the Foreign Secretary many of them must be recalling that line from *Marmion*: 'His cowardice has undone us all.'

The Persians are embarking on an experiment in nationalisation. We in this country have now had several years of it and it hampers our life at every

turn. The doctors are being killed off by the strains and stresses of the National Health Service. The local authorities want their hospitals back. The railways want to recover their old identities. The public get bad coal at a higher cost. They pay more for their electricity and gas. More for travel and more for freights. Of one thing we all are certain: nationalisation means redundancy. In this connection it is worth quoting from a letter which Lady Violet Bonham Carter, daughter of the late Lord Asquith, published in the press this week. She referred to three expressions of opinion—none elicited by a tendentious question on her part—and all from workers in a nationalised industry. One was from a miner who told her: "We used to grumble because there were three cars outside—one belonging to the Boss, and the others to his two sons. Now we have something like twenty bigger cars and twenty Bosses in them. And not one of them is the Boss." Two were from railwaymen. Said the first: "Too many Bosses. We've got twelve in this station where we used to have two—all with new offices furnished and done up 'regardless.' And not one of them knows his business." He was on a northern line. On a midland line it was the same story:

"We used to use our own judgment in this station—but now we can't settle anything on the spot. Even if we want to put on a few extra coaches we have to telephone . . . There's long delays and then the wrong answer comes back. The railways executive say they can't afford to meet our needs—but look at the waste on what we *don't* need. They've just put a gas-oven costing £40 into our waiting-room. What do they think we want to do on it? Cook turkeys? Why, we only want a gas-ring for a cup of tea."

Too many men. Too much equipment. *Everywhere* one hears that tale.

From time to time the *News Chronicle* publishes a Gallup Poll on the state of political parties in this country. Such a poll was published this week. The question posed to a cross-section of the public was: 'If there were a General Election tomorrow, how would you vote?' After excluding 12 per cent who were undecided, the Conservatives led with 48, Labour came next with 41, the Liberals had 10, and other parties 1. Thus the Conservatives have a lead of 7 points—although last February they were leading by 14. Those who conduct this poll believe that the crucial question is, to what extent are potential Labour voters influenced by the breakaway of Mr. Aneurin Bevan. Accordingly, they analysed the Labour vote still further, and asked:

"Are you more inclined, or less inclined, to support Aneurin Bevan and his views since he left the Government?"

And 30 were more inclined, 35 less inclined, while 35 didn't know. The most interesting thing about this analysis is that the odds should be so even! How can

anyone say 'I don't know' in reply to a question about so catastrophic a personality as Mr. Bevan? It suggests, what I think is pretty obvious since the war, that voting Labour is becoming a habit—just as voting Conservative used to be.

Until the flare-up in Persia put every other topic out of our heads, most people were concerned with the question of the two diplomats who have disappeared. The Foreign Secretary assures us that they can have taken no important information with them. And the general opinion seems to be that they were not very valuable members of society in any event. So, setting aside the extraordinary fact that one of them should ever have been put at the head of the American section of the Foreign Office, the only point of interest that remains is—their motive. If they are gone to Russia, as it seems they must be, why should they choose to go?

Caesar could never understand why men should fear death—and I shall never understand why men should embrace Communism! Anyway as it is practised in the modern world. No free speech. No free press. People torn from their homes by the secret police. Wives not allowed to join their husbands. No one allowed out of the country. Where, in the name of all the gods at once, is the attraction? These defections to Russia are a strange phenomenon. Something has knocked these people off their balance and somehow we must discover what it is. A friend of mine had a curious experience this week. Coming up from Cheltenham in a first-class carriage she fell into conversation with her travelling companion, a man in the thirties who was reading a book by G. K. Chesterton (Chesterton the saint, Chesterton the *individualist*!) Asking him his views on the disappearing diplomats, she was startled to receive the reply that he expected there would be many more such defections. 'We intellectuals,' he said, 'have a lot of sympathy with Communism.' My friend, as it happened, once attended a meeting at which a Polish politician who had been kidnapped by the Russians gave an account of the psychological torture to which he had been subjected while then prisoner. She spoke of this to the 'intellectual.' 'Oh,' he replied, 'we are not in sympathy with *that*. We are more interested in the kind of Communism that is practised in *Burma*.' I leave it to Indians to reflect upon that.

But *are* these intellectuals really drawn to Communism? Are they not, rather, a little mad? Sometimes it seems to me that just as modern art has cut itself off from tradition, has become a head without a body—so it is with these so-called Communists. Kicking away the past is the need that they feel; not the need of Communism for its own sake. And, certainly, there can be no surer way of cutting loose from the past than by getting oneself shut up behind

the Iron Curtain. It is to them the great and obvious escape.

But how will they feel if war comes? It is recorded that James II of England greatly annoyed Louis XIV by his loud admiration of the prowess of the English sailors in a sea-battle in which he and the French were engaging the English in an endeavour to restore James to the English throne. Instead of cheering on his French allies, he kept exclaiming: 'O the brave English!' Will not our muddle-headed escapists have an even more remorseful awakening?

Talk of war, alas, is in the air. The Festival may be brightening up the banks of the Thames but not many people can match its mood of gaiety. An old lift-man remarked to me this morning: 'There don't seem to be the happiness about that there used to be.' There certainly don't. Everyone fears that war is coming. In a very real sense, too, there is a feeling that the last war was left unfinished—that there can be no peace, no stability, so long as Russian armies hold down the peoples of Eastern Europe.

How far off is war? If a writer in this week's *Spectator* is correct in his assumptions, then war will come next year. First of all he thinks that war cannot now be averted, not even by Stalin. The reason why this is so, he finds in Russian propaganda.

No Power, he says, has ever maintained "year in, year out, a campaign of such bellicose and hate-breeding defamation against its opponents . . . Propaganda of so much virulence as that now daily injected into the minds of the Soviet populations is calculated to produce a mental current towards war too strong for even its authors to resist."

That war will come in 1952 he thinks is probable on strategic grounds. In the armaments race which is now being waged, Russia is superior in land forces and in the air: America has a great superiority in atomic weapons. But both superiorities, he points out, are in process of being diminished—the Russian land and air superiority by the working of the Atlantic Pact and the American atomic superiority by the Russians' quick use of the secrets sold to them by the traitor-scientists—Fuchs, Nunn, Pontecorvo and the rest. And so he concludes:

"The Russians could not wait too long lest their land and air superiority disappears; but equally they could not afford to start too early lest they find themselves without sufficient atomic weapons . . . Balancing these opposites, I have long thought that 1952 might be Russia's latest date."

All I have to say about this is that by far the worst part of it lies in what he says about Russian propaganda. What a terrible wrong to have inflicted upon a whole people—to warp and corrode their minds until nothing can turn them from their mission of destruction.

Is there no way of piercing such madness?

Westminster, London, 28th June, 1951.

WHEN CONSTITUTIONS BECOME FLEXIBLE AND CURVACEOUS

Pandit Nehru at his most "Dynamic"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"But what good came of it at last?"

Quoth little Peterkin.

'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,

'But 't was a famous victory'.—*Southern*

THE proverb tells us that out of the abundance of the mouth the heart speaketh. What it does not tell us, however, is that when the heart is full words fail to issue from the mouth—or, for that matter, from the pen. My heart is full just now and, needless to say, my pen is fumbling for words. It all, to cut a long story short, comes back to the age-old question of patriotism. The whole point is that some are born patriotic, while, as unquestionably, some are not: the love of our Motherland is instilled in us at the time of our birth. If, for any reason, it was not so instilled, not all the King's horses nor all the King's men are likely to get it instilled thereafter. It means only that by merely taking thought, so to speak, we may not expect to burgeon into full-blooded patriots. One cannot, that is, inject patriotism into another through, if I may say so, a hypodermic syringe: one has heard of many things but, surely, not of dragooning people into an adoration of the land of their forefathers. If one has to be dragooned into such a state one writes oneself down, not as a man, but as a moron.

CONGRESSMEN SPEARHEAD THE ANTI-PATRIOTIC HORDES

Speaking for myself, I have, let me proclaim it from the housetops, loved my country ever since, in the poet's words, I was

"A six years' darling of a pigmy size."

But the longer I live the more convinced I am becoming that there are enough barbaric hordes in every clime, *and not least in our own*, to whom the love of one's country is, to put it mildly, as unfamiliar as "this goodly frame, the earth, . . . this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire" must be to the congenitally blind or the heavenly harmonies of Mozart and Beethoven to the chronically deaf.

Talking of barbaric hordes I have no hesitation in including our worthy Congressmen (the partition-wallahs, naked and unashamed) among them. Now, of course, this testament of faith on my part is in no immediate danger of bringing down the all-consuming wrath of the "many-headed" upon me. It is a mere commonplace—like, for instance, asserting that the grass is green or that the sky is blue. Every passing moment buttresses and bolsters up this proposition. But my supreme merit lies in the fact that I had the prescience to vote for it wholeheartedly even in the palmy days of the Congress when, as the public will recall, it was nothing less than *lese majeste* to question either its wisdom or its nationalism. I had a sort of hunch even in that "dark backward and abysm of time" that that *soi disant* premier political organization of ours would, if left to its own devices,

speedily encompass the ruin and desolation of our beloved Motherland. Those who can legitimately boast of having minds of their own, and cannot be accused, by friend or foe, of being "dead from the neck up," as the saying is, will agree with me that from 1920 onwards the Congress has led the country from one irretrievable disaster to another, culminating in the cataclysmic partition of August, 1947. But stay! Did I say "culminating" in the partition of August, 1947? A slip of the pen, gentle reader, a slip of the pen!

PARTITION NOT THE END OF THE STORY!

But now we know, having lived through four years of so-called "independence," that partition, dastardly as it undoubtedly was, was by no means the end of the story and that, as our ill-luck would have it, in the lowest deep we were destined to discover many a lower one still. It looks, indeed, as though partition had been only the beginning and not the end of the story. Partition, we have found to our utter dismay, was but *one* of the numerous offspring of that frightfully prolific parent, appeasement. "The roses and raptures" of appeasement apparently grow on one; and it is permissible to argue that we have yet to see the last of the wonder progeny of that prolific parent aforementioned. Partition, it is becoming increasingly clear, instead of, as had been fondly imagined by the mass of our countrymen and countrywomen, bringing up the rear of that sinister procession, really formed part of its more prominent vanguard.

"SECULARISM"

"Secularism" is the *second* offspring of appeasement; and in its sacred name those modern orphans of the storm, *the poor Hindus*, are steadily losing what I may call their "residuary" rights. The post-1920 Congressmen (or, at any rate, the vast majority of them) have, as a direct result of clamping that "putrefying albatross," appeasement, around their necks, had, perforce, to forget what patriotism is and thereby to cease to have any kind of sympathy or fellow-feeling for their Hindu brethren, fearing that it might be a glaring blot on the otherwise spotless escutcheon of their much-vaunted "secularism." This malaise has spread so far, indeed, that the very word, "Hindu," as musical as is Apollo's lute, has well-nigh been expunged, erased, unceremoniously wiped out, from their lexicons, yielding place (*horresco referens*!) to what they doubtless regard as the overpoweringly more enchanting syllables, "non-Muslim." Even after that major surgical operation on our body politic—namely, partition—the Congress's marked emphasis has been on "Muslim" and not on "Hindu," and to this vicious slant of the Congress's

mind must be attributed the continuing grotesqueries of the Congress Government. The latest of these grotesqueries, I need hardly remind my readers, is the Constitution (Amendment) Bill so belligerently sponsored by our distinguished Prime Minister a few weeks ago on the floor of our august Parliament, as a consequence of which our Constitution has become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous.

THE BRITISHERS' STOCK ARGUMENT

It used to be the stock argument of the British whenever we demanded complete emancipation from their crippling suzerainty that, for their part, they would rejoice to transfer power into our hands at the earliest possible moment but that the trouble was that the people were not ripe for self-rule and that, anyway, no eastern country, least of all India, knew the rudiments of democracy. The implication, no doubt, was that they were loath to leave us to the tender mercies of sheer anarchy. It was, of course, never any use telling them that good government was no substitute for self-government; and that how we ruled ourselves after their departure should, strictly speaking, be none of their business. The British (God bless them!) looked upon themselves as the heaven-sent trustees of the "masses"—the mute inglorious Miltons and the Cromwells guiltless of their country's blood—as well as of the "minorities" (meaning, the Muslims, their foster-children); and that sacred trust, we were given to understand, compelled them to stay on here, though, if they consulted their own interests, nothing would please them more than to shake the dust of our "vast sub-continent" from off their feet. Democracy, forsooth is a plant of slow growth in our clime, and the British were there to water it and to nurture it until it developed into a veritable Upas tree—beneath whose umbrageous branches we could shelter ourselves from the raging storms of oppression outside or from "the maddening crowd's ignoble strife." If the British were lording it over us it was, obviously, only for our own ultimate good, to familiarise us to the democratic ways of living from which, for ages past, we had, it would seem, been shut out by a malignant fate. The insinuation was that, by immemorial tradition, we could appreciate only the crack of the whip and the whack of the bludgeon, not any softer mode of approach by our rulers, whoever they might, for the time being, be.

CONGRESS STEPS INTO THEIR SHOES

Our political parties, and the Congress in particular, never accepted this preposterous thesis of the wily British. We all protested to high heaven that we were as democratic (as a nation) as any other, and that we could prove it, up to the hilt, the moment the British left our shores. Even if we were not, we contended (plausibly enough), that was no valid argument for their staying on indefinitely in our midst. Much less could that be a valid argument when, as a matter of bare, historical fact, democracy has never been unknown to us or we to it. Eventually the British left our shores—*though not for the*

reasons that Congressmen love to adduce. Congressmen affect to believe that the British withdrawal had been necessitated by the overpowering moral pressure that they brought to bear upon them. According to these oracles, the British withdrawal was not entirely voluntary, nor did they "bestow" freedom on us: the British went because the Congress (of course, non-violently) drove them away; and the freedom that we now enjoy, or are supposed to enjoy, was "wrested" by that organization from their unwilling hands. In the last resort, perhaps, we all believe what we wish to believe; and I must content myself with simply marvelling at Congressmen's child-like credulity.

DICTATORSHIP

But two facts are indisputable: the British went; and the Government that the Congress has established in the country since that historic date of August 15, 1947, was not conspicuously democratic at its start and has become less and less democratic with the passage of time. At the moment of going to press it bids fair to be nearly as anti-democratic as Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy in the long run. The Government we now have can be called a democracy only with extreme violence to truth: it is a dictatorship rather and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is that dictator. He had once been the idol of the nation. For aught I know he may still be that—for some sections of our people. But his consuming passion (as we are entitled to deduce from the evidence at our disposal) is, obviously, to become a dictator—in reality, if not in name. That is how he has elected, after mature deliberation, to repay his countrymen and countrywomen for their boundless idolatry. We may, if we are so disposed, derive a modicum of consolation from the conjecture that, probably, we get the idols we deserve: probably, also the dictators we deserve. When we elevate mere humans to such giddy altitudes it usually does not take us long to be thoroughly dis-illusioned. Our essentially weak systems cannot be expected to stand the stresses and strains of that rarefied atmosphere, and in the end we are shown up to be what we are in actual fact as distinguished from the extravagantly fertile imagination of those who love us, not wisely, but too well. This has now happened to our beloved Panditji: let me hope that his perfervid admirers will, even at this admittedly late hour, take that bitter lesson to heart and, having taken it, determine to be more circumspect in their adulations hereafter.

At least for the sake of disproving the British thesis referred to above by me the Congress leaders, I am convinced, should have made a firm resolve when they "took over" from our former rulers that they would govern the country in an unmistakably democratic way and bearing in mind the greatest good of the greatest number. The British, as I have remarked, propagated the revolting view that we could not recognise democracy if it was presented to us on a platter. If ultimately, they abandoned their stranglehold on us it was not because they suddenly became converts to the opposite view: they are an uncommonly shrewd people and went

while, according to their calculations, the going was good; and, even then, let us remember, not without administering a parting kick in the form of the dastardly partition of our hallowed land, a kick that, as one might say, will ring down the corridors of time as the most shameful act of their hundred and fifty years' rule over us. It was Napoleon's dictum that we should not oblige our enemies by doing as they wish us to do. A kind of self-rule that is not pre-eminently democratic defeats its own purpose; and that purpose is defeated all the more when those enemies can say, unctuously: "We told you so!" Before coming to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill let me take this opportunity of cleansing my bosom of the perilous stuff that has been weighing upon it for so long and charge the Congress Government, in the light of what has transpired since 1917, of never having even toyed with the notion of administering the country in the accepted traditions of democracy. Perhaps we had expected too much of an organization that, ever since 1920, has been used to dictatorial methods and has not been on nodding terms with democratic usage. Strict obedience to the merest whim of an exalted personage has been the rule, not the exception, with the result that an abjectly slavish mentality was assiduously cultivated that could, with difficulty, "break its birth's invidious bar" overnight. A Congress Government could, in the circumstances, mean only that democracy would get short shrift at its hands; but, as I have suggested earlier, it might have done otherwise if only to disprove the British thesis that western concepts of egalitarianism could hardly be transplanted to our soil.

WORSE TO COME

But worse was to come. The Congress has itself been telling it in Gath and bruited it about in the streets of Askalon that we, as a nation, are not fit for democracy. It would even seem that it would take ages and aeons for us to fit ourselves for it. In a sense, of course, they may be said to be right. The Congress would have been driven out of office long ago if the country had been democratically-minded. The Congress, however, is still in office and, what is more, strengthening its position by every means in its power, fair or foul. But I can offer another explanation for our present malaise. At the top of the Congress hierarchy is one whom the masses love dearly. If the Congress falls he, inevitably, falls with the Congress; and, much as the masses may like the Congress to fall, they have no wish that their loved one—with all his failings—should fall with it. With the advent of the Mahatma into Indian politics the "exalted personage" cult, as I may call it, has taken deep root in our minds and we love the reigning exalted personage so much that we are willing to turn a blind eye to his, as well as to his party's, manifold shortcomings. We could have "cocked a snook" at the Congress if it had not been for this crippling disability. It has severely cramped our style. In this "exalted personage" cult has lain the root of our trouble. The question of our being fit, or not being fit, for democracy hardly arises in this context; and ("sorrow's crown

of sorrow!") for the Congress itself to advertise far and wide that democracy is allergic to us or that we are allergic to democracy is merely to "make the gruel thick and slab." It is merely to twist the knife in the wound. It is not to put too fine a point upon it, the unkindest cut of all. The Congress might have stopped short of *that* indignity at least. But the Congress is power-drunk; and is in no mood to listen to reason.

ON THIS FOUNDATION THEY BUILD

In the foregoing paragraphs I have been at considerable pains to sketch the background of the Congress's unimaginably despotic rule over our unfortunate countrymen. The poor Hindus who, on any reckoning, are the only real citizens of the present "India" have been steadily ground down between the upper and the nether millstones of appeasement and "secularism;" and what has not been so ground down is being equally steadily polished off by the draconian legislation that our new "Ma Baps" see fit to enact whenever they find themselves in a tight corner. To this legislation there does not seem to be any end. The British, during their hegemony, were wont to perpetrate some preposterous laws; and, in the midst of the last war, did not scruple to perpetrate some even more preposterous than the general run of them. The British, because they were an alien race, had, to be fair to them, a sort of excuse; and war conditions, we may concede, are an excuse in themselves. But it has fallen to *our own* Government—and in peace time—to out-Herod Herod, so to speak. The British can congratulate themselves on having had such apt pupils, pupils that have improved upon their preceptor. They may, not unjustifiably, apply to themselves the well-known lines of Walt Whitman:

"I am the teacher of athletes,

He that by me spreads a wider breast than my own proves the width of my own.

He most honours my style who learns under it to destroy the teacher."

WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?

Our country—at long last—gets freedom from foreign domination. But with what result? With this humiliating result, gentle reader, that the common people—you and I, in fact (the legatees of that freedom)—may be deprived even of that much of freedom, *under indigenous rule*, that we had been privileged to enjoy under an alien dispensation. We are being made helots by our own rulers. Can anything beat that in the way of anti-climax? Perhaps there is a kind of poetic justice in it. We had placed too much reliance on the innate good sense and patriotism of the Congress leaders. We even prided ourselves on possessing men of such sterling character, men who could, under all weathers, be trusted to despise low joys, low gains, "disdain whatever Cornbury disdains," as the eighteenth century poet has put it. It almost looks, indeed, as though when these gentry came to power they swore within themselves that the people should jolly well pay for it.

Let me state it starkly. Four years' of Congress overlordship has left a bitter taste of "freedom" in our mouths.

It was—we shall do well to remember— not merely freedom from British domination that we had so incessantly clamoured for: we had clamoured for something much more than that—for freedom *a outrance*, for freedom simply as such. *We had no wish at all to appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk.* But what has happened is precisely that: the British rarely trod on our corns more cavalierly than our own “popular” (save the mark!) Government has been doing ever since that fateful day when (the gods sleeping) it stumbled into office. I am so full of this grievance that were I to begin quoting chapter and verse in support of it I might almost become incoherent. This article would be in danger of being inordinately longer than it is if I decided to cite instance after instance of Congress’s gross misrule—if I decided to pile Pelion on Ossa, as it were. Some such piling may have to be done anyway before I go much further: I cannot, obviously, content myself with simply stating that (thanks to our beloved Pandit) our constitution has at last become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous— *cutaneous, especially.*

STILL THEY COME !

The Congress, having come into power, has all along been straining every nerve to consolidate it and to perpetuate it until “this insubstantial pageant” fades, leaving “not a wrack behind.” There is nothing inherently wrong in consolidating one’s power—by all *lawful* means: it is when one stoops to unlawful methods that our gorge rises. The snag, of course, is that what, indubitably, would be regarded as unlawful in an individual is only too often considered as perfectly lawful and above-board by “the powers that be.” A Government, it would appear, may do *any* unlawful thing it pleases if so be it is politic enough to clothe that misdemeanour in the garb of a *new* law, a *fresh* enactment. A Government, as we are all aware, can legislate: the corollary has, somehow, been taken to follow that it can legislate itself out of harm’s way. A Government is subject to law like any other institution; and if it imagines that it is at liberty to embark on any iniquitous course it chooses, merely because of that unique advantage it possesses over other bodies of initiating acts and ordinances (as and when it pleases), then we must gently tell its members that those acts and ordinances come under the category of “lawless laws”: a category with which the Congress cannot pretend to be wholly unfamiliar inasmuch as it was the Congress itself that had invented that term with respect to the Rowlatt Act and the innumerable war ordinances of the British. These “lawless laws” are not “laws,” properly so called: they are the very negation of laws, they bring the ordinary laws into contempt; and if even then the Government escapes scot-free it is only because of its *zabberdusti*, of its *force majeure*, which are not other names for legality but the very opposite. When such conditions prevail the Government is no longer girt round by a secure shield of unpugned law: if there is any party in the country powerful enough to eject it the moment it evinces unmistakable

signs of going on the rampage, as it were, these lawless laws cannot save its skin and it falls like ninepins. That is all the sanctity that attaches to these mushroom growths.

HAD THERE BEEN A CAPABLE OPPOSITION . . .

If the Congress Government has not so far fallen in spite of a lengthy list of obnoxious laws that it has contrived to pass by dint of its “brute majority,” by reason of its familiar steam-roller tactics, it must thank its stars that no opposition capable enough to oust it, has as yet arisen: it cannot go about pretending that those laws are immaculate. The various Public Safety Acts, the Preventive Detention Acts, and now the Constitution (Amendment) Act form the corpus of the obnoxious laws aforementioned. *Once laws of this nature are enacted it is well-nigh difficult to foresee an end to them:* Governmental appetite grows by what it feeds on, and before one knows where one is another of those mushroom growths stares one in the eye. A vicious circle is formed thereby: there is no opposition worth speaking of to prevent the enactment of those laws, and the laws themselves prevent the formation of such an opposition by their “steel-frame” nature. If such attributes of civilised society as free speech and free assembly are strictly forbidden by a Governmental ukase there is, practically, no scope for an opposition crystallising around the nucleus of vague discontent. Our Congress leaders, smelling disaffection in their vicinity, have, obviously, made up their minds to stifle it at its very birth lest it grow into a lusty child and gradually become, so to speak, a thorn in its flesh. It is panic that is at the root of all this obnoxious legislation: in its heart of hearts the Congress knows that it has had its day and that it has ceased to be. But it is not democratic has never been so since 1920, as I have had occasion to remark already—and it has no intention of letting go its present advantage. “The Congress must rule for ever!”—that, evidently, is its motto. It has forgotten that nothing in this world is permanent, is imperishable: least of all, the power-drunk and the vainglorious:

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e’er gave,
Awaits alike th’ inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

Even the mighty British Empire has gone the way of “the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli!”

EQUATING OF PARTY WITH STATE

There is a deeper reason for these emergency enactments: the Congress believes, or affects to believe, that it is not just *one* of the parties in the country: it believes, or affects to believe, that it is *the* country. I am prepared to concede that it is the largest and the best-organised of our political parties: that, however, is not tantamount to saying that it is *the* country. The country is vaster far than a single party, be that party’s pretensions what they may. The Congress is in the saddle, not because it is the whole country, but because, as every-

where else, it is the party that commands the greatest following in the country. To be against it is, therefore, not to be against the country as a whole. *Disaffection for the Congress Government is not, on this reasoning, disloyalty towards the country.* That being so no punitive measures need be contemplated in regard to those who cannot see eye to eye with the men in authority.

I am aware that our distinguished Prime Minister is apt to go a step further than even his party and to equate himself with the State. In the recent debate on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill he had some nasty things to say about those who are disloyal to *him*—an attitude unpleasantly reminiscent of *L'etat, c'est moi*. He has been feeling like that for some time past and I, for one, was not at all astonished at his ill-mannered outburst. *It was because he felt he was the State that he accepted the infamous June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten "on his sole responsibility," as he afterwards confessed (cheerfully) before an emergency meeting of the A.-I.-C.-C. in New Delhi—convened for the express purpose of "ratifying" his unilateral decision on that momentous question. It was, again, because he felt he was the State that, without consulting anyone, he took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. It was, once more, because he felt he was the State that he linked the fortunes of the country with those of the British Commonwealth. Lastly, it was because he felt he was the State that he took it upon himself to sponsor the Constitution (Amendment) Bill on the floor of our august Parliament so that it might become dynamic and flexible and approximate to the "curves of life."*

Here we see the gradual progression. *At first the Congress was the country. Now our beloved Panditji is the country.* There is nothing for us but to echo Isabella's celebrated apostrophe in *Measure for Measure* :

".....Man, proud man !

Dress'd in a little brief authority, - -

Most ignorant of what he's most assured,

His glassy essence, — like an angry ape,

Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven

As make the angels weep."

A METHOD IN THE MADNESS

We all know that Pandit Nehru can fly into a temper like any star of a lesser world, and he was true to form during the Great Debate, trouncing his critics—principally, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who has constituted himself "The One Man Opposition" to the reigning authority—in the now famous words :

"I say any man or any newspaper who says it" (that is, who says that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill curbs the liberty of the Press) "lies and knows that he lies."

When Dr. Mookerjee protested against such an unparliamentary expression Pandit Nehru repeated it all the more vehemently; nor did the Speaker of the House care to "curb" the Pandit's "liberty" when it was fast degenerating into that "licence" which the Pandit disapproves most and for the "curbing" of which in our newspaper editorials he is so righteously anxious.

From temperamental "Leader" to "Dictator" is a not unnatural progression and the present head of our Government can be congratulated on having "made the grade" so successfully. He is now in the true line of succession to Hitler and Mussolini; nor can we help commending his exemplary courage in choosing to succeed them after noting the remarkable sequel to those twin dictatorships. But, of course, there is no accounting for tastes. *De gustibus non est disputandum*. I should, however, like to make one suggestion to Pandit Nehru. It is not uncommon for him to lose his temper before a *Hindu* audience: what would be uncommon is if, at some point or other in the proceedings, he did not so lose it. *I am afraid the madness is not without a method*. I have noticed that he can control his temper when he is in the mood to do so. Before a *Muslim* audience he has never been known to fly into his familiar tantrums; and whenever he felt that *Hindu* feeling was rising rapidly against the Muslims it was he, more than any other, who always tried to moderate it, to pour cold water on it, in the Mahatma's famous phrase. Does that not show, convincingly, that our hero's explosiveness is not just explosiveness but is part of a make-believe role? We, Hindus, tolerate his temperamental role: our Muslim friends, who, obviously are made of sterner stuff, do not relish the spectacle of a grown-up individual displaying temperamental spasms and generally making a nuisance of himself.

As a certain scribe has remarked, not inappositely :

"The country is accustomed to the Prime Minister's petulant outbursts but on Saturday's debate in Parliament Mr. Nehru's temper overstepped the limits not only of private propriety but of public restraint. Impulsiveness is a quality forgivable in youth. Mr. Nehru, alas, is no longer young, and much that might have been forgiven him in the bright noonday of his impetuous youth is anomalous today. The Prime Minister's intemperate utterances do credit neither to himself nor to his high office."

This wanted saying badly, and it has now been said.

INDELENT HASTE

I shall not dilate further on Pandit Nehru's calculated, or uncalculated, outbursts of temper in public. As I have hinted, my own opinion is that these rather too frequent gusts of passion are more calculated than otherwise. Calculated or uncalculated we, in India, have to learn, if we have not already learnt, to put up with them as part of our Fundamental Misfortunes—in regard to which, however, we cannot rely upon anyone to bring any Amendments to "curb" their intensity in the near, or even, the distant, future. These Fundamental Misfortunes have been *written into* our constitution and we cannot tinker with them as the Pandit has very successfully tinkered with the corresponding Part III (that, namely, dealing with our Fundamental Rights) of that other constitution, over which there had been a great "to-do" in parliament recently. The tactics of the party in power to seek to amend the constitution *so soon (that is, fifteen months) after its creation* are gravely open to doubt; and if the party in power was able so easily to over-ride the Opposition's contention about the questionability of those tactics

it was solely because the party could command a "brute majority" and thus could easily wriggle itself out of an otherwise insurmountable difficulty. Fundamental rights, like freedom of speech and of expression, are too precious to be tinkered with in that light-hearted fashion. As Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was careful to point out in his brilliant speech opposing the Bill :

"When the Constituent Assembly *deliberately* decided to have a *written* constitution and to incorporate in it a chapter on Fundamental Rights it *deliberately* curbed the power of Parliament. *That was the purpose of Fundamental Rights.*"

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Lion of Bengal, than whom it is safe to say, there is no abler Parliamentarian in our country at the moment, went on to quote with devastating effect a Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in support of his thesis. The Chief Justice said :

"The very purpose of Fundamental Rights is to withdraw certain subjects from the arena of political controversy beyond the reach of majorities and officials and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the Courts. One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech and free press, to freedom of worship and assembly, and other Fundamental Rights may not be submitted to vote. They depend upon the outcome of no elections. There is a limit to your (legislature's) power; thus far and no further."

Dr. Mookerjee wound up by saying: "Today you are changing those Fundamental Rights." Yes; they have changed them; and four years' of "freedom" have converted us into mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Defenders of the Amending Bill were at pains to point out that in the United States also amendments to the constitution had been moved shortly after its formulation. But they did not pause to point out that there is a fundamental difference between the two amendments. The purpose of the amendments in the U.S. was *to broaden the base of democracy; to give positive affirmation to Fundamental Rights which found no place in the original draft*. Unlike the Indian constitution the American constitution of 1787 merely set out "to establish three great departments of Government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

As for the freedom of the press the American constitution specifically guarantees it. In France the French National Assembly, at its meeting of August 24, 1789, enshrined it in these famous words :

"The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of mankind. Therefore, every citizen may express his views by words, writings, and printed matter, but he will be held responsible for any misuse of this liberty in the cases fixed by the law."

The freedom of the press is the keystone of the arch of political freedom, and if that is taken away the whole edifice collapses. But probably it is idle to expect modern Congressmen to respect freedom of speech and of writing: they have been brought up as mere automatons, the

Mahatma having done the thinking for them in the past and the Pandit doing the same service for them now. What do they know of these precious freedoms? If they knew what they are, would they have voted for the Pandit's Bill *en masse* and, obviously, with so much gusto? It was reported that tremendous cheers broke out from them when the Bill was passed. It was only the valiant Mr. Kamath who had the courage to rebuke them for that tragically misplaced merriment. *It was a much greater shame for the journalist M.P.s, like Shri-s Deshbandhu Gupta and Shiva Rao, to have remained neutral at the time of voting.* The former had protested against it on the floor of that very Parliament a little earlier, and had protested against it in no lukewarm terms, but when it came to recording his vote he developed cold feet and abstained. Not that their recording their votes would have swung the voting in the opposite direction. But there is such a thing (is there not?) as standing up to one's convictions without fear of the consequences: probably these journalist M.P.s have not heard about it.

RAJAJI'S HAND IN IT

It is a significant pointer to which way the political wind is blowing that this Amending Bill was sought to be introduced during the regime of Shri C. Rajagopalachari as Home Member. It is not, I think, an extravagant surmise that he is the real author of it, although the Prime Minister did most of the talking: the voice was Jacob's voice, it is true, but the hands, clearly, were the hands of Esau. I am prepared to stake my last bush-shirt on this theory of mine that the hands are of Esau (I mean of Rajaji) from the fact that one of the intimidating provisions of the Bill—now an Act—has to do with what has been called "our relations with foreign countries." Our liberty in criticising these foreign countries is sought to be curtailed ruthlessly. One has no need to be as brilliant as Rajaji has a reputation of being to guess what exactly he means by that "omnibus" term. *He means, gentle reader, only Pakistan*, of which he will go down to posterity as the sole architect—the father, the mother, and the wet nurse, too.

It was owing to him that the late Quaid-e-Azam was enabled to get his second wind, so to speak, when he was all but down and out. He (the Quaid) had received such a trouncing at the hands of his co-religionist, the Hon. Malik Khizai Ilyat Khan Tiwana, the then Premier of the Punjab, that he immediately packed a carpet bag and removed himself to the Dal Lake in Kashmir to lick his wounds in private. Many, even of his tabernacle, had begun to lose faith in his ability to stage a come-back. I am not denying that he returned to Lahore soon after and started indulging in his old swagger, in his old swash-buckling; *but that had been rendered possible only through Rajaji's connivance.* Rajaji had emerged into the limelight again at Panchgani and suddenly propped up that recumbent figure with the notorious formula he devised in conjunction with the Mahatma. It was Rajaji who was instrumental in the resurrection of the Muslim League from the catastrophic tomb of the Punjab debacle

and the not less calamitous sepulchre of the Bengal muddle.

THE PRO-HINDU PRESS WILL BEAR THE BRUNT OF IT

When the history of our times comes to be written it will, I dare to suggest, be Rajaji, and not the Quaid-e-Azam, who will be unanimously acclaimed as the architect of Pakistan. It will be remarked that the Muslims were, comparatively, blameless in the matter, because even when, like Brer Rabbit, they were "lyin' low and sayin' nuffin'," Rajaji came bouncing and bounding to Panchgani and forced the hands of the Mahatma to present Pakistan to them on a silver platter.

It is this same Rajaji who has incorporated this provision about not offending the tender susceptibilities of foreign countries—meaning, of course, as I have suggested,

——:O:

by "foreign countries" Pakistan and Pakistan only. The corollary naturally follows that the pro-Hindu Press will come in for the roughest possible handling from the Government—the pro-Hindu Press as well as the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. *The Muslims, not the Hindus, are still the Congress's friends.* It is up to those Hindus that are not content to be merely "non-Muslims" and that are reluctant to see their identity swamped and submerged by an unprecedented wave of "secularism" to present a united front to this new menace to our very existence: for as Madison wrote to Jefferson:

"Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done—and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested Prince."

NORWAY

A Cross-Sectional Glimpse of the Country

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

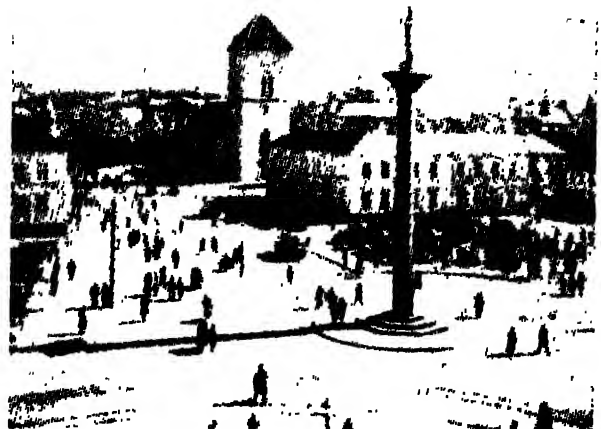
"We have a beautiful country. We covet no other people's land. We have no army, no navy. We live in peace." Thus declared a Norwegian merchant, a fellow passenger in the train from Oslo to Bergen a few years ago, when we were passing between the snow-covered mountains of Hardangerjokeln and Halling-korpet on either side of Finse, the highest station on the line, which is considered as one of the world's wonder works of engineering, laid in the midst of the most dramatic and beautiful scenery in Europe.

the Oslo-Stockholm line. Except the southern coast line from Oslo, and a few branch lines, these comprise all the railway in Norway.

Sea-wards, the whole panorama of the Oslo Fjord, sometimes scene of fierce fighting, was spread, dotted with the dark shapes of pine clad islands and the white sails of yachts. Inland, the valley lands came into view right up to the station of Honefoss with big waterfalls on lake Tyrifjord. The route then ran along the side of the great lake Kroderen through the station Gulsvik, the



Oslo



Trondheim

We started from the East station of Oslo on the Oslo-Stockholm line. It made a wide curve round the city, following the crests of the heights, east and north of the city. The line north from Oslo to Trondheim through Lillehammer, on the lake Mjosa, the biggest in Norway, or through Elverum, which once gave shelter to the harassed king of Norway, started further east, from

gateway to the valleys beyond. On the far shore of the lake, were seen old farmsteads, set against dense forests, below high mountains. We pass Nesbyen station as the railway winds for nearly 70 miles, winds through the historic Hallingdal Valley of famed fiddlers, of stirring melodies which have some strange wild fairy spirit in them, and of the famous national dance, the Halling.

The farms now became rare and the forests spread. From Gol, the well-known local centre of peasant culture,

the country. Gradually the fir forests dropped below the line and the hardy birch trees appeared, which latter



Oslo Fjord



Nesbyen

between the Hallingdal and Valdres valleys at a height of about 700 feet above sea-level, the climb began over

were stunted in growth from fierce winds of winter, as we passed the stations of Torpe, Al and Hol. At the dis-



Honefross



Gol



Lake Kroderen



Torpe

the gigantic granite wall that separated the east and west of Norway and formed as it were the backbone of

tance could be seen the grey and snow-flecked mountain tops.



Lillhammer



Honefoss Waterfalls



Hallingdal Valley



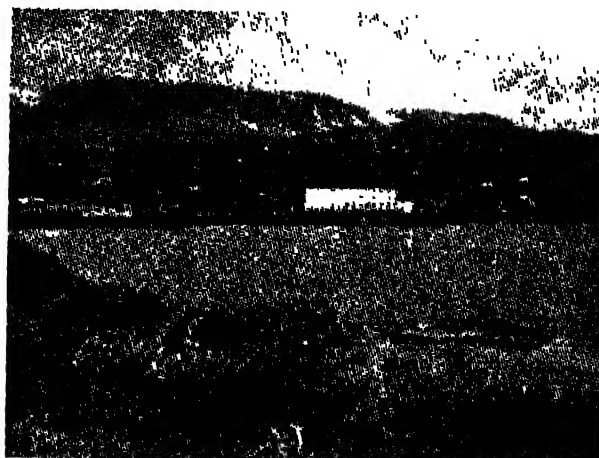
Hardanger District

Geilo, at 2,600 feet altitude, is a ski-ing resort in winter and a popular summer centre, midway between Oslo and Bergen. From here starts the most remarkable stretch of the journey. We pass Ustaoset Ski-ing centre

dangerjokeln gleaned on the south like a fantastic citadel, with great boulders of ice on the Ustavatn lake, and the glaciers of Hallingskarvet in the north flickered like jewels in the clear mountain sun-shine. Tunnels and



Al



Ustaoset



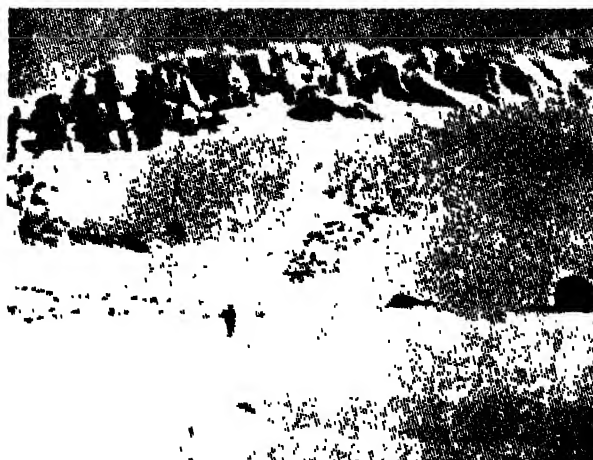
Hol



Haugstøl



Geilo



Hardangerjokeln

and Maugastøl next. From a cleft between the mountains, through which the train passed, the snow of Har-

long screens in echelon, of wood, kept back the enormous snow-drifts from blocking the line. Loneliness and



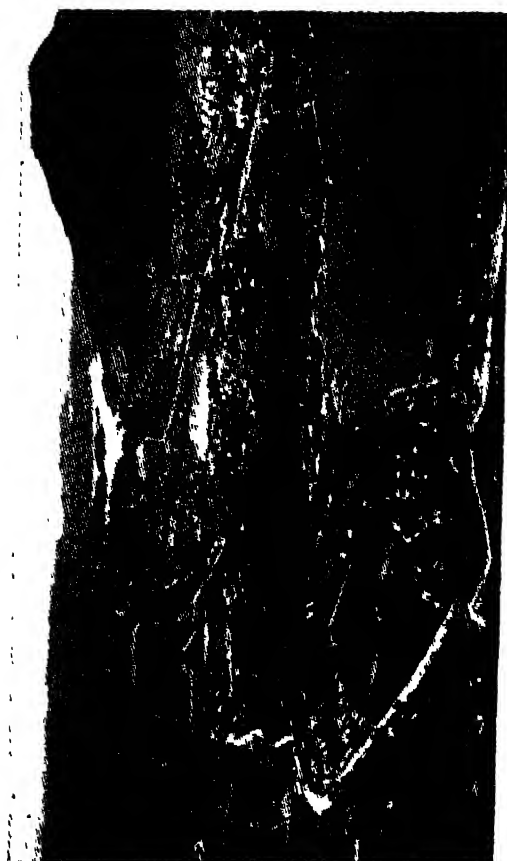
Finse Station



Aurlands Fjord



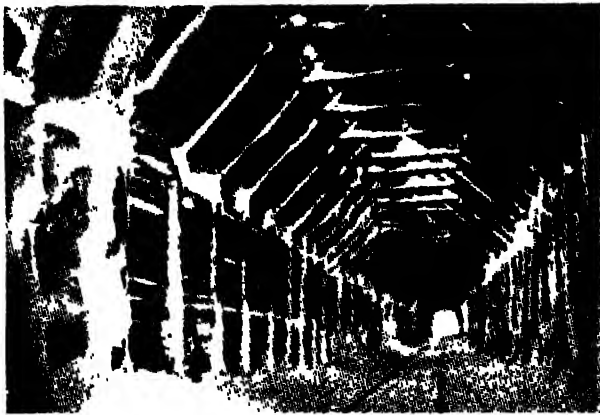
Myrdal



Bergen

bleakness were almost overpowering in intensity, but there was a strange beauty in the scenery, all the same, while Finse 1000 feet over sea-level was being reached. This is a townlet with hotels and skiing cabins. There

inland. On another head of the Sogne, lies Ardal, where a more zigzag road to Tyin astonishes the eye. We came next to the Voss station from which there is access by motor service to the Sogne Fjord, largely used by the



Tunnels to keep out snow. Oslo-Bergen Railway

are also engineering plants equipped with rotary snow ploughs, reserve locomotives and other requisites for maintaining a difficult train service. There were no trees for 60 miles, the only vegetation being reindeer moss and tough grass round swampy expanses, here and there. For 30 miles the country was absolutely bare of plants of any kind. Horizons are enormous. One is so close beneath the sky. Cloud and snowy mountains meet, so



Flamstad Valley Waterfalls



Snow-ploughs. Oslo-Bergen Railway

that one cannot sometimes quite say where the earth ends and the heavens begin.

Beyond the highest point, 4263 feet, mountain torrents run from the watershed towards east and west. Myrdal station was reached in the descent, where a magnificent view was obtained of the Flam Valley, the Flam winding like a canyon. Waterfalls crashed down the ragged mountain sides, and the road in the valley, winding like a thread in 21 spirals, led to the shores of Aurlands Fjord at the head of the Sogne Fjord, the biggest in the country, penetrating a long distance from the North Sea



Sor Fjord

tourists from the Voss station, further along, only about 200 feet from the sea-level. This place occupies a famous position in Norwegian peasant culture, as the junction point between the Sogne Fjord districts in the north and the Hardanger country in the south on the shores of the Fjord below the mountains, all of the same name. An Electric Railway runs to the south from Voss. Through Vaksdal station on Sor Fjord, Bergen was reached in 2 hours time, after running along the beautiful banks of the Fjords, the total journey of 306 miles taking just about 11 hours.

COCONUT—THE KALPABRIKSHA

By MURARI PRASAD GUHA, M.A.

(Illustrations by the author)

News flashes across the country when a coconut is broken to launch a ship or to inaugurate something in an auspicious moment. In ceremonies a green coconut is placed on a full pitcher as an auspicious sign. But why is coconut given this honour? Beginning from the dawn of civilization to the middle ages, religion got the upperhand over politics and the seers of truth found it very convenient to impregnate what we should do through religious rites. So, we find

original home it spread to the tropical and sub-tropical regions either by the primitive seafarers or by the tide of the ocean currents from one shore to the other. The fibrous mesocarp of the fruit which helps floating, is water-proof and also protects the life of the plant for very long durations and as such explains the theory. The coastline habitat of the plant and its love of saline soil conditions with the dropping of the mature nuts to the sea even today is an addi-

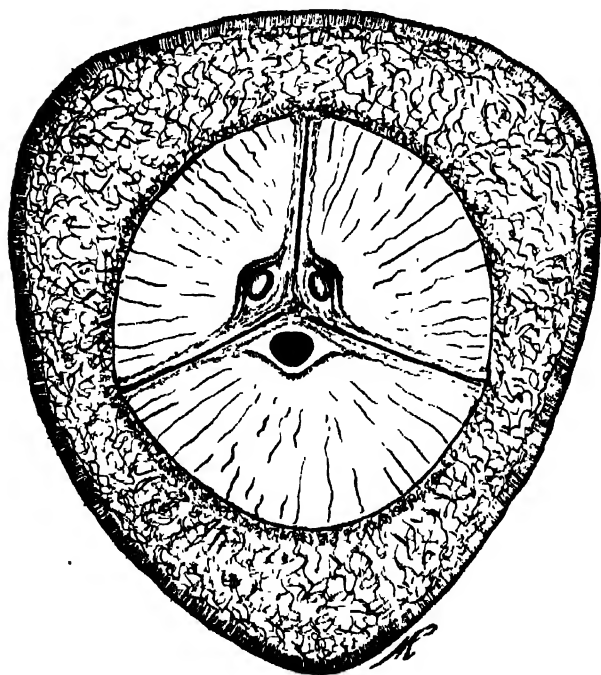


Fig. I. A dissected fruit from which the upper half of the fibrous mesocarp has been removed to expose the endocarp (nut). The shortest side of the triangular fruit is always on the reverse of the widest angle in the nut formed at the centre by the three carpels with the three eyes. And this widest segment contains the 'soft' or germinating eye hiding the only embryo (towards the base of the illustration)

that the coconut, one of the most important economic plants, has established its rightful place in every home in India from pre-historic times, our *Puranas* citing it on every occasion. Today coconut has got its own certifications, but lest we forget, we are still importers even from the little island of Ceylon of our copra, and like many other crops are lagging behind other countries in production per acre.

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

It is believed that the original home of the coconut was either the Indian archipelago or some of the little islands in the southern Indian ocean. From this



Fig. I-A. Photograph of a branched palm taken by the author at Sagar island. At an early stage due to attack of pinceros beetle growth was taken by secondary bud and the apical bud also revived giving it a *trshul*-like appearance

tional proof. It might have spread from India to Malaya, East Indies and the Philippines, earlier than the spread of Indian culture to these areas as well as to the coast of America and its tropical islands.

In India it distributed itself throughout the coastline and probably the Malabar coast is the original home with its maximum development of coconut cultivation in that land and the coconut is intimately associated with the daily life problem of the bulk of the population there. In West Bengal, it has spread maximum into the interior even in the extreme

North-West Bengal, more than 300 miles away from the coast.

BOTANICAL AND COMMON NAMES AND IMPORTANT VARIETIES

Cocos nucifera Linn. is the 'Indian nut' belonging to the family Palmaceae. The name *cocos* might have been derived from the Spanish *coco*, applied to a monkey's face, a beautiful allusion which the three scars (one hiding the embryo) on the stony endocarp suggest. [Fig. I.]

The Hindusthani name 'Narial' is derived from the ancient Sanskrit name *namkela* mentioned in the *Puranas*. There are many other names original to the locality which helps to prove the primitiveness of the fruit tree here.

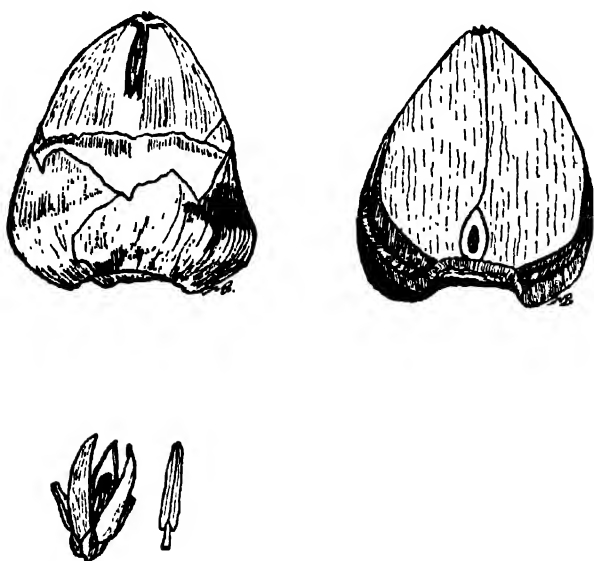


Fig. II. The flowers of coconut. (1) The mature female flower with 2 whorls of (3 each) perianth enclosing the united carpel with the beak shaped stigmas at the apex. (2) The female flower dissected through the ovary. (3) The male flower with two whorls of perianth leaves, one small, the other long enclosing the six stamens. A single stamen a little enlarged. (4) The inner whorl of perianth removed to show the position of the stamens. (5) Perianth and stamens of the male flower removed to show the undeveloped carnel

As with other crops a study of varieties of coconut has also been neglected in our country. In India we have mainly two varieties, one is the "Tall" variety found over-topping the buildings of the coastal or semi-coastal cities and towns and the other a "Dwarf" form, an early maturing variety which when starts fruiting still remains within the reach from the ground.

The tall variety also known as the "West Coast-variety" is most widely cultivated through the coconut-growing areas of India from very ancient times and may be indigenous to our country. It is one of

the most economic multipurpose varieties from the point of view of its yield of nuts, copra, oil and coir of good quality as well as the tapped juice (toddy) convertible to jaggery or sugar if not used as country wine. According to growers, sub-varieties exist from the point of view of size, shape, colour of fruit and thickness of the kernel. Under favourable conditions this variety may start fruiting in six to eight years which, however, may be deferred to ten to fifteen years when conditions are not favourable. The average yield of copra per nut is about 5 oz. and the oil content in the copra is about 72 per cent.^a

The dwarf form also known as the "Andaman" or "Nicobar" variety is quite different from others. The colour of the nuts may range from green, yellow to orange and starts bearing within three to four years, even when the tree has not quite developed and one can pluck the nuts from the ground.

The dwarf palms give quite good yield and looks very beautiful as a decorative plant but due to its susceptibility to diseases and pests and to irregular bearing it is not considered economic. Usually the varieties are named after the place of origin and from that point of view there are some other varieties familiar in the coconut-growing areas, such as, (1) 'New Guinea'—average yield 65 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8oz.—quality not quite good, oil content 66 per cent, (2) 'Cochin China'—average yield 86 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8 oz.—quality fair, oil content 66 per cent, (3) 'Java'—average yield 95 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 7 oz.—quality good, oil content 66 per cent, (4) 'Siam'—average yield 50 nuts per tree per annum, copra content 8 oz.—quality good, oil content 74 per cent, (5) 'Laccadive Ordinary'—average yield 124 nuts per annum; copra content 5 oz., oil content 72 per cent, (6) 'Laccadive Small'—alternate bearing, average yield 150 nuts per tree per annum; copra content is only 2 oz, oil content 75 per cent.^a

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT AND FLOWER

The tree with its uniform cylindrical trunk and the umbrella-like tuft of pinnate leaves gives one of the most beautiful and graceful appearances amongst the palms with the patent leaning habit, in case of small varieties. The stem marked by the scar of the fallen leaves sometimes takes peculiar shapes due to obstruction of light by adjacent trees or buildings. Usually they attain a height of about 60 feet, sometimes more, the longest recorded being 117 feet in Ceylon,^a and live a century. Sometimes, due to the destruction of the apical bud by beetle, secondary buds take up the growth and the result is an apparent branched palm (Fig. IA). Though the tree is long, the root system is characteristically shallow and develops from the 'V'-shaped bottom of about 4 feet

depth, which however, can spread laterally up to 20 feet. The roots are of uniform diameter, but the rootlets are thin and fibrous. The leaf scar adjacent to the root system can also develop roots if covered

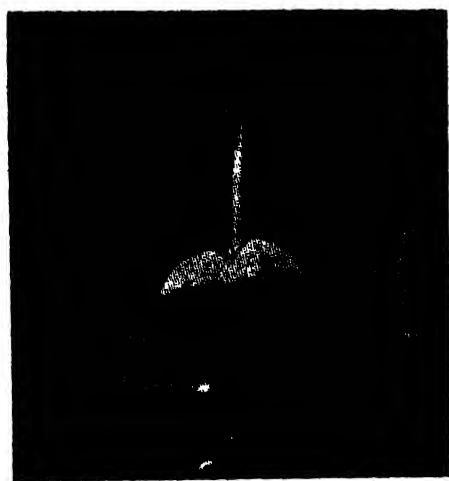


Fig. III. The ideal medium-sized round-shaped seed nut of the Tall variety developing ideally. Germination started when the nut was attached with the palm

with earth and watered and this property comes to the aid when mature trees are transplanted or dug down deeper. A tree may have at a time 25-30 leaves with a length of 18-22 feet each. The leaves slightly grooved and swollen at the base, are protected by strong net-like bracts and form an angle with the stem to give the appearance of an umbrella. The groove in the leaves helps the rain water to run down to the crown preventing its drying and also to the bole of roots helping in its development. The inflorescence is a much branched monoecious spadix enclosed by a woody spathe, in the axil of each of the leaves, abortions being rare. The trimerous flowers borne in the branches are unisexual, the female flower being at the base and male at the apex of each branch.

Liyanage⁸ has observed that the tall variety palms, which remain productive for over 70 years, are protandrous and are generally cross-pollinated. But in the dwarf palms, the male and female phases overlap and self-pollination is the general rule. A saturated atmosphere seems to be injurious to the viability of the pollen grains but this viability can be prolonged artificially by creating an atmosphere with 50 per cent relative humidity.

The whorls of perianth leaves of the somewhat cone-shaped female flowers are persistent and develop along with the development of the fertilized flower. (Fig II).

SOIL AND CLIMATE

The ideal soil for coconut is a rich alluvium or a deep friable loam with adequate soil moisture

derived either from well-distributed rainfall, percolation water or proper irrigation with drainage facilities. Land with faulty drainage should be avoided. The sandy soil is also ideal in this respect but it must provide subsoil anchorage to the tall palm, which, as will be observed, is available almost throughout the coast-line. But with drifting sandy soil it is a failure.

The coconut is a true tropical palm extending its domain within the actual tropics. It loves a climate with heavy but evenly distributed rainfall, high humidity and fairly even temperature (85 deg. to 95 deg. F mean temperature)¹¹ all the year round. Thus it will be found that coconut fares better in Ceylon and Malaya than in India. In Ceylon there is practically no month when the rainfall is below 0 foot 75 inches and in Malaya, the rainfall always exceeds 1 foot 25 inches in every month¹² whereas in India we have only 2 mon-



Fig. IV. The ideal seednut raised by the author in sand in an earthen pot, developing ideally (age 2 months)

soons. It is, therefore, natural that the average yield for gardens in India is below the average yield in Ceylon and Malaya. It has been found that the coconut thrives best in saline soil conditions close to the sea-coast but this is not essential as will be found in Mysore and Bengal. In Bengal it flourishes even in Northern Bengal hundreds of miles away from the

coast. The love of seacoast areas by this palm is directly related with climatological factors, because the coastline always have a high humidity and the temperature is never subject to great changes. Again although it grows best in the plains of the coast or the interiors, it grows equally the same 3,000 feet above sea-level in the Mysore Plateau.

PROPAGATION

Propagation is always from seedlings raised from mature seednuts. The longevity of the coconut palm reminds us of the care taken by foresters in the laying

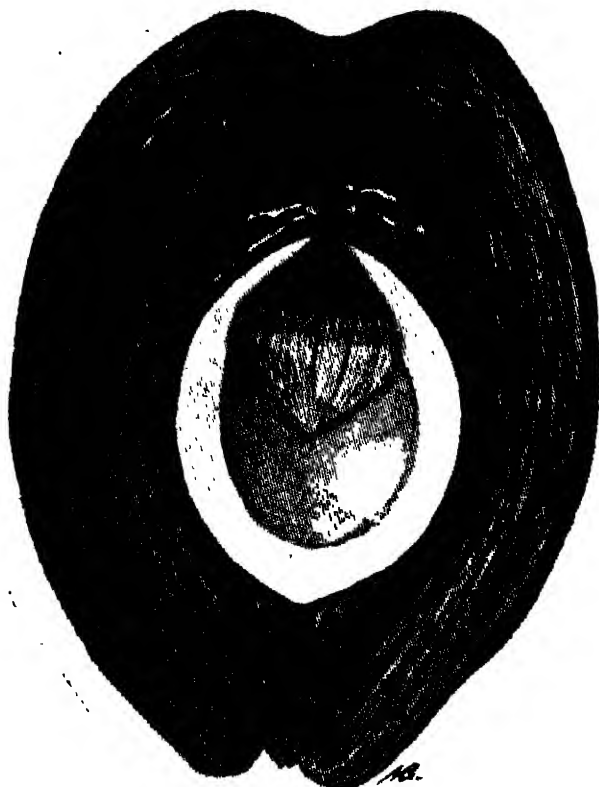


Fig. V. A dissected nut that dropped from the tree (X $\frac{1}{2}$). This nut after full maturity started germinating with the development of the spongy cotyledon (*jopra*) corroding the kernel a little from the top, while still attached with the tree. The roots developing through the fibrous mesocarp above the endocarp (stony) as also the first leaf just touching the point of attachment of the fruit

out of a forest with the best plantlings, that will give the choicest timber in years to come. Coconut plantations laid out for its fruit should similarly be of plantlings of the highest yielding, best quality and vigorous mother palms in its prime. As coconuts are usually cross-pollinated, to get the right type mother palms as above should be selected out of an entire plantation of the same variety. The mature seednuts, one year old, should be collected during winter and must be roped down from the top of the tree to avoid any injury. The medium-sized round-shaped nuts should be preferred and a few nuts at the base and

apex of each bunch should be discarded. After harvest the seednuts should be stored indoors in a cool dry place on a 3-inch bed of sand for a month. (Fig. III) In the meantime nursery beds should be prepared preferably in a sandy soil and where that is not available the local soil should be replaced by sand to a depth of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet as this will prevent the attack of white-ant and facilitate proper drainage. Where this is also a problem, seednuts may be planted in pots of 1 foot height and 1 foot diameter or wooden boxes of 1 foot cube may be filled with sand and utilized for this purpose. These methods are customary in industrial areas like Calcutta and suburbs.

The beds should be of convenient length, say 25 feet or 50 feet, but the breadth should be preferably 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 5 feet as in the absence of rains the seedlings should have to be watered daily or on alternate days from the sides without disturbing any of them. And according to Dorasani,² the nuts should be placed in the bed of sands with their stalk ends up and an inch of the tip protruding above the surface, with a spacing of 1-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet from nut to nut and row to row. To avoid the cost of watering, planting is preferred at the beginning of rains. Nuts without water should be discarded before planting (Fig. IV) In three to five months most of the seeds germinate and they are allowed to grow for an year, and the seed-beds should never be manured as this masks the initial defect in vigour. At the end of one year when the main characters are visible, only the healthy and good looking seedlings should be selected as planting material.

Seedlings that germinate early and split their leaf soon should be preferred as they bear early. Just before planting, seedlings should be removed from bed without tearing the roots and should be packed very neatly for forwarding to distant places. Sometimes seedlings older than one year are planted but they are always removed from the seed-beds of the first year and planted wider till final planting. But this is costly and moreover the one-year seedlings establish themselves more quickly. The small-scale planters should always get their seedlings from reputed plantations.

PREPARATION AND PLANTING

Lands already under cultivation need no special preparation. Otherwise two or three ploughing before the rains followed by planting of some legume to be ploughed in is ideal. The land should be free from all weeds and properly levelled and in case of slopes should be properly terraced with bunds to check up erosion of soil with run-off of rain water. Arrangements for irrigation during the dry months should be made by laying out drains and intermediate reservoirs. Along with this arrangement for a boundary fence a

wicket gate is to be made to protect the saplings from grazing animals.

One year after this pits of three feet cube are dug in regular rows with specified intervening space of 30 ft. or as desired. Dried leaves are burned in the pits, which, it is believed, prevents white-ants. Also all nests of white-ants are to be dug out of the plantation at this time. Just before the rains one-year-old selected seedlings are to be planted in the pits.

The bottom of the pit is sometimes filled with loose earth or sand up to a foot to facilitate root growth of the root forming bole of the plant and to check white-ants. Sometimes *Neem* (*Margosa*) cake is also added to prevent white-ants. A handful or two of common salt and/or bonemeal is also added by some planters, in the soil of the pit surrounding the plantlings. The seedlings should be planted in right position firmly and the soil pressed like a cone. In case of high winds triangular supports are to be given to plants and a shade when the sun is very hot.

MAINTENANCE OF SOIL FERTILITY

In our country there is a traditional neglect in the culture of permanent trees or rather long-living trees. Not only that we do not plant them in a planned way but we start our neglect as soon as the plant is established in the soil and is not eaten away by the Rhinoceros beetle. We never take care to know that the life of a plant is almost similar to the life of a human being growing to maturity. The coconut palm after gaining maturity in a few years after planting starts flowering which never stops till death. An inflorescence comes out every 4-6 weeks and one can find all the developing stages from the flower to the mature nut in the same plant. After flowering the fertilized nut comes to full maturity in 12 months. So, it is easy to guess that there is a continuous development and utilization of the available food from the soil which must be replaced to maintain the *status quo* of the soil. And this draws our attention to the scheme of manuring.

Sampson¹⁵ observes that an individual palm growing on poor sandy-loam soil and producing 128 nuts per annum (not an unusual yield on the Malabar coast) removes from the soil 1.93 lbs. of nitrogen, 0.28 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 1.37 lbs. of potash. Pillai¹⁶ has calculated that a crop of 2,000 nuts per acre removes from the soil of medium fertility about 18 lbs. of nitrogen, 5 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 38 lbs. of potash. Leaving aside others' findings, we find great disparity in the above figures.

Based on the observations of Sampson and taking 60 nuts as an average yield and 50 trees per acre as the usual method, the requirement for an acre will be 45.23 lbs. of nitrogen, 6.56 lbs. of phosphoric acid

and 32.10 lbs. of potash. It should always be remembered, however, that if the well-being of the palm is also taken into consideration, a large proportion of N, P and K is to be added with the above in time of application to the field and the quantity of potash will have to be naturally increased giving due consideration to the huge fronds and the floral bunches. Also that 60 nuts is the average figure and this will be exceeded almost always with application of balanced manure. Again, the dosage of manures and fertilizers are obtained by personal experience and is varied in every locality as in our vast country we are subject to different soil and climatological factors and there can not be any hard and fast rule delimiting the



Fig. VI. A coconut palm affected with leaf disease. Bearing has almost stopped

application and the figures of intake are only a guide to this.

Manures are to be applied round the palm with a 4 feet to 5 feet radius after digging the earth a little and the costly ones to be applied close to the bole of roots. The following manure mixture adapted from John¹⁷ is recommended :

		Per tree per annum.	
		lbs.	
1/4 of these up to 5 years	1. Cattle manure or compost	100	
	or Groundnut or other oil cake	..	15-20
	or Ammonium Sulphate	..	3-4
1/3 of these up to bearing age	2. Muriate of Potash or potassium sulphate	..	2
	or Wood ash	..	30-40
	3. Superphosphate & Bonemeal	1+1	
	or Bonemeal	..	2

Selection from this should be made according to the economics of the manure available at the locality

as well as the physical aspect of the soil. But green manuring should be the fundamental principle of all manuring schemes and it has been found that sunn-hemp and cowpea, which comes to its age in 2 months, being sown in April-May is ideal as it can be ploughed in before the end of the rains in July so that it can help the good rotting of the green manure in the field. There are other green manure crops, such as (1) Cowgram, (2) Dhaincha and (3) Wild sunn-hemp that are also recommendable.



Fig. VII (a). An old coconut plantation in West Bengal

It has been found that cultivation increases the number of leaves per palm even when they are not manured, but manuring is necessary to replenish the loss due to heavy bearing, as in palms with many leaves the bearing is heavy always.

FOOD VALUE OF THE KERNEL AND MILK

The sweet water inside the green nut, known as 'milk' is a delicious and refreshing drink. During the summer months millions of nuts are sold in our Calcutta city alone leaving aside the suburban towns and all the wayside Railway stations within 50 miles radius from Calcutta where a thirsty passenger calls for a green coconut and gets it always with less than a lemonade's price (Fig. IX). The list of liquid diets prescribed by a doctor always contains green-nut-milk specially for patients having nausea with fever and bowels troubles, as it has diuretic and laxative properties. It is a general practice in West Bengal to wash the pox-marked face just after recovery from pox with the milk as it is believed to make the marks less prominent.

The soft kernel inside the green nut is also delicious but does not keep and is eaten at once. The mature kernel or the 'meat' along with the 'milk' is the endosperm of the seed, the embryo being embedded in the hard endosperm, which is used either as copra for manufacture of oil or used for good preparations or delicacies and also taken along with tiffin foods.

The total weight per cent of the husk, shell, kernel and milk are 57.28, 11.59, 18.51 and 12.58 respectively.¹¹

The food value of the kernel taken from the *Health Bulletin* No 23 is given below:

Moisture (per cent)	36.3
Protein (per cent)	4.5
Fat (ether extracted) (per cent)	41.6
Mineral matter (per cent)	1.0
Fibre (per cent)	3.6
Carbohydrate (per cent)	13.0
Calcium (Ca) (per cent)	00.01
Phosphorus (P) (per cent)	0.29
Iron (Fe) Mgs. (per cent)	1.7
Calorific value per 100 gms.	444
Carotene (International Vitamin A units per 100 gms)	Trace
Vitamin B ₁ (International units per 100 gms)	15
Vitamin C (Mgs. per 100 gms.)	1
Calories per oz.	126

Carey² has isolated sucrose, fructose, and glucose from the milk and raffinose, sucrose, fructose, galactose and glucose from the copra meal.

The high amount of heat energy available per ounce of coconut kernel speaks of itself as a valuable food. And it has its rightful place in the dietary of every citizen of India.

FRUITING TIME AND YIELD PER ACRE

I have already told you that the dwarf variety starts flowering in 3-4 years and the tall one in 7-8 years. But usually the yield is poor at the beginning and becomes normal in half a decade. Usually an individual plant yields 60-70 nuts per annum which limit, however, is always exceeded with good management and cultivation. Usually about 50 plants per acre is planted with 30 ft. intervening space in between the palms. And as such 3000-3500 nuts can easily be obtained from an acre. But in most cases this figure is far exceeded with better cultural practice and more close spacing. As every leaf bears an inflorescence in its axil, all the stages of fruit development will be found in the palm always, but a fertilized female flower takes about a year to come to full maturity. Periodicity in bearing is quite common in coconut. The best copra (and maximum oil) as well as coir is obtained when the nuts are harvested before they are dead ripe and the husk is still green, because at this stage (when 9-10 months old) (Fig. V) germination does not start and as such copra content is

highest and likewise the fibre not being over-mature is of the best texture and colour. Harvesting is done usually twice in a year in Bengal but in the main coconut-growing areas 4-6 times throughout the year and June-July is the best harvesting time throughout India.

Patel¹² observed that with general manure an average yield of 33.9 lbs. of copra and 18.6 lbs. of oil can be obtained from 100 nuts, which however can be raised to 40 lbs. of copra and 22.6 lbs. of oil per 100 nuts with the application of N, P, K fertilizers, almost similar results being obtained by green manuring and application of lime.

In judging the yield per acre the total yield of copra per acre is really taken into consideration, in case of large plantations, instead of the number of nuts, as the thickness of the kernel of the nut is variable, and a thick nut may contain kernel double of the thin nut. Aiver¹ observes that this variation may result in 1,000 nuts yielding copra from 9-13 mds., even 14 mds.

CONTROL OF DISEASES AND PESTS

A healthy plantation is a sign of the owner's care. As soon as any disease or pest is observed it should be stopped at once to prevent further spread. Because with the spread of disease and decay the whole economic equilibrium of the plantation is lost with the loss of production and of the bearing trees which cannot be replaced in a year or two.

The most important disease of coconut is 'Bud and Fruit Rot,' caused by *Phytophthora palmivora*. The disease starts with the withering of the young innermost visible leaves, which gradually become slight brown to light brown and finally bend and break down at the base. The infection spreads inwards emitting bad smell sometimes and ultimately kill the apical bud which stops all further growth and the plant dies. And when they attack the nuts, they either fall off immature or the kernel is rotten. Effective results have been obtained by spraying the crown with 1 per cent Bordeaux and it is better to use Bordeaux-resin-soda mixture, as resin helps to stick on the smooth surface of the coconut leaf. Similar doses of 'Perenox' may be used which is more handy. As the disease usually spreads during monsoon like most of the fungus diseases, two sprays may be given one before the outbreak and another before the close of the monsoon.

The other important disease is 'Leaf Rot' caused by more than one fungi (Fig. VI) *Helminthosporium halodes*, *Collectotrichum paucisetum* and *Gliocladium roseum*, the first one being most virulent. This disease does not kill the palm but much of the leaf surface is lost due to death of the leaflets by gradual blackening and shrivelling of them and ultimate loss in yield. The same treatment as above is recommended.

Stem bleeding caused by *Ceratostomella paradoxa* shows brown fluids oozing out of longitudinal cracks of the stem. The tissue inside is rotted and the plant is weakened with loss in production. The diseased



Fig. VII (a). The coconut grove

portion should be chiselled out and Bordeaux paste applied on it. Some people use coal tar.

There are other diseases of minor importance like leaf spot caused by *Pestalotzia palmorum*. Root rot caused by the bracket fungi *Ganoderma lucidum* and root disease caused by *Bortryodiplodia theobromae*, *Rhizoctonia bataticola* and *Rhizoctonia solani*.

Last but not of least importance is the highly destructive 'unknown disease' in the West, which brought in bold relief the activities of the plant pathologists there in the present decade.

The disease starts with nut fall, soon followed by the death of the heart and the whole crown and becomes epidemic over considerable areas where coconuts are grown closely. In a young non-bearing palm the disease starts with the drying of the still folded heart leaf or young inflorescence within a closed spadix due to the death of the young tissue at the base of it near the growing point and subsequent rottage by secondary saprophytic organisms. The disease was first reported by Leach⁷ from Jamaica in 1946 which was confused by Martyn⁹ with the mechanical injury caused to coconuts in the form of girdles round the nut due to

variable supply of water. Innes⁵ trying to connect it with deficiency of Manganese proved that it has no relation with the disease. Martyn's¹⁰ recent observations lead us to the belief of a virus as the causal organism which is unlikely carried by air-borne vector, but by soil-borne organisms as will be evidenced in the rapid transmission of the disease in close-packed plantations of certain soil types. It may be noted that the symptoms are similar at the start to 'Bud Rot' etc. Is it that in India also the virus is prevalent and the 'Bud Rot' is only the secondary stage of infection by saprophytic organisms?

Of all the pests of coconut, Rhinoceros beetle (*Oryctes rhinoceros*) is the most destructive and is known to every coconut-grower throughout the coconut world. It is a strongly built powerful beetle with a strong blunt recurved horn on its head like a rhinoceros, which gives it the name. Chewed fibrous materials either at the bore holes or at the base of the palms are the first signs of its attack. It attacks the crown and tender parts of the palm either destroying the apical bud and thus killing the palm or tunnel through making the inflorescence missing and twisting and disfiguring the crown. The beetle breeds freely in dung heap or decaying organic matter throughout the year.

As soon as the attack is detected the beetles should be destroyed by means of a very sharp pointed spike like the big ones used by the elephant tamers. The beetle will be pinned to death by the point and brought out by the curved iron. Close watch should be maintained to destroy the attacks and strict sanitary conditions maintained to prevent breeding.

The largest weevil known as the 'Red Palm weevil' (*Rhynchophorus ferrugineus*) is the other important pest of coconut and most of the damage is caused by the larva which feeds on the soft tissues.

The attack of the weevil and the beetle goes hand in hand, the beetle bores into the palm and the weevil lays its eggs inside the bores and the larva starts eating away the soft parts and kills the palm. And even if you kill the beetle, the destruction goes on. So, along with the measures suggested for beetle one should always seal the bores made by the beetle with sand. The crown of the palm should also be kept clean always from bird's nests, dead spathe, etc., and any damage to the palm should always be avoided through which the weevils can get access.

The black-headed caterpillar (*Nephantis serinopa*) eats away the green matter of the leaf and builds its nests under the leaf, thus destroying the leaf. It causes considerable loss to production due to large loss of leaf area. Predators help in the control of this pest.

White-ant with its large domain of destruction

has taken also coconut as one of its subjects. Local application of D.D.T. or Gammexane and destruction of their nests wherever found keeps it in check.

Rodents, squirrels and bats destroy young nuts which can be prevented through watchful eyes and by keeping the crowns clean and also by girdling the palm with an arm's length of tin sheet above human height.

PLEA FOR PLANTATIONS—IMPORTANCE AS A FRUIT

From the usage point of view it is an ideal plant for cultivation and where suitable land permits for starting up a plantation. Right from the roots to the leaves nothing is wasted and the kernel and the sweet milk received from the same fruit is an ideal food and drink which man can expect from nature. The use of every bit of the coconut plant even when it dies reminds us of its importance and we should grow it with care instead of haphazard planting of one nut here and another nut there. More so, because we are still in the stages of under-production and with our 1.5 million acres, out of the estimated world acreage of 8 million acres, India ranks third with a production of 3,000 million nuts annually. Philippines with 2 million acres produces 3,200 million nuts and Netherland East Indies with 1.5 million produces 3,200 million nuts annually. Ceylon with 1.1 million acres produces 1,800 million nuts annually and from this little island and other countries we are annually importing on an average 38,288 tons of copra worth Rs. 1,20,00,000 to make up our deficit.⁶ And this fact alone can whip us back to our senses for planting coconut in a planned way in the form of plantations. We cannot ignore the other more important facts. During the last devastating war thousands of coconut plants have been either cut down or have died an unnatural death due to construction of bases for land and air war and bursting of bomb shells, the operation of war theatre being in the main coconut-growing areas of the East Indies and Philippines. We shall have to make good this loss in production and though we cannot produce nuts with a magician's wand in a year but still we must plant the trees first and then wait for the fruit. In India, the bulk of the acreage lies in the south-eastern coastline. Travancore and Cochin Union has an area of 6,35,015 acres followed by Madras 6,05,874 and Mysore 1,69,191 acres; Orissa 21,694 acres and West Bengal 16,448 acres with much less acreage in other coastal districts.⁸ (Figs. VII & VIII).

THE LAYOUT OF A PLANTATION

There is a tendency amongst small growers for a mixed plantation, but they are always detrimental to the coconuts, that live on their spreading green leaves, which become covered by the other competing fruit trees with loss in production. The plantation should

be absolutely pure, only so long as the palms do not sufficiently cover the entire surface of the soil, secondary crops may be raised, preferably some legume. But along with intercropping the soil should always be additionally fertilized for the secondary crop. It has been found that the square method of cultivation is better workable than the triangular method, though the latter can afford more plants within the same area. But planting of too many plants never bring any good, not only that seedlings should be planted in such a way that when old the leaves of adjacent plants should never overlap each other. The intervening space should never be less than 24 ft. and preferably be 30 ft., when it is meant for copra or nut. But when it is meant for the milk of the green nuts, as is the case in most of the industrial areas and places round about Calcutta, they can be planted more close and is usually planted round the homestead. In most cases they harvest the green nuts leaving only a few nuts for ripening and thus making a double profit. Even the smallest planter may dig a ditch round the plantation, which will act as a reservoir of irrigation water as well as protective barrier. Let us draw up a present-day schedule for an acre of plantation with 50 trees:

- (1) Price of 50 seedlings at -8/- each . Rs. 25/-
- (2) Cost of 5 labour for making 50 pits and planting 50 seedlings at Rs 2/- each 10/-
- (3) Cost of manure mixture for 50 seedlings (calculated on the quantity of individual requirement of the

- manures and their price) at -8/- for each 25/-
- (4) Cost of watering 50 plants during summer months at Rs. 15 per month for 5 months 75/-

Total Rs. 135/-

The cost of ploughing, etc., will go with the cost of cultivation of the secondary crop which will fetch some money till the palms come to the bearing age. And during this time with the profit from the secondary crop, irrigation drains, fencing, etc., should be done. It should be borne in mind that a long-range plantation is always a losing concern before it comes to age.

MARKETING

I have already mentioned to what extent we are deficient in copra and are to import it mainly from Ceylon and other foreign countries. Similarly we are importers of large amounts of oil with a little export. But the balance of trade is maintained by the export of coir, a bye-product of the copra industry. It was started a century back and it is estimated that in 1946-47, 516,215 cwt. of mats and matting and about 288,000 cwt. of coir yarn were exported. This export mostly to the hard currency areas brings about 1.75 crores annually. The most important feature in the marketing of coconut is that the fruit is not easily perishable like others and can be preserved for a long time only through simple natural curing methods. The estimated import and export figures to and from West-Bengal during 1949-50 is detailed below :

Item	Source of Import and Quantity	Value	Export destination and quantity	Value
Copra	Andamans 25,000 mds.	Rs. 10,00,000		
	South India	Rs. 30,00,000		
	—Cochin, Malabar . 5,000 tons	at Rs. 600 per ton.	Eastern Pakistan and small quantity in Assam — 1,500 tons.	Rs. 9,00,000 at Rs. 600 per ton.
Coir-Strings	India—Cochin	Rs. 4,80,00,000	at Assam, Burma,	Rs. 3,60,00,000 at
	Malabar, Alleppay . 60,000 tons	Rs. 800 per ton.	East Pakistan, & Upper India— 45,000 tons.	Rs. 800 per ton.
Matting	South India .. 1,000 tons	Rs. 4,00,000 at Rs. 400 per ton.	—	
Hukka Nut	South India 50,00,000 pieces	Rs. 5,00,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.	U.P., East Pakis- tan— 12,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 1,20,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.
Coconut (dry)	Port Blair 5 00,000 pieces	Rs. 9,90,000	at C. P. and other parts of India— 25,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 4,50,000 at Rs. 18 per 100 pieces.
	East Pakistan 50,00,000 pieces	Rs. 18 per 100.		
Dessicated coconut	Ceylon .. 20,000 mds.	Rs. 1,00,00,000 at Rs. 50 per md.		
Coconut Oil	Sea-borne (St. Settlement, Ceylon . C. W. Australia) 40,59,140 galls.	Rs. 2,37,85,055		
	Coastal routes (Madras, Travancore) 8,74,723 gallons	Rs. 67,42,704		
	Rail and river. 2,02,664 gallons.	Not known.	1,739 gallons. 69,664 gallons.	Rs. 15,850/- Not known.
	51,36,527 gallons		71,403 gallons.	

ECONOMIC ASPECT

Coconut is the only fruit tree which is cultivated for food, for the oil and for the fibre and it can easily compete with any other crop on these three individual merits.

The mature nuts are either used for food preparations or are dried and made into copra. For copra making the fully matured nuts either stored for a month or two are at first husked by hand with the help of a sharp fixed horizontal iron rod. One man alone can husk about 1000 nuts daily and expert hands can do even 2000 nuts in a day. The shell is broken and kept upside down for some time to let the water drop completely, then they are kept upturned for some days when the copra shrinks away from the shell and levered out, if necessary with a thin wooden piece. Then the copras are again dried for a few days more to remove further moisture and in a good sunny week the copra is ready. Artificial drying in kilns is good for the mon-soon, when sun-drying should never be undertaken, but care should be taken to see that the copra does not become sooty and give smell of smoke.

The copra thus made ready should be properly stored if not sold to oil millers. The oil is extracted either by country method or by modern milling machineries. But expellers give the maximum extraction of oil. The oil cake or *poonac* is used for feeding livestock but is also taken as food by the poorer people with jaggery. For bakeries or others dessi-



Fig. VIII. Close-up of a full-bearing palm

cated coconut is prepared from good quality nuts or copra, which gives the extracted milk, a nourishing juice as bye-product. The oil is used for cooking, as hair oil and for the manufacture of pomade, candles,

'marine soap' and glycerine. Today the mass production of vegetable fats or margarine is based on this oil.

The spongy cotyledon of the germinating coconut known as apple (*Fopra*) and the apical bud of the growing tree are delicious.

The only prominent fibre obtained from any fruit is the fibre of the coconut husk called 'coir,' mainly used as cordage for all kinds of marine and riverine



Fig IX. Are you thirsty? Sale of green coconut at College Street Market in Calcutta

crafts, as it does not decay even in saline water, compared with jute, etc. The coir yarn is used for the manufacture of ropes, mats, door-mats, mattresses and for upholstery work in railway carriage, etc. The husk retted in brackish water for about 8-12 months with suitable enclosures are of best quality, although it can be done in fresh water also.

After retting they are beaten with heavy wooden mallets and the fibres are separated from the husk. Best quality fibres are obtained from mature but not over-ripe nuts. The disintegrated pith is usually wasted although it forms the bulk of the husk. In these days of air conditioning with shortage of raw materials the value of the pith compressed as insulation boards may be explored by refrigeration engineers.

The unopened inflorescence is tapped for the juice which can be either 'Nira' or the fermented 'toddy.' It has been observed that in case of poor bearing trees effects of tapping appears to improve the yield, which lasts up to four years. From the juice vinegar and alcohol or jaggery and sugar may be made. The fronds and fruit stalks as well as the husk may be used as fuel and the ash contains a high percentage of potash and can be used as manure. The fronds after

trimming and beating can be used as white washing brush. The tender shoots can be made into pickle. The spathe is used as a shelf by the poor. But the midrib of the leaflet helps the cleaning of indoors and outdoors as brooms and its use is universally known. The leaflets are used for making fans, mats as well as thatching of poor men's homes.

The ploughman's hubble-bubble is always made with the coconut shell and today with modern ideas it is used in various other ways as ash-tray, cup and saucer, button, buckles, lamp-shade and box. It can be used as a laddle. The shell charcoal is a good absorbent and is used in making gas masks. The roots are of value as medicine and dye-stuff.

Even in death the palm is of value to us. The trunk is excellent as pillars or beams and rafters.

The long list of usefulness of coconut reminds us of the belief that the great sage Biswamitra in trying to create his new world with new things, first created coconut which is a unique production with its universal use of all its parts. And probably this is the *Kalpabriksha* of the *Puranas*, the tree that fulfills all human wishes.

CONCLUSION

All along I have tried to impress my readers that this palm with its varied use and long life is economically inter-related with our every-day life. Such a plant should obtain special care from us in the multiplication of their progeny and in this matter the place of the Indian Central Coconut Committee is unique. We know that nothing good can be obtained when the seed is bad and for this every State established and is establishing seed multiplication farms for production of quality seeds of cereals and other crops. Unfortunately coconut did not obtain the attention it deserved. Today we find only a few centres opened by States for this. Private enterprise in these matters ends in failure as it entails heavy expenditure and may be a losing concern though with ultimate gain to the country. With this idea of eliminating bad

palms by replacing them with good and extension of the cultivation of coconut in the coconut-growing tracts of India, we must establish coconut multiplication farms or rather nurseries throughout the coconut-growing regions of the country with at least one unit in each producing State. Mother palms are to be selected from within the State after extensive observation tours and the selected nuts from them will be the nucleus of the nursery. The nursery may be opened with a promise to supply at least 1000 seedlings and more than this should have to be planted for rejection of the inferior ones. And this start with a thousand nuts will take us to days when we can supply thousands of good quality seedlings to our countrymen in every State for extension of its production.

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AN OLD MAN'S LAST HOPE

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. D.Litt.

THE supreme problem of Free India is how to be intellectually independent of Europe. On the right solution of this question depends her prosperity, and even her very existence as a nation. Europe is advancing every month, nay every day, in arts and arms, in industry and technique, in range of thought and the conquest of nature. India, as even the blind can see, has been standing still, glorying in the "wisdom of our ancestors," or at best borrowing thoughts and material products from Europe at second hand. Hence, even when we seem to be making progress at all, we are only panting far behind Europe like the coolies carrying the baggage of a civilised army and straggling in the rear.

Continual progression is the rule of Europe. Her civilisation is never stationary, she is constantly moving from more to more, from new to newer things. This is the result of the labour of an army of her best intellects, carrying on to higher and higher stages the gains of their predecessors, by working without cessation, without a break. In Europe, "the tail of one generation is where the head of its predecessor had been." This is the root principle of every living civilisation.

Hence, there must be created and vigorously worked a fountain-head of original research on the Indian soil, if Free India is to justify her name. This brings us to the next step. India today is so backward, so poor, that she cannot afford to waste any portion of her existing brain power or material resources; she must get the utmost out of every rupee she spends and every man she employs. And that can be done only by creating centres for this high type of work in those spots where the climatic conditions favour the highest brain work throughout the year without any seasonal stoppage or slackening, and the air and water exclude those periodical diseases which elsewhere cause the loss of so many thousands of man-hours every year.

Apart from this material gain, it should never be forgotten that continuity of work till the final fruit is produced is the root principle of success in research. If the investigation is once suspended for some months by summer heat or winter's cold, it will take many weeks before the returned research-worker can pick up all the threads that he had dropped and make an advance from the point reached by him before his enforced holiday. And the quality of the work also suffers from such breaks; in some cases the un-

completed result arrived at before the break has to be scrapped altogether, and that particular piece of investigation has to be started from the beginning once more. Such losses must be avoided by wise planning beforehand.

This brings us to the third point: where in this tropical country can we find spots with such a temperate climate as to allow vigorous and *continuous* brain work throughout the year? Our noted capitals have their multitude of modern civilised conveniences and scientific apparatus besides expert specialists otherwise employed who are available for consultation, but the enervating heat of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the sunstroke atmosphere of Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad on the one hand, and the freezing cold of Darjeeling, Simla and Naini Tal (in winter) on the other hand, make *continuous* work there for twelve months in the year impossible; they can serve us for eight months at the utmost. These *high* hill stations are also barred out by another very relevant consideration; they cost in dress, shoes and fuel twice or thrice as much as the same style of living in the plains, and their greater distance from the centres of food production naturally enhances the cost of living there.

We are thus left with moderate heights of two thousand feet or more above sea-level and subject to strong cooling winds, such as Shillong and Dehra Dun in the north, Bangalore in Mysore, and the Bombay hills from Lonavla to Talegaon—these last two being only 36 and 20 miles from Poona, on the same G.I.P. line, and the former already provided with good educational facilities of the medium grade and the latter (Talegaon) with an admirable hospital and convalescent home. A research-and-teaching college established here will not have to bear at the start the crippling expenses of what may be metaphorically called jungle-clearing and construction of a new railway line.

Our purpose will not be really served if we merely create small institutes of specialised research manned by a few anchorite savants buried in their laboratory. Research and teaching must go hand in hand for the benefit of both; they languish if mutually isolated. And there is, besides, the sound educational principle aptly expressed by the term "the inter-fertilisation of the faculties"—(i.e., different subjects or branches). The daily communication—it may even be clash—between masters of different branches not only

sharpens and stimulates the brain of each but also creates an atmosphere most fruitful of the advancement of learning. The hermit in his cell is denied this advantage. Therefore a degree college (with not more than 400 students) should be opened there at the same time and under the same administration. This is the most successful device for bringing to the surface and enlisting for the work in the next generation the most promising pupils.

As for the teaching staff, let not the word research frighten the Finance Minister. The highest professors employed by the Calcutta University, such as Drs. Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, and D. R. Bhandarkar, cost about 2,000 rupees each per month (taking into account the pay, the housing concession, employer's contribution to the provident fund, and provision for furlough on full pay and half pay). It is not proposed to take the top-men of the old well-endowed Universities and dump them on my projected hill college. But I feel that a salary of Rs. 600 a month (with residence provided) will attract very able men. Many I am sure will prefer this chance of uninterrupted research work and the full enjoyment of health on Rs. 600 to a cosy chair in Calcutta or Madras on Rs. 1,000. Besides, these hill-college teachers will be kept up to the mark by the periodical society of "visiting professors" and retired educationists, who will demand no pay but only board and lodging and the opportunity of making themselves useful to the next generation, so as to keep India's torch of light burning. Provision for such visiting professors is an integral part of my scheme. (Later on Government inspectors and technical advisers will come for short periods). For them a guest-house should be made ready at the outset. And also a clean hotel supplying decent but cheap and standardised meals. I still remember how exhilarated in spirit, how elevated in mind I felt as a young freshman when attending the lectures of some known authority on a subject, a professor whose opinion is quoted in standard works as decisive, one who has himself advanced the bounds of human knowledge in a particular field. Contact with such first-rate men vivifies the young disciple, like an electric current making the dead frog dance in the physics laboratory. But it does not mean that such pre-eminent scholars should be present at our proposed college, lecturing there throughout the year. Our purpose will be well served if they pay short periodical visits and electrify the students. They will also do a still more necessary work by vivifying the permanent teachers of the place themselves. After all, first-rate men are, in their very nature, not numerous enough.

* Before embarking on the scheme, its financial implications must be understood. I am (with all the

diffidence of a book-worm) giving below a rough estimate based on the present prices; (the index number today being 446 against 100 in August, 1939). The scheme will be worked in parts, as it grows, from year to year and not in full strength at the very start. But two things must be attended to at the very beginning: (1) land acquisition to prevent private building which may be a bar to future extension, and (2) collection of the indispensable core of a learned library, because ever since the Blitz of London destroyed 20 million copies of printed works (in England alone), many learned books of primary importance have become as rare as the phoenix. But I am optimistic enough to hope for gifts of books from the enlightened rich as soon as our work begins to justify our existence.

All the staff and preferably all the students (maximum 400) should be residential. Hence the heavy building construction necessary at the outset. But why should we not economise in other directions? Why ape Oxford or Cambridge by insisting on a vast meeting hall for all the students? I have heard British Oxonians in India sadly complaining that the Presidency College of Calcutta has no Hall for bringing together all its thousand students. India has been favoured by nature like ancient Greece; we can hold our College gatherings in the open air (except during two months in the year). Let us sternly cut out ornaments till after all the essentials have been provided.

And the first essentials are hostels where the students will not be packed like sardines in a tin, residences for the staff close at hand, and a really good library (with laboratory added in the case of science). For the convenience of younger teachers, there will be one or two chummeries or "bachelors' barracks"—but not in the style of our *dharmshalas*; each one must have a room of his own however small.

Other requisites are a common mess and playgrounds or gardens (so designed as to provide for future extensions). The future is to be assured and the work once started saved from curtailment or debasement by future financial stringency. This can be done only by accepting and steadily pursuing the policy of building up an Endowment Fund of fifty lakhs at its maximum. If the State makes over two lakhs a year for ten years to the Trust managing the Institute, and all public donations are credited to the Corpus of the endowment, the above is not an impossible figure. Judging from some of the noblest non-official institutions whose inner working I have seen, the work of such a hill college, if honestly done, will be its best advertisement and attract large donations. As Swami Vivekananda said to a pessimistic friend at the initial stage of his India-wide philanthropic

organisation, "Money will be no hindrance. In India, money lies scattered on the ground. You have only to know how to gather it." It is men that matters, not money.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE

2 Administrative officers	(total) Rs. 1,000
6 Professors	" " 3,600
12 Lecturers and assistants	" " 3,600
8 Clerks, caretakers, etc.	" " 800
Library staff	" " 250
Contribution to Hotel and Hostel	" " 250
25 Menials	" " 1,200

10,700

Annually Rs. 1,28,000
Add leave, provident fund, etc. " 22,000

Total " 1,50,000
or an endowment of forty lakhs.

:O:

Fee income from 400 students (less ten per cent free), at Rs. 12 per month—Rs. 51,840 per annum, or half a lakh. Physical instructor, doctor, etc., not included.

Capital expenditure at the start (in two years):

Land acquisition, levelling, etc.	1 lakh
Buildings	6 lakhs
Furniture and equipment	1 lakh
Water (and/or? electricity)	1 "
Library books (and/or laboratory)	1 "
Total	10 lakhs

P.S.—Will the title of my prayer be at last changed from *Hope* to *Dream*?

REMINISCENCES OF PROF. CARLO FORMICHI

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

It was with great pleasure that I read the short notice on the late Prof. Carlo Formichi published in the April issue of *The Modern Review*. It recalled vividly to my mind many incidents associated with him that happened during the time he was a Visiting Professor in the Visva-bharati and I was in charge of Vidyabhavana. The last letter I had from him would be of special interest to the present generation in view of the strong anti-Fascist sentiments he expressed therein in spite of his being an Italian who held high official rank in the academic world of his country. His letter runs thus:

"Rivoli, 25.IX, 1926.

My dear Friend,

Your kind letter has reached me here, where I shall stay a couple of days more before I go back to Rome.

Thank you very much for the sincere sympathy you show me and which I appreciate highly.

I am just like a man that has seen before his eyes a whole city crumble to dust on account of an earthquake. I am seeing many beautiful things pitifully destroyed and I cannot help crying over the ruins.

I do not know yet if the work of reconstruction will be possible. I shall do my best to help it, but on a quite new basis.

I can no longer trust persons in whom I had placed the whole of my love and confidence. I shall ever love you and some other friends in Santiniketan but they are not those who have done the mischief and who have become unworthy of my trust.

Tell Tucci,* please, that I am not writing to him this week for lack of news.

If not in this life I certainly shall meet you in some future existence and you will find a friend in me at once. Be sure of it.

Yours for ever affectionately
Carlo Formichi"

I may also in this connection narrate a few details I obtained from reliable sources regarding the trend of affairs during the Fascist regime. When Gurudev went to Italy, the Italian Government took special care to prevent any person from having access to him, who might give Gurudev a glimpse of Italian affairs different from Governmental propaganda. But somehow Gurudev did come in contact with other views which so displeased him that he publicly denounced the Fascist.

The Italian wife of an American Professor then living in Santiniketan, told me at that time that oppressed as we were under British rule, we were yet much better off regarding freedom of opinion, thought, etc., than the people under the Duce's dictatorship.

A leading Indian Scholar who visited Rome at the time told me after his return, in reply to his query his taxi-driver while passing Mussolini's Office uttered the Dictator's name in a very low and cautious whisper and explained later that he did so in order not to rouse suspicion in the mind of any passerby that he had any sinister motive in showing the Duce's office to a foreigner.

One incident may be added here, when for the first time Prof. Formichi met the class he had to teach, it fell to me to introduce him to his audience. After the introduction he dealt with his subject for a few minutes and then told me, "I hope you will now believe that I can teach." The remark was received with loud laughter from all present there.

* I.e., Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, the noted Italian Sanskritist who was also in Santiniketan as a Visiting Professor.—V.B.

INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

By Dr. R. M. AGARWAL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE calculation of per capita national income is not an end in itself but simply a means to an end. And its importance in planning future economic policies cannot be over-emphasized. Every sort of economic planning, agricultural or industrial, commercial or scientific, capitalistic or socialistic, must necessarily aim at increasing the per capita national income because other things remaining the same, particularly prices, it indicates rising standards of living of the people, material well-being and economic progress. It also serves as a measuring rod for comparing the general economic condition of the people in different countries or in the same country at different times. And changes in the various components of national income reflect upon the changing patterns of economic set-up.

But despite its playing such a vital role in the day-to-day economic life of the people and the country, no systematic or scientific attempt, official or non-official, was ever made to take stock of India's national income and compile the per capita earning. Some individual efforts were no doubt made, at their own initiative, by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Messrs. Baring and Babour, Digby, Atkinson, Sir B. N. Sharma, Findlay Shirras, Shah and Khambata, Lord Curzon, the Simon Commission, V. K. R. V. Rao and B. Natarajan at various times from 1871 onwards and in the absence of any other useful data their findings did throw some light over this important issue, but they could by no means be taken as reliable and dependable because their difficulties were innumerable. This negligence on the part of our Government was more so deplorable in view of the fact that of all the countries of the world, ours was the only one which made the largest number of plans and programmes, what if they did not cross the paper stage, during the post-war years. Fortunately it recently realized the necessity of organizing such investigations and appointed for the first time on the 4th August, 1949, a National Income Committee with Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis as Chairman and Prof. D. R. Gadgil and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as members to prepare the report on the national income and related estimates, to suggest measures for improving the quality of available data and for the collection of further essential statistics and to recommend ways and means of promoting research in the field of national income. The Committee was also to guide

the national income unit of the Government of India in compilation of authoritative estimates of the national income. The Government of India also made available to the Committee the advice of three distinguished foreign experts on national income, namely, Prof. Simon Kuznets, Mr. J. R. N. Stone and Dr. J. B. D. Derksen who visited India during the cold weather of 1950-51. The committee submitted its first report only recently which was placed before the Parliament by our Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh on the 5th May, 1951. The Committee proposes to follow up its first report with a final one which is expected to be submitted towards the end of 1951 or early in 1952. The final report would cover both 1948-49 and 1949-50.

According to the first report of the Committee, the sum of the net output of all sectors of economy gives the net domestic product at "factor cost"—Rs. 8,730 crores (Government enterprises Rs. 300 crores, Government administration Rs. 460 crores, and private sector Rs. 7,970 crores). The net national product at market prices, factor cost plus indirect taxes, is estimated at Rs. 9,170 crores. Adjusting these figures with the estimated net earned income from abroad the figure for the net national income during 1948-49 has been arrived at Rs. 8,710 crores or Rs. 255 per head on the basis of an estimated Indian population of 341.04 millions during that year. But while discussing the above estimate at a Press Conference recently, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, one of the three members of the National Income Committee told that India was not richer in 1948-49 than in 1931-32 in real terms. His estimate of per capita income in 1931-32 was Rs. 65 which, he added, would come to about Rs. 260 when adjusted to the increased prices and the inflated values of other contributory factors in 1948-49. This indicated that the person was poorer by nearly Rs. 5 in 1948-49 than in 1931-32. Dr. Rao added, "I would certainly state that the per capita real income has not gone up." This is also shown partly by the fact that nearly 53 per cent of the material income was being spent over food alone.

The Committee has however estimated the national over-all average of the net output per engaged person at Rs. 660. Breaking the figure occupation-wise, the net output per engaged person was highest in mining and factory establishment, that is Rs. 1,700, followed by commerce, transport and com-

munications Rs. 1,600, Government services Rs. 1,300, small enterprises Rs. 600, professions Rs. 600, agriculture and animal husbandry Rs. 500 and domestic services Rs. 400. Thus the comparatively more paying and productive character of mining and manufacturing enterprises as against either agriculture or services is too obvious even though agriculture, animal husbandry and auxiliary activities contributed 48 per cent and commerce, transport and communications 19.5 per cent of the national income. Again contribution by small enterprises, which is 83.6 per cent is about five times as great as that of large enterprises (16.4 per cent). It is also seen that small enterprises account for more than 61 per cent of the net domestic product.

Moreover, the total working force of the country has been placed at 132.74 millions of which 90.50 millions or 68.2 per cent were engaged in exploitation of animal and vegetation, 18.02 millions or 13.6 per cent in industry, 8.30 millions or 6.2 per cent in trade, 5.04 millions or 3.8 per cent in professions or liberal arts, 4.19 millions or 3.2 per cent in domestic services, 2.45 millions or 1.8 per cent in transport, 1.91 millions or 1.4 per cent in public force, 1.70 millions or 1.3 per cent in public administration and 0.63 millions or 0.5 per cent in exploitation of minerals. Hence, the unbalanced nature of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural offers very little scope for future developments, if left undisturbed and allowed to take its own course.

Also 97 per cent of the Government revenue that is, Rs. 690 crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 710 crores was spent over administration. Out of Rs. 710 crores, direct taxes accounted for Rs. 198 crores (Corporation tax Rs. 65 crores and other Income taxes Rs. 133 crores), indirect taxes Rs. 416 crores (Customs Rs. 139 crores, Excise Rs. 107 crores, Stamps Rs. 20 crores, Land Revenue Rs. 42 crores, and other indirect taxes and duties Rs. 108 crores) and fees and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 70 crores (Civil Administration Rs. 38 crores and Miscellaneous Rs. 30 crores) thus making a total tax revenue of Rs. 684 crores. Another Rs. 50 crores was obtained by transfer of operating surplus from current account of commercial enterprises (Railways Rs. 25 crores and others Rs. 25 crores) and income from property accounted for Rs. 22 crores (Interest Rs. 10 crores and others Rs. 12 crores). The expenditure of Rs. 690 crores, on the other hand, comprised Civil Administration Rs. 326 crores, Defence Rs. 279 crores, Miscellaneous Rs. 25 crores, Subsidies Rs. 34 crores, Transfer payment to individuals Rs. 26 crores. Of the expenditure on Civil Administration the cost of collection of taxes alone accounted for Rs. 26 crores while General Adminis-

tration including expenditure on Police, Public Health, Education, etc., accounted for Rs. 242 crores. Out of Rs. 279 crores spent on Defence, the pay and allowance of the armed forces alone has been estimated at Rs. 117 crores. The surplus of Rs. 20 crores on current account does not represent the budgetary position of the public authorities, but only the excess of income drafted by them and not spent during the year.

The capital account of the public authorities for the same year reveals a sum of Rs. 49 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 208 crores (Capital Expenditure on commercial enterprises Rs. 120 crores, Maintenance and capital outlay of Administrative departments Rs. 81 crores, and Net purchase of assets Rs. 7 crores). The deficit was met by a net borrowing of Rs. 159 crores.

Taking the current and capital accounts and also the current account of the public commercial enterprises together, a sum of Rs. 1,214 crores was paid out of the public sector during the year. Of this, Rs. 680 crores represented wages and salaries, Rs. 28 crores interest, Rs. 360 crores purchase of commodities and services, Rs. 29 crores maintenance, Rs. 60 crores transfer payments and Rs. 7 crores purchase of assets.

Thus, it is obvious that the above details of India's national income and expenditure demarcate the following four characteristics of our national economy:

1. Deteriorating economic condition of the people in spite of rise in their money incomes on account of general inflationary condition in the country and rising cost of living;
2. unbalanced character of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural and which is no more paying on account of too many people working over it;
3. predominance of small-scale over large-scale enterprises; and
4. very little expenditure of public revenue over development programmes as compared with those over administration.

This is anything but in the interest of the country and our administrators must necessarily devise policies to change this natural course of our national economy. If we want to be as powerful and rich as the other countries of the West, we cannot lay too much emphasis over our agriculture and must essentially devote greater and greater attention towards large-scale industrial developments. But this cannot take place without an active and all-out help from the Government. But for this, no country in the world would have been able to increase its per capita national income, not even U.S.A., Canada, U.K., Germany or Japan.

INACCURACIES IN OFFICIAL STATISTICS IN WEST BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.)

A fresh ration cut has been imposed from the 2nd July, 1951. The Food Minister, Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, in a recent broadcast tried to justify the policy he is following by quoting certain official statistics. We pity him; he is more a victim of the inaccuracy of official statistics than a sinner for inaugurating a bad policy. We do by no means exonerate him or the Central Government for their policy. But we realise how badly they are being served with official statistics.

In 1934, we pointed out in the pages of the *Sankhya*, the journal of the Indian Statistical Institute, how inaccurate the official statistics sometimes are. In one single year, there were *ten* Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality!

Since then we hoped there would be an improvement in the official statistics; if not in their collection at least in its presentation. We based our hope on the formation of the Provincial Statistical Bureau in West Bengal. But our hopes have been belied.

The Provincial Statistical Bureau publishes a Statistical Abstract for West Bengal. It published one for 1947 sometime ago. It has recently published another for 1948. But there are serious errors in it, both of compilation and presentation. We hope the authorities responsible for the publication of the *Statistical Abstract* would take greater care in future. We would request them to go through the pages of such books, as the *Canadian Year-Books*, *Australian Year-Books*, etc., to see for themselves how the official statistics are condensed and presented in the British Dominions; and also to go through such books as *Pocket Compendium of Australian Statistics* (pp. 208), price 1 sh.

The attention of the authorities has been drawn to the inaccuracies and insufficiency of the official statistics ever since 1934. (See *Sankhya*, Vol. I, pp. 435-39 and Vol. 6, pp. 231-35). Some serious mistakes in the Bengal Census Report of 1931 (*Sankhya*, Vol. 3, pp. 163-170 and Vol. 6, pp. 327-328), were pointed out by the present writer.

Statistical Abstract, West Bengal, 1948 has been published. This is the second issue of the series. But there are certain errors persisting in it still.

(1) At page 6, in table 1.1 it is stated that the number of sub-divisions in the District of 24 Parganas is 6. But at page 22, table 1.9, five sub-divisions have been shown. The Bongong sub-division has been omitted; the area under it has been amalgamated with the Barasat sub-division.

(2) The population of West Bengal has been given as 21,196,453 in tables 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6. The population of West Bengal (after partition) has been given as 21,211,427 in the Statistical Handbook No. 1 presented to the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is a saleable publication. The figures 21,211,427 have been repeated at pages 3 and 4 of the *Statistical Handbook*.

The error in the figure given by the Provincial Statistical Bureau has arisen in this way. In table 1.9 the figures for each thana has been given; but no figure has been given for that portion of the Daulatpur Police Station which has been allotted to West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. This exclusion has led to the above error.

(3) At page 274, table 26.3 is headed thus :

"Particulars relating to New Life Insurance Business of Indian Insurers effected during 1947 and total Life Insurance Business in force at the end of the year in West Bengal."

The heading is misleading. All that has been shown in the table is the business of certain companies registered in Calcutta. The Oriental Life Insurance Company's business here in West Bengal is not included; while the entire business of Hindusthan Life Insurance Company is included, much of which is outside West Bengal.

(4) In table 41.4 at page 383, the number of cinema houses and the monthly average number of spectators are given.

District	Number of cinema houses (in Dec., 1948)	No. of spectators (monthly average)*
Burdwan	11	109,841
Birbhum	5	37,332
Bankura	4	65,756
Midnapore	13	201,344
Howrah	15	221,079
Hooghly	20	232,951
24-Parganas	16	194,405
Calcutta	72	Not available
Nadia	4	46,777
Murshidabad	2	21,389
West Dinajpur	3	18,152
Malda	2	36,851
Jalpaiguri	1	10,325
Darjeeling	4	52,615
Total West Bengal	172	(a) 96,832

(a) Excluding Calcutta.

Figures for Calcutta have been omitted. No explanation has been given why the number of

* Average of twelve months (Jan. to Dec. 1948)

spectators at Calcutta cannot be given. No attempt has been made to form an estimate of the number of spectators at Calcutta from the amusement tax collected though of the total Rs. 4,21,000 amusement tax collected in 1948, Rs. 3,41,000 came from Calcutta alone. Further in calculating the provincial average of spectators a simple average of the district averages instead of a pooled average for the province has been used. In some copies there is a corrigenda, giving the correct figure, in some other copies there is no corrigenda.

(5) In table 41.2 at page 382, the particulars about street accidents in Calcutta are given.

The figures for 1945, 1946 and 1947 are given; while the figures for 1948 are given month by month, but no totals for 1948 have been given. For ready reference and easy comparison such total should have been given.

But there seems to be error in the figures themselves. For example, the number of persons killed in 1946 and 1947 are given as 324 and 184. But in the *Monthly Statistical Digest, West Bengal*, published by the same Provincial Statistical Bureau for September, 1950, we find at page 101, that the monthly average of persons killed in Calcutta in 1946 and 1947 are 19 and 15 only while they are 27 and 15 respectively if the previous annual figures are reduced to monthly figures.

324 divided by 12 for 1946, comes to 27 and not 19.
184 divided by 12 for 1947, comes to 15.

Let us assume that this is a printing mistake. The total number of vehicles involved in such street accidents in 1946 and 1947 are given as:

	Number of vehicles involved			Total
	Civilian	Military (British)	Military (U.S.A.)	
1946	5,696	2,061	1,112	8,869
1947	9,105	601	28	9,734

The monthly average of vehicles involved in accidents would work out to 739 for 1946 and 811 for 1947. But in the *Monthly Abstract* referred to above the figures given are 1,131 and 1,276.

(6) At page 372, table 37.1 capacity of jails in West Bengal has been given. But no mention has been made of the Hazaribagh Reformatory, where West Bengal has a right to send convicts, perhaps because it is in Bihar. As it is a statistical abstract such information should be given. When about two years ago the Judicial Minister of West Bengal, visited the Hazaribagh Reformatory, he found that 87 convicts out of a total of 200 has been sent by West Bengal. (cf. the *Prabasi*, Baisakh, 1357 B.S.)

(7) At page 177, table 14.12 gives the number of newspapers, periodicals and books published in Bengal.

In column 3, the number of newspapers, periodicals published has been given. The *Statesman*, the *Amrita*

Bazar Patrika and the *Hindusthan Standard* are counted as one each, the twelve issues of *The Modern Review* are taken as twelve. This is not reasonable.

(8) The area of Calcutta has been shown differently at different places.

At page 22, table 1.2 the area has been given as:

Calcutta excluding Fort William,	
canals and port	18,121 acres
Calcutta	20,714 "

At page 29, table 1.11 the area has been given as:

Municipal area	31.70 sq. miles
Fort William and Maidan	2.00 "

Total Calcutta 33.70 sq. miles

But the areas of the 32 different wards of Calcutta as given in table 1.2 total up 18,121 sq. miles or 28.3 sq.miles.

(9) Coming now to table 34.1 at page 352, showing the number and constitution of Municipalities, District Boards and Union Boards in West Bengal we have several comments to make.

(a) While the figures for Municipalities and District Boards are for the year 1946-47, those for Union Boards are corrected up to July 1948. The report is signed in January 1949. Why the figures for the Municipalities and District Boards cannot be brought up to the end of 1947-48 at least we fail to see.

(b) The figures for Nadia District Board are said to be not available. In pre-partition Nadia, the figures were certainly available.

As a result of the partition of Bengal, the districts of Nadia, West Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri were also partitioned. To provide for this West Bengal District Boards Ordinance XI of 1947 was promulgated, and the West Bengal District Boards Act III of 1947 was passed on the 30th December, 1947. The figures for the reconstituted District Boards could have been and should have been given.

(c) If the figures are for the year 1946-47, how then the constitution of the District Board of West Dinajpur, which was not formed till August 1947, could be given. Surely it relates to post-partition position.

(d) The number of municipalities is wrong. There were 10 municipalities in Hooghly, and not 11.

(e) A note should have been added as to the number and constitution of Cantonment Boards in West Bengal.

(10) At page 344, in table 32.9 classified List of Assesseees assessed to Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal, 1945-46 has been given. In the *Statistical Abstract* for 1947 no such table was shown. We fail to understand why the later figures for United Bengal for the year 1946-47 could not be given. After the partition of Bengal, the agricultural income-tax

structure of West Bengal has undergone a radical change; and these later figures should have been given. The following abstract of statistics for the several years show that the statistics for 1945-46 standing by themselves are misleading as to the distribution of incomes.

	No. of cases dealt with	Total gross income	Amount of tax collected
		Rs.	Rs.
<i>United Bengal—</i>			
1945-46	4,331	8,18,31,920	90,91,232
1946-47	3,202	4,27,55,090	39,75,954
<i>West Bengal—</i>			
1947-48	2,302	4,34,96,312	38,12,579
1948-49	3,154	4,24,63,815	43,51,416
1949-50	4,249	6,59,75,512	65,11,400

If the detailed figures are available to non-officials, why the same cannot be collected and published in the *Statistical Abstract* we fail to understand.

(11) At page 345, in Table 32.10, Commercial tax collected in Bengal, 1941-42 to 1947-48 has been given.

The Sales-tax, for example, has increased from Rs. 15,61,592 in 1941-42 to Rs. 3,60,45,539 in 1946-47. To what this phenomenal increase is due? It would require sometime to get the Department concerned in assessing and collecting the tax in full working order. Therefore, there is some time-lag. Any normal increase would be due to commercial activity. But there have been several changes in the rate of tax since it was first imposed.

The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941 came into force on the 1st of July, 1941. The official financial year begins on the 1st of April every year. So the first year's collection represent only 9 months working of the Act, apart from the time-lag to get the working of the Department in full swing.

At first the rate of tax was one quarter-anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act I of 1944 the rate was increased to one half of anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act VIII of 1945, the rate was increased to three-quarters of an anna. It was then reduced to one-half of an anna in 1946; and again increased to three-quarters of an anna by West Bengal Act X of 1948.

Further there have been changes in the Schedule of tax-free goods from time to time. A note drawing attention to these several facts should have been added to make the Table more useful to the reader.

Our observations cover the other taxes also.

(12) In the section headed Medical, beginning at page 160 and ending at page 163, we find in Table 13.4 the distribution of Registered Doctors according to qualification and sex in Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947; and in Table 13.5, the number of registered Nurses, Midwives and Health Visitors in Bengal from 1939-1948.

We have several comments to make on this section.

(a) To make the above two tables comparable the figures for the earlier years as well as for 1948 should have been given in Table 13.4.

(b) Nowhere we find the number of Dentists registered under the Bengal Dentists Act, 1939. Neither one finds mention of the number of Ayurvedic practitioners, registered under the State Faculty of Ayurveda, nor of the Homeopath doctors similarly registered. This is in our opinion a serious lacunae.

(13) At page 35, in Table 1.15, area and population of Provinces of Indian Union with density per square mile are given.

The area and population of Assam, West Bengal and East Punjab have been shown thus:

	Area	Population
Assam	50,321	73,92,618
West Bengal	28,215	211,96,453
East Punjab	31,028	126,91,430

It is said that these figures are estimated figures, estimated presumably by the Provincial Statistical Bureau.

In the Statistical Handbook No. 1 prepared for the use of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, the respective areas and populations have been shown thus:

	Area	Population
Assam	50,296	74,47,531
West Bengal	27,748	212,11,427
East Punjab	37,058	126,17,175

The second edition of this Handbook was published as early as 1947. Why no use has been made of this authoritative publication, and a fresh estimate, apparently erroneous, has been made, we do not know.

The discrepancies between the two sets of figures are given in the table below. Taking those given in the Handbook No. 1 as the bases, we find the differences to be:

	Area	Population
Assam	+ 25	- 78,913
West Bengal	+ 467	- 14,974
East Punjab	- 6,030	+ 74,255

(b) Why the population and area of the Native States acceding to India, at least its totals, have not been given to make the Table really useful, we do not know. We complain of its absence.

(14) At page 234, in Table 19.5, a list of towns and villages in West Bengal served with electricity in 1946 is given.

The list is positively misleading. How misleading we shall show by a few examples. The Panihati Municipality consists of seven Wards, of which Agar-

para, Panihati, Bhowanipore, and Sukhchar are on the river Hooghly (Bhagirathi). They are served with electricity. While Agarpada and Panihati have been mentioned as items No. 1 and 47, no mention has been made of either Bhowanipore or Sukhchar.

Similarly the Kamarhati Municipality consists of four Wards, viz., Kamarhati, Arcadaha, Dakshineswar, all on the river Hooghly and of Belghurria. Mention has been made of Arcadaha (item No. 2), Belghurria (item No. 12) and of Kamarhati (item No. 33); but, Dakshineswar has been omitted.

Calcutta and Fort William have been shown as two different places (items No. 17 and No. 21).

Radhanagar (item No. 48) in the district of Burdwan is supplied with electricity from Dishergarh; but no mention has been made of Dishergarh itself as a place supplied with electricity, although it is within West Bengal.

A better plan would have been to give the names of Towns or Municipalities or of the main villages; as also the area of supply and if possible the popula-

tion, enumerated or estimated, of such area where the supply is available.

We are making these observations to show how haphazardly the statistics have been compiled and presented.

(15) At page 228, in Table 18.1 the production and the number of workers and the Coal Industry have been given. It has been stated that the number of workers for 1946 and 1947 are "not available." This book has been published in 1950, and bears the signature of the Director in 1949. In the *Indian Labour Year-Book, 1947-48*, page 8, the total number of workers in the Mines of West Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947 are given as:

1946—80,373 and 1947—89,682.

The source or sources from which the authors of the *Indian Labour Year-Book*, a Central Government publication, have got the figures are presumably available to the officers of the Government of West Bengal. It appears they have not exerted themselves in the matter.

:O:—

THE GOSPEL OF KRISHNA

By SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

II

1. THE book of Krishna, the son of Basudev, the son of Jadu.

2. Jadu begat Madhu and Madhu begat Sattwata and Sattwata begat Vrishni and his brethren.

3. And in the generation of Vrishni was born Basudev, the husband of Devaki of whom was born Krishna who is called Basudev.

4. Now the birth of Krishna was on this wise: Devaki the king Kangsa's sister was espoused to Basudev.

5. Now it came to pass that as one day Kangsa went out to the street on his chariot, behold, there came a voice from heaven, the eighth child of Devaki, thy sister would kill thee.

6. When Kangsa heard these things, he was very wroth and threw his sister and his sister's husband into the prison and slew one after another, their seven children.

7. Now when Krishna was born in the prison, behold, the spirit of the Lord appeareth before Basudev at night saying, Arise and take the young child to Brindabon, for Kangsa will seek the young child to destroy him.

8. When he arose, he took the young child by night and departed into Brindabon and kept him at the house of Nanda, the king of cowherds.

1. Now Krishna grew up to be a fine lad and brought gladness into the hearts of Nanda and his wife.

2. He went forth to the fields to tend cattle by the Jamuna with other cowherd boys and piped and danced merrily in the shade of the Kadamba tree.

3. And the maidens of Braja knew that this was the God which is come to teach love and piety. So they met him in the wilderness and worshipped him.

4. And they said unto him, Draw us, we will run after thee, for thy love is sweeter than wine, so the upright love thee.

5. And he said unto them, Ye daughters of Braja, why do ye leave your husbands and brothers and run after me, behold, I am black and a mere cowherd boy.

6. And they answered and said, Thou art black but comely, yea, fairer than the primrose.

7. Behold we have left our husbands and our kindreds and followed thee, for whither thou goest we will go.

8. When Krishna heard these things, he saw their love was real and pure and so he favoured them.

III

1. Now when Kangsa heard that Krishna was living he was very wroth and he sent demons to kill him.

2. Then Krishna's wrath was kindled and he went forth to Mathura and smote him and lo he was dead.

3. Then Krishna gave the people good laws and ruled them wisely.

4. Now king Jarasandha of Magadh, the brother of Kangsa's wives, came with a large army to conquer Mathura.

5. And his men were numerous even as the sands of the sea and his wealth was great, yea greater than Kuvera's.

6. Then Krishna said, Behold ye sons of Jadu, we are few and poor, so shall we leave the city to Jarasandha and move westward.

7. So they went forth to the west even up to the sea and built the city of Dwaraka and dwelt there.

8. There the children of Jadu—the Bhojites, the Andhakites and the Kukurites lived peacefully under him.

IV

1. Now it came to pass that a mighty battle was fought between Pandavas and their uncle's sons, Kauravas.

2. This was done that it might be fulfilled which was said of old, Brother shall rise against brother and bloody battles shall be fought.

3. And all the kings of Ind assembled in the wilderness of Kurukshetra, yea from the Himalayas to Comorin.

4. Now when Krishna came to help Pandavas, he saw Arjun, very much cast down. And he said unto him, Why art thou cast down? Fight and have thy right.

5. If ye fight not, your enemies will think you like the publicans that are weak in heart. Are ye not much better than they?

6. Verily I say unto you, the soul dieth not, but passeth into another body, even as a man weareth a new cloak.

7. Ye have heard that it was said by the sages of old that Thou shalt perform sacrifices and go to heaven; verily I say they have their reward.

8. But desire not the reward and do not sound a trumpet before thee as the hypocrites do.

V

1. Ye have heard that Thou shalt renounce all works, but I say unto you whosoever renounceth the worldly tasks but lusteth after them is a hypocrite.

2. So be thou ever working for it has been said

that even Thou shalt not eat except by the sweat of thy brow. But whatever thou eatest or whatever thou doest do to the glory of God.

3. Whosoever offereth any gift to me—water, flowers, fruits or leaves with a sincere heart, that gift shall I take; for hath he not humbled himself for which the kingdom of heaven is?

4. I am the Light of the world, the Supreme Soul, yea, the holder of the universe, but people know me as Basudeva Krishna.

5. Despise all good and bad and seek my shelter and thou shalt not sin before God. *Selah.*

6. Then Arjun arose for battle and long was the fight and terrible was the bloodshed, yea, the land was red with blood.

7. Rivers of blood flowed and mountains of corpses were heaped and the land of Ind was desolate.

8. And the Lord smote the Kauravas by the scores of hundreds and thousands and they were all dead for they sinned against God.

VI

1. When Krishna saw his work was done, the empire of righteousness founded, he departed into Dwaraka.

2. Now it came to pass that the sons of Jadu sinned in the eye of the Lord and God cursed the city and it was doomed.

3. They quarrelled with one another and fought with one another and they were destroyed for their wickedness.

4. Then Krishna seated himself on the branch of a tree when a fowler shot an arrow at him and he yielded up the ghost.

5. Then a thick darkness covered the earth, the earth quaked, the hills rent and behold the land of Dwaraka was under the sea.

6. And all the devas and the departed saints appeared and sang welcome to hail their Lord to heaven.

7. Now when the unbelievers saw these things, they feared greatly saying, Truly this was the Incarnation of God.

8. And the spirit of Krishna said unto all, Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. *Amen.*

:O:—

VINOBAJI IN TELANGANA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

THE history of the human race may be described as the story of a long and continuous struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' the former trying to have more at the cost of the latter, and the latter trying to rise to the status of the former. The political, economic, religious, social and even cultural revolutions may be regarded as the manifold shades of this great struggle in which greater stress was laid at a time on one particular aspect as against the other. It is the task of the reformer or revolutionary to bridge the vast gulf separating the haves

from the have-nots, or, in other words, to break down the oppressive variety of walls acting as a barrier between one man and another, one class and another, one community or country and another.

To a greater or smaller extent our country also as much suffers from this malady as any other. And inside the country the most conspicuous victim of this havoc is the State of Hyderabad whose capital city with its dazzling wealth and luxurious display offers a gruesome contrast to the squalor and poverty of the inhabitants

stretching on from about five miles off from the city. Again, nowhere in Hyderabad has this gulf between the haves and the have-nots assumed so devastating proportions as in Telangana. It is the name given to the area comprising the districts of Mahbubnagar, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Warangal, in the south-east, east and north-east of the State, where Telugu is the language of the masses. The centuries-old feudal administration of the State has only countenanced to the growing of this gulf still wider. The general people in Telangana are perhaps poorer and far more afflicted than their brethren in any other part of the country. But, until a few years ago, no attempts were made to alleviate their misery or meet their genuine grievances. Unfortunately, however, the youths, abiding by Communism, who rallied together in this mission of service believed in the maxim of 'All is fair in love and war.' They began to develop Telangana into an impregnable base from which they thought they could succeed in establishing other pockets and thus conquering the whole country in no distant future.

During the British regime neither the condition in Telangana was very serious nor did the then Government of India take any interest in the matter. But with the British withdrawal from India the situation took a grave turn. And when both the State Government and the Republican Government at New Delhi were badly preoccupied in the 'Police Action,' the Communists took hold of this sleeping-hour opportunity to propagate their mission and set in such horrors in most of Telangana as to make the 'haves' flee away with their lives and even the official administration seemed to come to a stand-still. By the time both the State and Central governments felt ready to tackle the area the problem had already taken the form of a big menace pervading all round and the Communist-infected Telangana was famous the world over. But all governments have a strange sense of prestige and a stranger sense of recovering it, if lost. So curiously impelled, both the Governments, amassing all possible stuff in the form of man or material sprang upon Telangana with a leonine violence and asked, at the point of pistol, its people to give correct clues of the communists or hand them over to them (the Police). Frightened by this monstrosity, the poor inhabitants, in some measure, began to give the whereabouts of some of them whom they knew. This enraged the communists bitterly. And they came at night to inflict every pain and torture on those who, according to their true or false information, had submitted to the wishes of the Government. Thus ravaged by the Police forces in the day and by the communists in the night, the hundreds and thousands of men and women and children in Telangana are groaning under a terror which has no parallel in the country. Naturally many innocent people who had nothing to do with either the Police or the communists also came under fire. It is like the grinding down of the proverbial ant together with the grain between the two stones. And truth it is that the innocent ones far outnumber those who are really hands in glove with the Police or the communists. Virtually,

therefore, a reign of terror stalks the entire Telangana and the woe-stricken millions know no end of their miserable plight which beggars description.

Towards these people, it was on the auspicious day of Ramnavami, the 15th of April 1951, that Acharya Vinobaji Bhave, or Vinobaji as he is lovingly called, set his face when he started from Hyderabad on a walking tour of Telangana. To quote his own words :

"I wanted to tour the Telangana as a soldier of Shanti Sena in order to propagate the message of peace. For many days, I could not put into practice this wish of mine for many reasons. But, however, after obtaining the blessings of the Lord Rama, I have undertaken this tour", as he said in the course of a speech (May 10th) delivered to the Communist detenus whom he met in the District Jail of Nalgonda (Vide unofficial Note No. 364, issued by the Director of Information and Public Relations, Hyderabad).

What is the problem of Telangana? As Vinobaji said in his speech in the village of Mirialguda (May 15th) :

"Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as their own." (No. 353)

The seriousness of the situation can be gauged by what he said at Balapalle (May 31st) :

"The population of this village is 3,000 and its cultivable area is 3,000 acres. But only 90 families own the entire lands, while 600 families are landless. Nor is there any cottage industry in the village. The weavers of the village get yarn sufficient to keep them engaged for eight or ten days only in a month. Equitable distribution of lands should be co-ordinated with the development of cottage industries. Villagers should not grow cash crops. They should grow food crops and enough cotton to enable them to make their villages self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. *The trouble in Telangana is due to indiscriminate growing of cash crops, like groundnut and tobacco.*" (Vide No. 390).

By the way, it shows that thoughtless encouragement given by the authorities in India to the random growth of cash crops like cane, groundnut and tobacco, is responsible for much of our food shortage, as Vinobaji also mentioned in very clear terms in his note on the letter from Sri R. K. Patil, member of the National Planning Commission. (Vide *Harijan*, dated 23rd December, 1950 and 3rd March, 1951). How deeply Vinobaji feels about this all can be gathered from his speech at Medepalli (May 24th) :

"Forty years ago, as a student I used to read and think about the conditions of my country and feel sorry for my slave country and its miserable conditions. Today, after forty years, there is no change in those conditions; on the contrary, they have worsened." (No. 374)

In keeping with the time-old tradition of India, Vinobaji wants to meet this baffling situation by performing a *Yagna* :

"In olden days, when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform *yagnas*. I also wanted to perform a *yagna*, so I have started experimenting this *Bhudana Yagna*. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should

take part in this *yagna* which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the *yagnas*, so also we should donate lands. People were doubtful whether anyone would donate lands to the landless poor in the Kaliyug but when there is a person to ask, people are giving and up till now (speech at Tanikella on May 30th) I have got 3,500 acres of land." (No. 386)

From the foregoing it is manifest that the mal-distribution of wealth and property has brought about all the trouble in Telangana. Nothing else has so much contributed to the communist menace as this. As Vinobaji said at Suryapet on May 23rd :

"The rich people are responsible for the creation of the communists. The rich in fact are the fathers of the communists." (No. 373)

Receiving donations of land from every one and distributing the same among the poor is the only way to root out this trouble. No amount of Police and military forces will do the job. As Vinobaji made it clear in a speech :

"In summer you will not find grass but no sooner the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow as there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the Police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So we must root out this menace by adopting the right path." (No. 386). Or again, "The police will not be very helpful in fighting the Communist menace. The only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land by peaceful way." (No. 379)

Vinobaji wants that effective legislations must be passed so that this anomaly may become a thing of the past. Speaking at Naikengudam (May 23rd) he said :

"The task begun by me should be continued. Sri U. Kesava Rao, the President, Nalgonda District Congress Committee, will continue this task. According to my estimate, about fourteen to fifteen lakhs of people live in the District of Nalgonda and if fourteen to fifteen thousands acres of land are donated, then fourteen to fifteen thousand individuals will get their livelihood. This act of distribution of lands will remove the state of restlessness and establish peace. Government should give Taccavi loans and other facilities to individuals who will be acquiring these donated lands. Besides this, the Government should pass an Act limiting the extent of land and the number of acreage that a man should possess and then it should make a provision by the same Act to ballot the rest of the land to the poor. If these things come into existence the communist menace will disappear." (No. 373).

Further, the 'haves' must donate this land regarding it as their duty. Vinobaji made it clear in a speech (May 26th) at Kodmur :

"The donations that are now being given are not obligations. According to Shastras, the act of donation means the act of sharing with others whatever we have. This clearly means that no individual obliges the other individual by giving donations." (No. 379).

It may be argued whether donation of money will not serve the same purpose. No, certainly not. Vinobaji is very firm on this point. He unequivocally declared at Kodmur (*ibid*) :

"I do not accept money by way of donation. As a matter of fact money has destroyed India. The values of commodities do not fluctuate; on the contrary, the price of money fluctuates. The value of foodgrains is stationary. I want to redeem the people from the clutches of money which is merely medium and which generates a feeling of pride in the man who donates it. But in the donation of lands the right of the poor is inherent and, therefore, I accept donation of lands. . . . If everyone embraces the poor with love I am sure that the Communist menace will vanish."

In passing it may be remarked that Vinobaji accepts only Shram-Dan (donation in the form of labour done). He has been working on this principle for more than a year past and with a band of devoted workers has achieved remarkable results in the direction of self-sufficiency by self-labour, in his Paramdham Ashram at Paunar, about five miles away from the famous town of Wardha.

As regards the Communist menace in Telangana, its genesis has been given above in Vinobaji's own words. He bears no malice or ill-will towards the believers in the Communist doctrine. Speaking (May 23rd) at Chandupatta, he said :

"I have heard that a sort of awakening does exist in this village, as the communists have put in some work here. I consider the communists as my brothers. I have got some friends among the communists and it is not a crime to be a Communist. To be a Communist is to serve the poor." (No. 373)

But Vinobaji has no doubt about it that the ways of Communists are not suited to the country. In the course of the same speech he observed :

"But, however, the Communists have indulged in violence and murderous acts. This is absolutely wrong and, therefore, all their services go over-board. Sri D. Venkateshwara Rao, a prominent Communist, who belongs to this village is a good man. If he could see me, I would have been able to convince him that he had adopted a wrong path. I have met some Communists in the jails of Hyderabad and Nalgonda and I held talks with them. It is my earnest wish to convince the people by making them understand that the way of peace is the real way to serve the masses." At another place he stated, "I want to make it clear to the Communists that it is not necessary for them to murder the rich, for the era of Democracy has ushered in. As a matter of fact the rich can be killed without pistol; for every adult has now acquired the right to vote. The future Raj will be the Raj of the common man. I request the Communists to come out openly and work. If they do that I will give my co-operation. If the Communists abandon their path of violence, all good and moral people will co-operate with them. Mahatma Gandhi also used to say: 'I am a Communist but I will not accept the suicidal path of violence'." (No. 374)

Nay, Vinobaji goes even further. In appeal to the Communists, he said at Wyra :

"I request them to abandon violence and if they do so, I will accompany them to every nook and corner of India in order to propagate Communism."

What else could a believer in Communism aspire for ? Vinobaji's method is that of love. As he observed (May 26th) at Kodmur :

"The change that you villagers are perceiving in the entire environment is due to the blessings of God. If everyone believes in God it is definite that He will show the way. God is present in everyone's heart. If we appeal to Him, much work can be done. I will accept lands which are donated willingly. I have not come here with sten gun or with any power which is vested in me by Government. The Communists are doing their work and the Government is also doing its work in its own way. I am also doing some work here in my own way which is essentially based on love."

One need not be sceptical about the efficacy of this method which Mahatma Gandhi taught us by his life as also by his death. Hatred and violence do not help us at all in the long run. Attacks by the Police in the day and counter-attacks by the Communists at night will lead either of them nowhere and, of course, the people will continue to suffer in the extreme. To quote from Vinobaji's speech (June 5th) at Gavicharla :

"Violent manifestations of Communist activities may disappear in Telangana for some time, due to police vigilance and the split among the Communist workers, but Communism as such may continue as a problem with us until we solve the problem of poverty through redistribution of lands and the abolition of the drink habit."

He believes in the innate goodness of man and the conversion of his heart by persuasion. When he met the Communists in the Warangal Jail they asked him whether he could solve the problem by reinstalling the rich in their villages. To this Vinobaji replied :

"I believe that hearts do change. The act of donation will lead to a duel between the good and the evil inherent in man and improve their outlook. The fusion of Indian metaphysics and Western sciences will necessarily be sweet. Non-violence alone is the remedy of all evils." (*Ibid*)

But to work this method is a very hard task indeed. A solid work of this nature could be undertaken only by the Sarvodaya Samaj. To quote again from his Gavicharla speech :

"The Congress cannot serve the people because the principle of service has become a joke for the Congress. The Socialists are a better lot but they are after power. In these circumstances, the Sarvodaya Samaj alone can deliver the goods."

During this tour Vinobaji did not lay stress only upon the distribution of land. He made a plea for self-help and village industries also. As he said in a speech (May 10th) at Nalgonda :

"There is a limit to the extent of the availability of land. Besides, the population is also growing day by day. We must, therefore, increase the number of wells by digging new ones."

(It may be added that Vinobaji has actually dug a well at Faunar, no labour from outside the Ashram being availed of). He went on to say :

"We must construct canals also. The digging of new wells and constructing of new canals will usher in a new era wherein a man will be contented with twenty acres of wet land, whereas now he is not contented even with a hundred acres of land."

He continued :

"Without cottage industries, mere possession of land by a *kisan* will not solve his problem. If the *kisans* take to producing finished goods from the raw material obtaining in the villages, then only they will save themselves." (No. 364)

He also asked the rich to open Nai Talim schools in the villages so that no children need be sent to the cities.

Vinobaji concluded his tour on June 6th when he reached Mancherial, a little town on the bank of the Godavari. During this historic tour of 51 days Vinobaji encamped at 51 villages. It may be added that it was in the early hours of the morning on the 8th of March, 1951, that Vinobaji left his Ashram on foot for Shivarampalli, five miles from the city of Hyderabad, where he reached after covering some 300 miles on 7th April and for four consecutive days from April 8th to 11th, the Sarvodaya Samaj met there for its annual session. In his Telangana tour Vinobaji passed through some 200 villages and received about 9,000 acres of land for distribution among the landless, for which purpose he has formed a committee of three persons. Vinobaji settled about 500 village disputes, almost ten every day, during this pilgrimage of peace, and addressed some two lakhs of people.

A word about his daily routine. Vinobaji got up early in the morning before four o'clock and after the nature calls and the morning prayer he started on his tour by five. Walking for ten or twelve miles until nine he would come to a village, have his bath, frugal meal (consisting of some milk, curd, bananas, and gur) and rest. For two hours from two in the afternoon he went through his correspondence. Interviews began at four and the evening prayer at five, which closed with a speech by Vinobaji. Again, he gave time to the visitors after the prayer and by nine o'clock he went to bed.

The tour has now come to a close. Vinobaji is completing the return journey on foot which will take another fortnight. All the while in Telangana his endeavours have been to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal on June 5th, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor."

This is a very heartening, refreshing news the like of which the country has not heard ever since Gandhiji passed away. At this critical hour the people all over the country look forward to Vinobaji to help show them the path lit by the Sarvodaya light and save them from the impending ruin.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CONVERSATIONS OF GANDHIJI: By Chandra-shanker Shukla. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. 1949. Pp. viii + 134. Price Rs. 3.

Shri Shukla, who was the Assistant Editor of the *Harijan* for several years, acted as Gandhiji's Secretary during 1933-34. This was the period when the Civil Disobedience Movement was restricted to Gandhiji alone, and when Gandhiji toured over India in order to combat the vile custom of untouchability.

There were numerous interviews in those days of which reports were duly prepared and subsequently corrected by Gandhiji himself. Shri Shukla has now presented them in the small book under review. He has put students of Congress history under a deep debt of gratitude by throwing an unexpected light on how Gandhiji used to work out his programmes through the national organization.

A DAY BOOK OF THOUGHTS FROM MAHATMA GANDHI: Edited by K. T. Narasimha Char. Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1951. Pp. xxiv + 206 and eight plates. Price paper cover Rs. 2-4, cloth boards Rs. 4-8.

The editor has brought together excerpts from Gandhiji's writings and arranged them in groups date by date. They are meant to be read, perhaps one group on each day of the year. He has therefore tried to present only such thoughts as has seemed to him to be of abiding interest.

At the end of each quotation we find the name of the book or journal from which it was taken, but no exact references are given. These look unnecessary. It would have been much better if the references had all been given in one place in the appendix. The plates which have been presented also seem to be unnecessary. One portrait of Gandhiji is all right; but why bring in others like the President of the Indian Republic or members of the Cabinet Mission; for pictures of these impermanent actors on the Indian political chess-board seem incongruous beside a recital of Gandhiji's thoughts which have a permanent value for all times. The printing and get-up of the book do great credit to the publishers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS: By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Calcutta. Pp. 376. Price not mentioned.

The author's aim is "to assess and evaluate our ancient civilisation and culture ranging from 2700 B.C. (Mohenjo Daro period) to 648 A.D. (Harshavardhana's time)," and in particular "to show how India's culture to how her

natural genius has expressed itself." We can form an idea of the range and variety of topics dealt with by the author from his sectional headings, viz., Arts, Philosophy, Morals, Law, Domestic Rites, Medicine, Astronomy, Religious Festivals, the Epics and the Puranas, the Economic Life, Indo-Iranian Contacts, Indo-Chinese Relations, Sex Life, and the Cultivated Plants. No one who reads these pages will grudge the author high praise for his enormous industry in tackling a vast mass of material bearing on his work. But his comparisons of ancient Indian and related civilisations have often to be accepted with a good deal of caution. His etymological derivations especially are not unoften fanciful, if not fantastic. With this qualifications, the book may be safely recommended as a useful reference work on the various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilisation.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAHABHARATA (Santiparvan): Fascicules 18 and 19. Edited by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946-47. Pp. vii + 683.

In these two fascicules the General Editor completes his textual analysis of the famous *Raja-dharma* section which he began printing on the 15th August, 1948, the first anniversary of Indian Independence. We are glad to hope with him, that with the building up of their printing press in the Institute's own premises in Poona, the whole work of publishing the critical edition of the Mahabharata will be completed 'long before the Institute celebrates the completion, in 1968, of 50 years of its unflagging work in the cause of oriental research.'

The *Apaddharma* and the *Mokshodharma* sections will be issued in two separate volumes with special Editorial notes on each of them and the entire Santiparvan (in 4 vols.) will be published with critical notes and general Introduction summing up the results. (As it was done by Dr. Sukthankar in the case of the *Adiparvan*). The Editor confesses that 'old and independent MSS. are very rare'; and so it is difficult to preserve uniformity of textual tradition in regard to the different versions of the Santiparvan which was nicknamed the "Pseudo-epic," of which several versions were textually altered or conflated! So we are doubly grateful to Prof. Belvalkar for having given us a rational order of text reconstruction, even when we know that the Upa-parvans have 'often suffered much wayward handling in the course of transmission.' The bulk of the Mahabharata text came to be fixed in the Gupta period (C. 500 A.D.) after say a thousand years of transmission from the age of Panini (C. 500 B.C.). Then the diverse MSS. traditions developed for another one thousand years. No wonder then that the Great

pic shows today a bewildering variation of readings—both in the composition of the Parvans and of the Upa-parvans.

In the MSS. of the *Rajadharma* presented by Prof. Belvalkar we notice that they mostly come from the 17-18 centuries. But a very rare Maithili version of the entire *Santiparvan*—dated 1516 A.D.—has been traced in the Nepal Durbar Library (No. 738) which has previously furnished unexpectedly new materials to the Bhandarkar Institute. The Editor has used, among others, a rare Bengali MS. (dated 1687) now in the National Library, Paris, which contains the *Rajadharma*, the *Apaddharma* and the *Mokshadharma* sections. These sub-parvans are self-contained units appealing to distinct classes of readers; and therefore critical notes will be published separately for each separate section. Purely exegetical notes apart, the learned editor has given references to the *Sutra*, *Smriti* and *Puranic* literature throwing new light on the *Rajadharma* text which can and should be studied with special reference to the *Arthasastra*, *Manu* and allied group of Sanskrit literature on the political, economic and administrative sciences of ancient India. This is a much neglected branch of Hindu sciences partly illumined by the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya; and now Prof. Belvalkar has furnished the first critically edited text of the *Raja-dharma* for which future researchers will be ever grateful to him. The Bhandarkar Institute is doing its arduous task for the whole nation and Free India should come forward to help the Editor and his learned colleagues to complete their "*Mahabharata-yajna*," if possible, by 1958 marking the centenary of India's first fight for Independence.

KALIDAS NAG

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE SERIES. (Government Book Depot, Bombay):

Vol. X: *The Treaty of Bassein and the Anglo-Maratha War in the Deccan, 1802-1804.* Edited by Raghuvir Sinh. Price Rs. 15.

Vol. XII: *Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy, 1811-1815.* Edited by G. S. Sardesai. Price Rs. 15.

Vol. XIV: *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1810-1818.* Edited by Jadunath Sarkar. Price Rs. 15.

These volumes bring to conclusion the famous series of English Records of Maratha History, undertaken by the Bombay Government, with the help of the most eminent historians available in India.

These contemporary reports, most of them unpublished till now, are the basic materials on which the true history of the Deccan and also of North India west of Oudh, during the first eighteen years of the 19th century will have to be constructed by the future historian. Their value can never be over-estimated. The arrangement, summary of contents, and indexing of the volumes of this series are very helpful to the student. The records light up a rather obscure period of Indian history. Going through these papers, one realises that we had so long been content with the husk only; here is the kernel.

Vol. X gives the full and correct text of five important treaties not easily available elsewhere, and fully details the Duke of Wellington's diplomatic palavers with Vittal Mahadev whom he declared to be "a cleverer man than Talleyrand"! Vol. XII shows how Fate drove the last Peshwa Baji Rao II relentlessly on to the murder of Gangadhar Shastri and ensured his downfall. Vol. XIV has been called by its editor as "*The Agony of Rajputana and Malwa*"; it

gives the fullest information in print about the Pindharies, Amir Khan, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and the Rajput States in their worst plight. Tod's reports on the Pindharies, though very long, have been here printed in full. This volume is invaluable.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF MADRAS PROVINCE: By V. V. Sayana, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Business Week Press, 173 Lloyd Road, Madras 14.

The prosperity of agriculture is not only essential to the success and prosperity of all economic activities in other sources of life as industry, trade and commerce, but to an agricultural country like India it is also to a large extent the economic basis of social progress and political stability. Agrarian problems and policies have attracted special attention of the Governments and the peoples since the Great Depression. But since after the second World War, agrarian problems have assumed much greater importance than ever before and in India, it has occupied the first place from the point of urgency. But unfortunately for us, a continuous and well-planned research activity to carry on systematic and scientific studies of the factual situation in our provinces which is so very essential for the preparation of a rational plan of reconstruction, is extremely lacking. In this book, Dr. Sayana has given us a very rich study on the agrarian situation of Madras which meets the standard of the Research Worker as well as the needs of the enlightened public. The work is the result of a study of published material and accessible records, official and non-official, available on the subject supported by direct field investigations of villages selected on a multipurpose random sampling basis. The book is a very valuable addition to our present meagre stock of knowledge of the agricultural situation in India. We wish there were more Research workers to undertake similar studies in other provinces.

D. BURMAN

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS: By S. Gopal. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 52. Price 4s. 6d.

Many books have been written on the Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal and its good and bad effects on the people of the Province. Mr. Gopal hails from the Madras Province and is comparatively 'an outsider.' He gives a scholarly account of the establishment of permanent settlement in Bengal, and the way in which it has worked. The writer's being an outsider, while it has added value to the study generally, has sometimes landed him in errors. The book, which secured the Curzon Memorial Prize at Oxford, is of particular value now when the State is contemplating abolition of zamindaries.

HOW TO FIND OUT ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS. Pp. 48.

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS: Pp. 84.

The United Nations Organisation with all its faults is still the only World Organisation where the world problems are discussed from the international angle of vision. Its various activities are little reported in the daily press; and the intelligent querist finds it difficult to pursue its various activities and to know authoritatively about it. These two pamphlets will be of great use to students of international politics and intelligent readers.

J. M. Datta

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THE QUEST OF LEADERSHIP: By Donald Portway. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Price Rs. 4-14.

The author is a man of varied experience. He is an Engineer, President and Senior Tutor of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, served in the Army for a long time and had been a member of the Army Selection Directorates of Britain and India. He stayed in India for a year and came into close contact with Army men. Having keen interest in men and their affairs he made his own observations about many aspects of Indian life and has expressed his views in clear and unambiguous language.

Leaders are necessary in every field of human activity. War, politics, business, industry and peace too depend a good deal on the leader and leading man that each has in its own sphere. Leaders in different fields need not have the same psychological qualities. Leadership depends as much on the personal traits of the leaders as on the environmental circumstances. Modern psychology has been paying very great attention to this question of leadership traits and has already contributed materials of considerable significance. The author has presented in this little volume much of this material in plain non-technical language. Laymen as also students of psychology will certainly be benefited by going through this book.

Training and sound education are necessary for all would-be leaders, even for those who are 'born' leaders. This is a point which has been rightly emphasised by the author who has in this connexion drawn pointed attention to the faulty educational system that prevails in India. Real civilian leadership cannot be expected in a country where passing the University examination by fair means or foul is accepted as the ideal of education. The author has made some very pertinent though unsavoury remarks about our methods and ideals of education.

"It is regrettably true that it is impossible to imagine the emergence of dynamic leaders from India's high schools and India's Universities in their present sitting" (p. 101), writes the author and he feels that it is in her military training centre that India is training her future leaders because there "moral and physical well-being is practised instead of mere book-learning."

After all criticisms are not new and have been repeated many times by our own countrymen. So it is not difficult to agree with him. India has travelled a long distance since 1945 when the book was published. Let us hope that she will ere long be able herself to find out the types of leaders that she needs and to devise adequate methods for their training and education.

S. C. MITRA

ROBERT KNOX IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM (Illustrated): Selected and edited by Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk of the University of Ceylon. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is an abridgment of *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* by Robert Knox, a work which "delighted and edified his (the author's) age."

Son of an English ship-captain, Robert Knox along with his father and several others was detained in 1660 under orders of the king of Ceylon. The elder Knox died shortly afterwards. The younger however survived and managed to give the slip to his captors in 1680.

The present volume describes Knox's life and experience during his captivity and gives an account at the same time of the people, their manners and customs, their laws and language and also the climate, the flora and fauna and the administration of contemporary Ceylon. Editorial notes at places add to the value of the book. The reading public in general and

students of history in particular will find the book useful, informative and interesting.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. But with a reading matter of 175 pages of text and 18 pages of introduction it should have been more moderately priced.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA (for 1944-45, and 1945-46): Calcutta. 1948.

Due to war emergency floristic study in the fields was kept in abeyance but later on 3,000,000 Herbarium sheets were rearranged in the herbarium. Re-identification of all the herbarium sheets of *Grewia* in the light of Burret's recent and excellent monograph of the family *Tiliaceae*, published in a German journal and not being easily available during the war, was done. This has resulted in adding three new species and several new combinations. Sir David Prain's *Bengal Plants*, Vols. I and II, are out of print. Students as well as plant-lovers suffer very much for their want as they are not always available for consultation. Persons interested in Botany and the Botanical Society of Bengal incessantly demanded at least their reprint, pending the long-sought-for publication, *New Flora of Bengal* by the Botanical Survey of India. But the regrettable fact is that neither the Survey has yet published the said book nor does it deem necessary for reprinting Prain's *Bengal Plants*. When will its new book, *New Flora of Bengal*, be completed and published? Would it not be possible for the Government of India to reprint the *Bengal Plants* for the sake of convenience and research as a stop-gap arrangement? Surely this method of procrastination in researches is very much undesirable and the learned public should make their protests more thorough and stronger. It is also regrettable that only 89 new specimens were incorporated in the Royal Botanic Gardens' Herbarium in 1944-45. We should record our deep sorrow at the sad death of Lt-Col. A. T. Gage, who contributed much to Indian Botany by his researches and was also concerned with the opening up of the cinchona plantations in Burma and the scheme for the import of the Java Quinine bark. Randhawa discovered a new variety of an alga, *Botrydium granulatum* (1) Grev. (var. *polyrhiza* nov. var.) and S. N. Banerjee established a new species of fungus (*Mitula Agharkarii* Banerjee) but both of them violated international rules of botanical nomenclature in not including Latin diagnoses and thus losing their new status. A new fossil Gymnosperm (*Dadoxylon resinum* Shukla) from Chhindwara district (C.P.) was described by Shukla. Prof. Sahni and Surange published a note on *Cyclanthodendron*, a new silicified member of the *Cyclanthaceae* from the tertiary of the Deccan. The discovery of this fossil provides an interesting link between the early tertiary flora of Deccan and the modern flora of South America. A new genus of *Rubaceae* and other new specimens were also discovered. Thanks to Prof. E. D. Merrill, Director, Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University, U. S. A., a cinematographic and botanical expedition to the snowy wilds of Northern Sikkim was undertaken. A huge collection of living specimens for cultivation in the Lloyd Botanic Gardens, Darjeeling and several thousands of dry Himalayan plants for the herbarium was made later on.

In the Industrial Section, Indian Museum, the work also suffered but the department supplied neces-

sary information relating to Pharmacopoeial drugs, insecticides, rubber-yielding plants, plants used in perfumery trade, etc., to the Government departments, the commercial public, the students, etc. Besides, the Department has discovered *Lobelia nicotianacolia* Heyne, an Indian plant, which contains the alkaloid 3 times richer in active principles than the European species. In case of *Ipecac*, this section found that the crop should be harvested at the end of the 3rd year to get the maximum alkaloid. It is also recorded from several Indian species of *Aconitum* that the different species contain different proportions of alkaloid content. The most valuable report of Prof. A.V. Hill, F.R.S. on the "Scientific Research in India" has been published. He rightly says with regard to this survey thus: "The great natural resources of India are still inadequately known. Consequently the Geological Survey must be expanded, the Botanical survey restored and the Zoological survey extended." Will the National Government of India kindly look into this report carefully and try to tap the floristic wealth of the country by extending researches in all important branches of Botany? Surely the money spent will not be wasted.

R. M. DATTA

BENGALI

KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA (Part II): *Bengali translation by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta 1950. Pp. 288.*

The present work happily brings to a conclusion an outstanding work of recent Bengali literature. This is the first complete Bengali translation of that masterpiece of the Ancient Indian Art of Government, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. In his short Preface, the author modestly craves the indulgence of his readers for probable deficiencies in his translation, but a perusal of his work has convinced us that it worthily maintains the high standard of the preceding part. It is, as we observed in the course of our review of the first part (*The Modern Review*, January 1951), a marvel of lucidity combined with scholarly accuracy of a high order. We are glad to find that in accordance with a suggestion made by us last time, the author has added in an Appendix a list of rare words (with their explanations) in the whole work. One could have wished that the list had been fuller by the inclusion of such items as *bali*, *udakabhaga*, and *vaidharana*, and more exact in rendering the meanings of words like *sita*, *samgha* and *hiranya*. But these are minor blemishes in a fine work on the completion of which the author deserves our warmest congratulations. We have no doubt that it will receive a most cordial welcome from all lovers of our ancient culture.

U. N. GHOSAL

HINDI

MARATHI SAHITYA KA ITIHASA : *By Narayan Vasudev Godbole, M.A. Publishers: Gayaprasad and Sons, Agra, U.P. Price Rs. 3.*

India is a land of many languages which have developed rich and interesting literatures during the last one thousand years or so. These literatures in their early stages drew their inspiration principally from Sanskrit and

latterly from English since this country came into contact with England about two hundred years back. Hence generally they followed similar lines of development, though of course there were occasional and none the less interesting variations. Besides containing much valuable information for the student of literature and history they attract the attention of the general reader to the amazing unity of culture underlying the apparent diversities in different parts of this vast land. Their contents therefore require to be popularised throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is, however, a matter of regret that even accounts of these literatures are little-known outside the places of their origin. Under these circumstances Messrs. Gayaprasad and Sons deserve to be congratulated for making accessible to the Hindi-reading public short popular accounts of two important literatures of India, viz., Urdu and Marathi. We hope the enterprising publishers will not stop with what they have done but will complete the series with accounts of all the important literatures. We wish them every success and god-speed in their undertaking.

The work under review has a special value in that it has been compiled by a scholar who is himself a Marathi possessing intimate knowledge of the subject. We would be eagerly waiting for similar publications in other languages too.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

KALAKARNI SANSKAR YATRA : *By Ravishankar Raval. Kumar Karyalay Ltd., Ahmedabad. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 4-12.*

Ravishankar Raval, the distinguished artist of Gujarat, undertook a pilgrimage—an artist's pilgrimage to Japan, North India and Kulu, an account of which forms the content of the volume under notice. The descriptions are colourful, and they are accompanied or set off by sketches and photographs which give a fillip to the reader's imagination. The sections treating of the artist's visit to Japan, North India and Kulu are kept separate, and the atmosphere in each is distinct. Ravalji has enough of the spirit of reverence dwelling in him to make his account of the men and manners that he met something more than a mere human document. Mori San of Kisto and the various organisations of teaching, encouraging and conserving art products received his attention; Nandalal Babu and Sri Abanindranath Tagore had naturally an attraction for him, and he was closely observing what Sri O. C. Ganguli, Jamini Roy and Ramendra Chakravarti were doing in matters of art, while his enthusiasm for the Roerichs and for Prof. and Mrs. Cousins has been very well expressed.

A goodly portion of the second section is devoted to Bolepur and Calcutta, roughly speaking, more than one-fourth of the book.

How the World War II has changed some of the valuations of the artist! It is interesting to find that while Ravalji was full of admiration for Jamini Roy and his bold stand for the living village art, he was doubtful if Jamini Babu would get his due appreciation in his own life-time in spite of his 'immortal' courage and insight and sacrifice. Happily, this wished-for denouement is now an accomplished fact.

The book retains its interest from start to finish; it is not a travel diary, but an understanding appreciation of art in the countries visited—such as may open the eyes of the reader to the realities round about him.

P. R. SEN

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi vastly learned in the Astrology and Astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-shiromani, Raj Jyotishi, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Naming the Country

V. S. Agrawala observes in *The Aryan Path* :

It is of interest and value to know the history and traditions of the different names of our country. There are two distinct traditions behind these names, one of them foreign and the other indigenous. All the foreign traditions are rooted in the ancient word *Sindhu*, as exemplified in *Sindhu* (Sanskrit), *Hindu* (Persian), *Indus* (Greek), *In-tu* (Chinese).

In the *Rig-veda*, the earliest Indian document, at least 3,500 years old, *Sindhu* is the word for a river, but more specifically for that particular river which encircles the country to a very considerable length on its north-west. Besides being a river-name, *Sindhu* was also the name given to the region lying to the east of the river and coinciding with the extensive tract of land now known as the Sind-Sagar Doab. The name *Sind* as applied to the present province is not sanctioned by antiquity when *Sind* was called *Sauvira*, from which the Biblical *Ophir* was derived.

The confusion of names begins from the time of the Arab invasion of *Sind*. But *Sindhu* was a famous geographical designation by at least 1000 B.C.; by it North-west India was known to her neighbours.

The modern word "Hindu" dominating the word "Hindustan," "Land of the Hindus", is directly descended from the ancient name *Sindhu*.

It is a common mistake to think that the derivation has anything to do with the Moslems. There is evidence in the inscriptions of Darius I, the great Achaemenian Emperor of Iran in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. that the word "Hindu" was known to the Iranians at that time. In the Charter of the Palace Foundation from Susa, there is mention of Indian ivory being imported for the royal palace from *Hindu* or *India*. The Greeks, coming here under Alexander in the 4th century B.C., followed the same tradition and, by omitting the aspirate sound called the river "Indus" and the country "India." The Chinese followed the Greeks and named it *In-tu*.

At the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. the Sassanians were masters of the Persian Empire and their language was *Pahlavi*, from which modern Persian is derived. In *Pahlavi* also the country was known as *Hindu* and from there the word passed into Arabic and into the modern Persian of the time of Firdausi and Alberuni. The Muslims naturally applied, when they came here, the name "Hind" to this country, following an old tradition. The European nations borrowed the name "India" from their classical predecessors.

Now to the indigenous tradition of the country's name, which is threefold. In the Buddhist literature it was called *Jambudvīpa*, but this name did not obtain lasting usage. The second name was given by the Puranas: *Kumaridvīpa*, which reflects the colonization of the whole country from the Himalayas to Kumari, i.e., Cape Comorin, and also its unification under a single geographical system. But this name also did not find

much favour and was perhaps ousted early by the much more poetic, facile and widely accepted designation *Bharata-varsha*, i.e., *Bharata*, the land served by a single system of rainfall or monsoon winds (*varsha*).

Bharata as the name of the country is derived from the basic word *Bharata*, the former having a long and the latter a short initial syllable. Now it is one of the most interesting facts of ancient Sanskrit literature, though one little known, that there are three independent etymologies for *Bharata* as the name of the country. These three derivations are based upon the conception of (1) the state, (2) the people, and (3) their culture.

According to the first etymology the country was called *Bharata* because it was brought under a unified political system by King *Bharata*, son of *Dushyanta* and *Sakuntala* of classic fame. *Bharata* is a great name in the list of old *chakravartins* recorded in the Puranas. A *chakravarti* ruler was one who had established his authority over a *chakra*, i.e., a realm brought under a single sovereignty. *Bharata* was such a sovereign ruler and the country unified under him derived its name from him. In the *Mahabharata* it is explicitly stated that the conquering chariot wheels of *Bharata* measured the earth up to the encircling oceans, together with its deep forests and high mountains.

By the time *Vyasa* composed his great epic, the name *Bharata* had become established as the designation of the whole country.

The second etymology of *Bharata* is derived from the name of the people. According to Vedic tradition the *Bharatas* were a very old Aryan tribe or, rather, the leading and most important *jana* which, after crossing the *Beas* finally settled in the region of *Kurukshetra*, including the area around *Delhi*. This *Bharata* tribe became very powerful and widely distributed and its descendants found themselves the undisputed masters of Northern India. With the expansion of the *Bharata* tribe, the name *Bharati Praja*, i.e., the people descended from that tribe, became a wider appellation and in course of time was applied to all the people settled in this land. There is evidence in the epic that the name had been generally so accepted, at least before the *Mahabharata* took its final form.

The third etymology of the name *Bharata* goes back to old Vedic literature. The authority of the latter on this particular point is repeated with notable emphasis by *Vyasa* in the *Mahabharata*. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* *Bharata* is the name of fire, which was so called because it was the mainstay of the whole community (*sarva-praja*). Culture was symbolized as *Agni Bharata*. Like a fountain it over-flowed into myriad streams, moving along the courses of rivers and valleys. It created on its march new fire-altars, i.e., centres of civilization, until at last the Pilgrims' Progress covered the entire expanse of the country.—*Mahabharata*, *Vana parva*, 212.20.

This sublime conception of the unity of the country being brought about through the torch of culture aglow throughout the land, is of a beauty and sublimity unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It would be

hard to find another passage which, besides being as true to its ancient pattern is of greater significance to our modern life. In fact, the cultural unity thus envisaged at the very outset of Indian thought, became the lasting charter of that intellectual and religious synthesis which has distinguished the history of this nation. Gradually the stream of culture began to pour itself into the life-cup of the differing peoples settled on the land, and when the vase was full it overflowed, saturating the country and welding the many elements into one harmonious whole.

Bharata Agni, as the great symbol of light implanted in the hearts of men, dominated this vast cultural drama and finally gave its own name to the country. This was the basis of the name *Bharata*, a name applied to the country of all those who accepted that cultural synthesis as the culmination of their own past history. Thus there are three mutually amicable derivations underlying the name *Bharata*, all rooted in common literary and religious traditions and accepted in one or another version by millions of people for more than 30 centuries. The name *Bharat* is verily sanctified by antiquity and has been glorified by the ancient seers and poets of this country.

Andre Gide's Place in Our Memories

Jacques Madaule writes in *Careers and Courses* :

When a great writer dies, it seems to us as though, having left the earth on which we all tread, he had gone to fill forever that niche in the Pantheon of Literature where posterity will always be able to find him. I know that for an Andre Gide the prospect of such stillness is rather cruel. And furthermore, his place has not yet been clearly decided. It will take an outline and precision only with the lapse of time and the passing of the generations. Only the greatest remain alive and continue to change their places in the eyes of the succeeding generations. That is in itself the mark of their greatness.

Is Gide, the elusive, easier for us to seize and to define now that his heart is still and he rests in the damp clay of Cuverville? We must, I think, resist the temptation to accept such a belief. He himself has enjoined us, at least in his latest writings, to trace a final view of him, a conception made up of the negation of what his fervour had long made him envisage. But why should we consider the old man worthier of acceptance than the young man or the man in the prime of life? If we keep only to the constants, we shall, it seems to me, find two: one is a certain perfection of style; the other is the faithful and passionate pursuit of a sort of perfection of life.

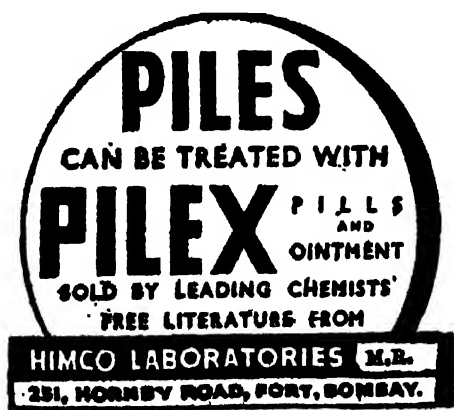
But a writer does not survive merely by reason of his style, and there perhaps lies Gide's secret weakness and at the same time the secret of his greatness. That he has contributed something to French prose, no one will in good faith, venture to deny. Of course, the lesson of symbolism was not lost upon him, and to the very end rhythms are to be found in his language that recall the end of the last century. But he never fell into the exaggerations and mannerisms of that period and quite early can be traced in his works, forms that reveal him as a true heir to eternal classicism, that is, a balanced alternation between equilibrium and movement. He reveals in particular a strict economy in his effects, an extreme restraint in his very brilliance to render his essentially inward intensity. It is for this quality, it must be admitted, that Frenchmen will never wish to deny Andre Gide; because of this quality, he will live as long as the French language which he played, as on a piano, to perfection. We find this perfection also in the composition of his "tales" such as *La Immoraliste* or *La Porte étroite* or *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue*. Undoubtedly he was less happy with the novel proper, and if he took more trouble with *Les Fauchonnnayeurs* than with any other of his books, it is nevertheless not the most successful.

But Gide was above all a moralist. This was probably due to his Protestant upbringing from which he found it so difficult to free himself. Yet here too he belongs to a very French line that can be traced, through Port-Royal back to Montaigne. It is of little moment whether Gide sojourned long or not at Port-Royal. He belonged to that race that is at the same time fervent and somewhat austere, that cannot enjoy its pleasures without a certain asceticism. This statement may, at first view, appear extraordinary, since it seems that Gide's purpose was to throw all trammels away to attain the perfect sincerity of naked desire. But he never lost sight of the necessity for the heroic and he knew how to portray it in unforgettable pages, like those, for instance, that he devoted to Saint-Exupery.

Above all, Gide had a horror of hypocrisy and conformity, the one implying the other, and that made him exalt in all things the virtue of sincerity, even when his own appeared at times to be tinged with affectation and pretentiousness.

It is the flexibility and freedom of this movement that account for Gide's influence over youth. He has been accused of corrupting youth, but it must be recalled that the same accusation had been levelled at Socrates. I do not deny that Gide's example may have been dangerous. The example of the great is always dangerous for the mediocre. But it is rather the mediocre who condemn themselves and not the examples by which they claim to have been inspired. I do not think Gide loved evil for evil's sake, even if at times he affected such a pose. He was too much of a humanitarian to be really wicked. All he had was a horror of smug virtue and if he happened, in a now famous book, to have sung the praises of vice, it was to prove that this particular vice was in actual fact no vice. The demonstration of this can be appreciated in various ways, it nevertheless remains true to say that vice and perversion were not enjoined for their own sakes.

For a long time also Gide revealed a horror of dogmatism; and then we saw him with difficulty give himself up to the narrowest and most rigid of dogmatisms, namely that of reason. He gives up Montaigne's heritage to accept Voltaire's. The reason is that he was not able to face the challenge of remaining absolutely free to the end, and attacked by the sclerosis of old age, he was



unable to see that, dogmatism for dogmatism, that of reason is the straightest and narrowest. But, I repeat, there is no need to attach more importance to his latest works than to his earliest, and I do not think that *Feuillets d'automne* will ever supersede *Les Nourritures terrestres*.

Today, we must let those who were his friends weep and those who were his enemies wrap themselves in peevish silence and reproach Gide for not having fulfilled their hopes, as though a great writer did not first and foremost belong to himself. Man belongs to God and His judgement is kept from us. The author is left to us and we should be singularly ungrateful if, standing on the edge of his newly sealed tomb, we did not acknowledge the great debt we all owe him. In a way, he gave his life up to us, for most of his writings were of an autobiographical character. He knew that he risked the severest criticism and he suffered from it more than can be expressed as is proved, for example, by the sorrow he experienced in the face of the book by his friend Charles Du Bos, who had only spoken of him with utter sincerity.

But over and above all this, there remains the fact that Gide introduced into the French world of letters with a wisdom and restraint that do not preclude audacity, certain foreign values that enriched French letters prodigiously. Even if his book on Dostoevsky has since been superseded, there remains the fact that it was Gide who helped Frenchmen to understand the great Russian novelist, and certain aspects of Nietzsche would not be so familiar to them if, the latter had not provided Gide with some of the themes of *L'Immoraliste*. He even drove self-abnegation so far on several occasions as to force himself to do translations, and some of his most admirable works are actually these translations.

Singularly enough, at the end of a long life, Gide has only just entered the portals of Death and yet he does not seem to me to belong particularly to our times. I can see him continuing the line of Montaigne and Voltaire, enriching a tradition of prose and morals, dating several hundreds of years back. In time he will be classed altogether with his great forbears, one of whom at least lived, as did Gide, through one of the most terrible crises of his country without its ever turning him from the enquiry which he had set himself into Man's nature and his own. It is the asceticism rather than the hedonism of his work that will strike the reader and this work, led, through a thousand by-ways, has yet never changed its course. Perhaps Gide's final lesson is acceptance. It is said that he accepted death as he had accepted life. If you ponder on it, you will see that acceptance implies no less constraint than rejection. But was it necessary in order to accept oneself, to end up by denying God?

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The Resurrection of Somnath

K. Mukherjee writes in *The Indian Review*:

Somnath has always remained and will yet remain one of the most important land-marks in India's history.

The resurrection of Somnath is like the resurrection of India—showing that through all the vicissitudes in the field of politics, and despite the degradation of foreign domination continuing through several centuries, the heart of India has remained unconquered and unconquerable,—deeply and fundamentally religious with a spirit of toleration that will ever remain an ideal for all other countries, unruffled and serene like Mt. Everest towering over all the thousands of peaks in the Himalayan range.

SOMNATH THROUGH THE AGES

Somnath city with its seven temples has been like Delhi, the capital of seven kingdoms since the days of the Mahabharat.

Somnath, the Lord of the Moon, takes us even to prehistoric and legendary times. The legend says, that Daksha Prajapati (the creator) married all his twenty-seven daughters to Som, the Moon God who loved best Rohini, the loveliest. This gave rise to jealousy in the minds of the other sisters who implored their father to take Som to task. The father in a rage punished Som who began to wane. All his penances were of no avail. The gods in a body persuaded Daksha to take pity on him. He agreed on condition that Som from that time loved all his wives equally well, and worshipped Siva after a purifying bath at Prabhasa. Som had to agree and according to his father-in-law's wishes he waxed every day for half the month to wane every day for the next half. It is believed that he bathes in the sea off the coast of Prabhasa every other day of the new moon to gain fresh beauty and lustre. Since then Prabhasa has remained a sacred spot; and Siva there has been known as Somnath or the Lord of the Moon.

Prabhasa, where Lord Krishna also built a temple of silver and cast off his mortal coil only two furlongs away from the temple of Somnath, has thus remained a place of pilgrimage even from before the time of the Buddha. But the first temple of the deity was built probably at the beginning of the Christian era. It sank into comparative oblivion during the days of the Guptas (320-500 A.D.) who were Vaishnavas: though the Gharshada and Vakatok kings of the west were Shaivites. Prabhasa, however, became a very prominent international port and remained so during the prime of Ballabhi, the capital of Saurashtra. Its fall came with the fall of the capital which about 755 A.D. was ruined by the Arab hordes of the Governor of Sind.

Somnath rose again like the Phoenix from its ashes, when Napabhatta II drove back the Arab hordes and visited the shrine. It was when the Third Temple of red stone was built—one of the largest of its kind in all India. Somnath now enjoyed the greatest glory from 880 to 950 A.D. kings and peasants—the rich and the poor—all flocked to pay homage to the deity from all over India; and showered presents which gave the temple its fabulous wealth.

But misfortune came a little later for the tale of its riches reached the ears of that soldier of fortune Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1024 or 1025 A.D. he directed his last expedition against the temple of Somnath, with a big and well-equipped army for he had heard that it was well-fortified. The King of Guzerat with the neighbouring chiefs came forward to defend the shrine and kept back the invader for eight days. On the last day, in a most bloody battle, 50,000 of the defenders sacrificed their lives in a vain attempt to save the shrine. The Sultan entered the fort and then the temple; and when about to get into the 'sanctum sanctorum,' was implored

by the priests to save the image; but the image-breaker broke it with his own hands and burnt the temple whose burnt-up pillars can be seen to this day. Mahmud left the place within a month as he feared to face the great army with which Raja Param Deb was marching towards Somnath. The treasures which he secured at the place 'were incalculable and are said to have exceeded all his former captures.'

But after the retreat of Mahmud, the Star of Somnath was again in the ascendant. A succession of strong and enlightened Kings raised Guzerat to the front rank among Indian States: and the temple and the town were both rebuilt and entered into an era of great prosperity. The great emperor Kumarapala built a new temple on its ruins—larger than any on record,—with a court room, a reservoir, a pavilion in front of the deity, and a seat in the shape of a leaping frog for the deity itself. This was the fifth temple of Somnath which stood safe for at least one hundred years. With the decline of the fortunes of Guzerat, at the end of the 13th century—the temple was again attacked, this time by Alauddin Khiliji who defeated its gallant Rajput defenders, and broke the idol.

Better days came for Somnath only after Akbar came to the throne: and thence-forward the shrine remained untouched and undefiled for about two hundred years. Then came another iconoclast Aurangzeb who ordered the total annihilation of the temple so that it might for ever afterwards be beyond repair. The sudden and gradual rise of the Mahratta power, however, stood in the way of the fulfilment of his wishes and his Generals could not demolish the temple.

The Nawabs of Junagadh during British rule held sway over Prabhasa Pattan: but they could not put out the spiritual fervour that attracted pilgrims to Somnath. Now again after the end of British rule, the temple of Somnath is being rebuilt—its rebuilding coinciding with the rebuilding of the nation. In September 1947, the shrine was visited by the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who announced before a huge assembly that the Government of India had decided to take up the reconstruction of the temple.

Since the time of Aurangzeb the temple ceased to contain the deity; in 1706 for a while it was used as a mosque even. Maharani Ahalya Bai of Indore tried to bring back the deity to the desecrated temple but her architects held that it was beyond repair: so, she built a new one near the Sixth Temple. The new temple—the Seventh properly speaking—is conjuring itself up again on the very site—and Somnath is about to emerge on a greater and more glorious chapter. The deity—one of the twelve Jyotirlingas—has been placed in the same spot where it was consecrated more than 2000 years ago.

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SRI CHAITANYA AND SOMNATH

Lord Chaitanya (1485-1532) when he visited the ruin of the temple more than four hundred years ago, (c. 1512), cried his heart out: and in paying his homage to the deity, prayed that Lord Somnath might re-arise in all his glory for the good of his devotees. He also said:

"Come, O Lord Somnath, come thou into my heart, And allow me to see there thy divine image."

His wishes are now being fulfilled, thanks to the endeavours of the late Sardar Patel.

President Rajendra Prasad, while installing the 'Jyotirlingam' in the new shrine on May 11, was greeted by a hundred and one salutes of gun-fire. Addressing the mammoth gathering from all parts of India, he said, "In the days of yore the temple of Somnath was the centre of the faith and wealth of this country. The fame of its unparalleled glory and wealth had spread to distant regions and countries. Unfortunately during several centuries it had to suffer calamity after calamity. Again and again it was desecrated and demolished. But while the external symbols of a national faith may be destroyed, nothing can destroy the very foundations of that faith."

"It was for this reason that inspite of having had to face numerous calamities there always remained in the hearts of the Indian people an undying faith and respect for this temple of Lord Somnath; and it ever was their dream to build this temple again soon after its destruction, and they went on doing so time after time."

Then, as the head of our secular state, he very pertinently observed, "On this sacred and historic occasion it is desirable for all of us to realise the great secret to spiritual faith which is that to have a glimpse of God

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of Truth it is not necessary for all men to follow one and one path alone."

"This great truth had been perceived by our ancient seers and they had proclaimed it to mankind. They had consistently declared that though He is one, yet the wise describe Him in many ways and by many names. Similarly the Mahabharat says that all paths lead to God just as all rivers flow to the ocean. Unfortunately this great truth was not properly grasped by different people and in different ages, and so very destructive and terrible wars were waged between different countries and different peoples."

THE FUTURE OF SOMNATH

The future of the temple of Somnath is very glorious—far more so than its historic past—for near it is being built the splendid Dehotsarga monument to commemorate the holy spot where Lord Krishna gave up his body, and also because, according to the wishes and plans of Sri K. M. Munshi, author of the novel *Jay Somnath*, it is going to have a Sanskrit University attached to it—in the midst of thousands of trees that are being planted there to give it the appearance of Sri Krishna's Nandanvan, because a temple is not worth the name which is not also a seat of learning.

The Ideal of Social Reconstruction

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially :

Vedanta stands, above all, for universality, synthesis, and harmony. It is a most practical philosophy of infinite hope, strength, and life-affirmation. Vedanta, while recognizing inevitable differences between man and man, on the relative plane proclaims the supreme equality and fraternity of all beings on a spiritual and divine (*paramartha*) basis. But this divinity has to be manifested sooner or later. And it is best that social leaders emphasize this great Vedantic ideal of not only spiritual liberty, equality, and fraternity but also inherent divinity and sacredness of human personality. This lesson of universal brotherhood, of loving one's neighbour as oneself, has been inculcated by all religions. The Vedanta lays down the surest path for the social, moral, and spiritual progress of man and enjoins the performance of duties by which he gradually transcends his lower self and lives a higher and purer life and advances onward till his self merges in the universal Self. The duties which Vedanta enjoins have reference to the relation in which man stands to himself, to his kith and kin, to his community, to his country, to the whole of mankind, nay, to the whole universe as part of one infinite existence. True salvation, or to use a more appropriate expression, *moksha* (liberation from ignorance and bondage), consists in the complete realization of this identity, this spiritual world view.

A doubt is often expressed, saying, 'Does not this spiritual (*ergo* non-material and otherworldly) outlook on life clog secular activity and thwart ambition and progress, thus disturbing practical relations between man and man in the ordinary workaday world?' This is a question which has been discussed and answered times without number since the dawn of life on earth. The Upanishads and the *Gita* have solved this momentous problem. The Tantras and the Puranas also have thrown considerable light on the subject, sufficient to disabuse the doubting mind of all such misconceptions and misjudgments regarding the supremacy of the spiritual ideal over all other ideals in life. Vedanta is far from being an abstraction merely meant for philosophical discourses and intellectual interpretation. It is intensely practical and can be most effectively carried out in everyday life, producing lasting harmony and satisfaction and giving

the highest benefit to all—to the person who is bold enough to practice it as well as to others around him. Man understands the true significance of spiritual ideals only when he puts them into practical application in individual and collective life. Practical demonstration is the only condition for the establishment of a society on the basis of spiritual ideals.

The most outstanding feature of Indian civilization is its insistence on Dharma as the foundation of the social order. The principles that regulate and guide man's functions in daily life and in his social relations are constituted by what is called Dharma—a word of protean significance. As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observes:

"The basic principle of Dharma is the realization of the dignity of the human spirit which is the dwelling-place of the Supreme. . . . It is truth's embodiment in life, and the power to refashion our nature. . . . The principle of Dharma rouses us to a recognition of spiritual realities not by abstention from the world but by bringing to its life, its business (*artha*) and its pleasure (*kama*), the controlling power of spiritual faith."—*Religion and Society*.

The ideal of social reconstruction should remind the builders of society, through its various aspects, that the ultimate Truth in man has to express itself in spiritual illumination and in extension of his sympathy across all barriers of caste and colour. And Vedanta can and does provide mankind with such an ideal which while it does not deprive man of the advantages of wholesome economic, social, and cultural institutions, enables him gradually to transcend his material limitations and realize his spiritual unity with the ultimate Reality in and through the brotherhood of man.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Early Travellers in India

"Wanderlust" writes in the *Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information* as follows :

Strange lands have always held a singular fascination for the human mind. Most popular of all channels through which it has sought to reach an understanding of the unfamiliar and unknown is travel. Books come only second best. In many this thirst for travel developed into a "wander-lust" so intense that they braved the privations and perils which all too often, in early times, characterised travel in the remote regions of the earth. Travel has become comparatively safe and easy only in our own time. Rather than act as a deterrent, they added zest to travel and made of it an adventure which a few found irresistible.

Few lands have lured travellers more than India. Throughout history men have been drawn to her from both the East (the Far East) and the West. The records these early travellers have left of their observations contribute many colourful pieces to the mosaic of her history. To the travel-minded they hold an interest which has not faded with the passage of time.

From the West, perhaps, the earliest visitor to India was John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan friar, who in 1200 travelled in a frail bark to the beautiful coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, of which Sarojini Naidu has sung. South India struck him as a land of great cities and wretched houses, few hills, beautiful rivers, many springs, where cattle were sacred and idolatry rampant. In that region of perennial summer, sowing, reaping and fruit-gathering were seen in all seasons. John speaks particularly of the aromatic spices, of trees which yielded honey, sugar and a liquor like wine and the wonderful "Indian nuts" as big as melons and as green as gourds growing on trees like date-palms. The people were olive-skinned, with well-formed but hairy bodies, scrupulously clean, feeding on milk and rice, eating no meat and drinking no wine.

Odoric of Pordenone was another Franciscan missionary who touched the Western coast of India on his way to China in 1316. He describes at length the Fire-worship of the Parsis, the Hindu veneration of the cow, trees and serpents, the 'monstrous' idols by which their gods were represented, of golden roofs and marble pavements of their temples, their burning of widows, their pilgrimages, religious 'starvation' and cruel penances.

Jordanus, a French Dominican monk from Rome, was probably the first to come to India on a proselytising mission. He settled down at Kulam in Travancore in 1328. He has left a remarkable treatise on the fruits, the 'flora' and the 'fauna' of India. He talks of the cocoanut, the jack-fruit, the sugar cane and ginger root; of the one-horned Indian rhinoceros, the docile beast of burden and transport, the elephant; the big bandicoot rats, the white ants which destroy timber, the large 'mason' wasps; the bold kites, the white rufous fishing-eagles, the many, the wonderful and the beautiful birds of the Indian islands. Of the people themselves Jordanus contrasts the civilised Hindus and Moslems with the savage forest tribes of the interior and of the mountains, living in caves, wearing no

clothing and 'of brutish aspect'. Though the size of India is great and its population enormous, he observes, 'the Indian people were but children in the art of war or even seaman-ship. But the land was fairer than any other, its food more savoury, its people more honest and much more mortal than the Christians of Europe.'

Jordanus was followed by Bishop Giovanni dei Marignolli of Florence who settled down in Kulam for 16 months. His departure from India in 1350 was followed by a lull for three centuries during which few travellers ventured to come to India, as the country was almost continuously convulsed with fierce Meslem invasion from the north, of intolerant and fanatical Turks, Afghans and Mongols. The only part of the land which was comparatively accessible to Europeans was the Southern region under the sway of the Hindu rajas.

The next record of travel in India is the annals of Nicolo dei Conti, a Venetian merchant, who first touched at Cambay which he describes as a flourishing port from where he subsequently reached the kingdom of Vijaynagar. His description of the Ganges Delta, the charming villas and gardens, and plantations of delicious bananas, is lively and touched with romance by an occasional 'traveller's tale', as when he speaks of reeds or riverside bamboos 'so lofty and of such enormous girth that one section between the nodes or knots of the stem made a serviceable fishing boat'.

An outstanding traveller was Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian, who succumbed to wanderlust in his twenty-fourth year. From Venice his ship touched at Alexandria, next at Cairo and passed on to Syria. From Damascus he travelled to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, touched Aden and finally reached India in 1505. He voyaged round the Peninsula of Gujerat, halting at Cambay. He describes the Jains of Kathiawar who when in going through their repositories of grain, found weevils or any other kind of beetle, instead of killing them removed them to the domed insect-houses in which places were also kept ants who were fed on meat! Cambay he described as famed for its spices and perfumes, agates, cornelians and onyxes, and even diamonds! His account of the Muhammadan Sultan of the region is realistic and

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vivid, but is occasionally touched with incredulity, as when he describes him as 'having been habituated to consume poison or poisonous drugs from childhood in the hope that he might thus never lose his life by treacherous attendants or enemies who might seek to put poison into his food!' Varthema also speaks at great length of the life of a Hindu Chieftain who whenever he travelled, was accompanied 'by his wife and children, four or five riding horses, tame monkeys, parrots, civet cats, chitas and falcons.' Passing through the Colaba District on to Goa and Bijapur, Varthema describes the magnificent palace of Adil Shah at the latter place. At the ports along the Coast of Kanara, Varthema is specially struck by the abundance of domestic buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats, the absence of horses, mules and asses; the quantities of rice eaten by people; the numbers of peacocks, parrots, wild boars, deer, wolves and even lions, of roses and other flowers and fruits. Kannanore (Cannanore) he describes as a port which kept up a great trade with the Persian Gulf, had lots of Arabs in the city and grew cucumbers and melons, cocoanuts, rice, pepper, ginger, cardamoms, and other spices, besides the mango fruit. As beasts of burden and draught elephants were used.

Varthema's next halt was at Vijaynagar, the capital of the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Karkatak, which 'occupied a most beautiful site on the side of a mountain and had a triple circle of walls.' It contained immense parks for hunting and fowling, and appeared to him a second paradise with the best air, great fertility, wealth of merchandise and abundance of all possible delicacies. Varthema describes the great army of Vijaynagar which had among other things four hundred elephants. Calicut (Calicut) is described as a very noble city, 'the converging port of Portuguese and European trade fleets.'

Calicut was then ruled by the Zamorin family. Varthema gives an extensive and intimate account of the six classes of the city's inhabitants, their customs of dress, diet and vocation; of their harvest festival and devil dances; of the magnificent palace and regal temple, of the ships built out of native wood from the forests, which grew as many as a hundred and twenty different varieties of fine timber. Varthema greatly admired the orderliness of the people and the strict manner in which justice was dispensed. Nearly all the travellers who visited this part of India between the 13th and the 16th centuries, agree on the honesty and sense of justice of non-Muhammadan natives. Varthema's sojourn in India coincided with a period of intense commercial and military activity, from Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut in May 1498 to the establishment of Albuquerque as the first Portuguese Viceroy over Portuguese trading stations on the Malabar Coast.

The next remarkable account comes from Barbosa, Magellan's cousin, whose descriptions of the people—the Brahmans and the Banyans (Baniyas), the potters and the workers of clay, the workmen, the weavers, the agricultural labourers, the mariners and fishermen, the makers of hats and shields, the astrologers, fortune-tellers and weather prophets, the quarrymen, carpenters, blacksmiths and silversmiths, the salt-makers and rice-growers, the hunters, the practisers of low witchcraft and finally the miserable, naked, negroid bush tribes living on roots and wild fruits and such beasts and birds as they could kill in the woods, the merchant communities of Bengal and Eastern India, Calicut, Cambay or Gujerat, the Parsis, the Arabs and the Moplas—are singularly instructive and full of sociological interest.—'Come to India' Special Supplement, *United Asia*, 1950.

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"Fourscore and Seven Years Ago"

America Honors 87th Anniversary of
Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and seven years ago, on November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, began his famous speech at the dedication of the National Cemetery on the battlefield of Gettysburg with the words:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Today, Lincoln's Gettysburg address represents a midpoint between the founding of the American republic and the present. The young republic, which had emerged from the cocoon of its colonial status with the American war of independence, grew in that first fourscore and seven years into a nation. As Lincoln spoke, his nation was torn and twisted in that most bitter of struggles, a civil war. Then, as in the years of the war of independence, there were those who could not see beyond the perils and strife of the present into the growth, development and prosperity that was to come, unparalleled in degree and extent.

In the second fourscore and seven years, which began with Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and extend up to the present, the American republic has grown in power and prosperity beyond even the wildest anticipations of the brightest prophets of that mid-term year. Yet, as in 1863, the American republic today faces a conflict and a struggle, a struggle in which the principle that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" is again at stake.

For the people of the United States, the life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, has symbolized the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. Born in a log cabin in a cleared patch in the forests of the frontier state of Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln began life as poor, as unheralded and as devoid of immediate opportunity as any child born today in the humbler villages of India. Yet, within the years of his life, he came to occupy the presidential mansion in his country's capital and, in the years since, to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

The life of Abraham Lincoln exemplifies the opportunities open to the citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognized and championed. That right and that opportunity, however, did not come to Abraham Lincoln as a gift of fortune. They came as a direct result of both the struggle for freedom and the continuing struggle to make freedom real, a struggle which continued through the fourscore and seven years of American history before Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, and has continued through the fourscore and seven years that have passed since that day.

The United States of that mid-term year in its history and the United States of 1950 are as different as the rude frontier of Lincoln's youth and the urban New York of today. Yet, the continuing necessity of the struggle for the rights of freedom, as presented by Lincoln in his battlefield speech in 1863, remains dominant today in the thinking of the American people. Today, as then, this truth remains. Freedom, if it is not to die, must be reborn and reborn again in the hearts of a people who would remain free, a truth that led Lincoln, in this same Gettysburg speech, to resolve that his nation "under God, shall derive a new birth of freedom."

For Lincoln in 1863, as for the American people today, the rights of the individual, and the equality of

opportunity that can make those rights effective, are worth defending. The American foreign policy in 1950 no less than the domestic policy of Lincoln's day, is "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" and that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Within those simple phrases has been caught much of the American philosophy of political existence. By government of the people, the American people mean a government that derives its authority, its right to continued existence and its support from within the people themselves, not from any small selected group or by imposition from any individual or self-designated band. By government by the people, the American people mean a government in which the people play the roles and fill the seats of the mighty, a government that is "of" not "over" the people, that is a part of, not a lid on, the people. By government for the people, the American people mean a government that works for the people, not the reverse; they mean a government that derives its right to continued existence from the will of the people, not a people who derive their right to continued existence from the will of the government.

The American people believe today, as did Abraham Lincoln, that men are created equal, not with the equality of the slave labor camp, but with the equality that can bring a poor child of the frontier to the presidency of a great land. They know that this equality is an ideal. They make no pretense that it is a full reality, for themselves or for any other nation. With all humility, the American people of today can say with Abraham Lincoln, "It is for us, the living, . . . to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

In this year of alarm and crisis, the people of America

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and the other freedom-loving nations of the world can take a measure of strength from a look back through fourscore years and seven to that day in 1863 when a President of the United States, caught in a struggle as bitter and as brutal as any ever fought, seeing son fighting against father and brother against brother, facing a future as cloudy and uncertain as any the world faces today, could, with calm determination and certain equanimity, restate in these words the basic American belief in the rights of man, the eternity of freedom and the certainty of a brighter future:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave

their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—U.S.I.S., November, 18, 1950.



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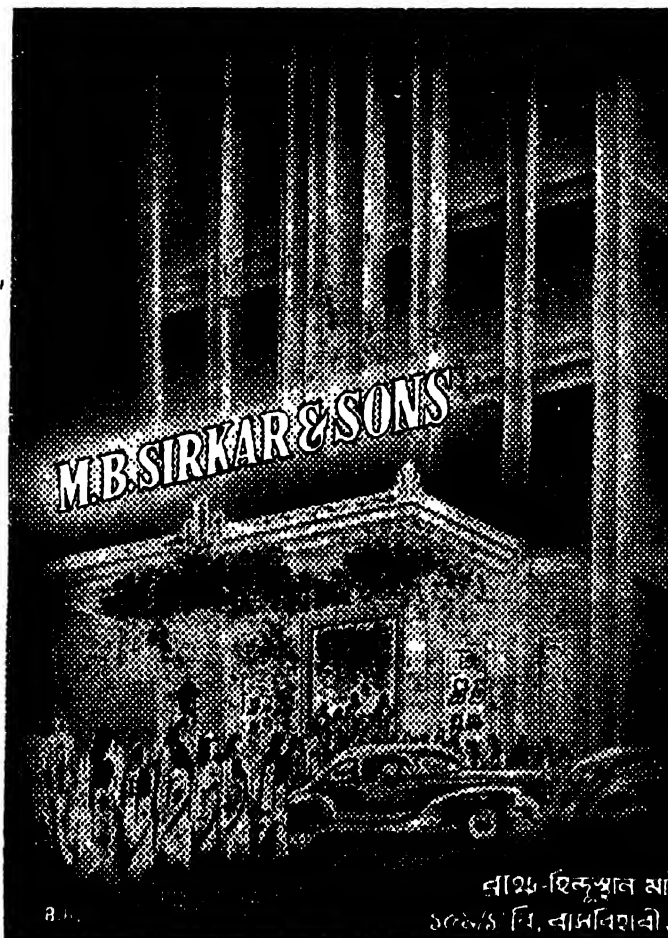
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The Principle of Indeterminacy

Under the heading, "Aspects of Modern Science," writes Ira M. Freeman in *Unesco Courier* :

All natural science is based on observation. Whether our knowledge of any segment of the external world remains at the level of a mere cataloguing of facts, or soars to the heights of Relativity or of Quantum Theory, observation of Nature as she really is constitutes the foundation of science, and all else is secondary.

There is one aspect of the business of making observations that is usually taken for granted, and that is the faith (for this is all it amounts to) that any observation made here and now may be expected again on any other occasion when the same conditions prevail. This proposition is sometimes called "The Uniformity of Nature" or the "Constancy of the Universe." But whether mere faith or something else, it works. It is science's answer to the ancient beliefs in capricious demons and deities.

Despite the bewildering differences between one science and another, all of them advance largely by the same general tactics: observations are made, quantities are measured (where possible), results are correlated, theories are set up and general conclusions are drawn in the form of natural laws. The great scientific conquests of Galileo and Newton, of Darwin and Pasteur, were made according to this kind of campaign plan.

A MISCELLANEOUS APPROACH

What we call classical physics attained a high state of perfection toward the end of the last century. Evolving largely from ordinary mechanics, it went forward on the assumption that all the events taking place in space and time have the objective character that we associate with common mechanical phenomena such as the falling of a stone or the swinging of a pendulum.

Early in the nineteenth century the great French mathematician and physicist Laplace made the much-quoted statement that an omniscient mind, knowing the momentary location and speed of every atom in the universe, could deduce the entire course of events in the cosmos, both past and future. The universe was thus viewed as a machine, with all the parts rigorously interlocked. Every event was held to be strictly determined by the preceding one; every effect was ascribed to a definite cause.

Later, this mechanistic approach began to be challenged when scientists learned to break up the physical world into its basic constituents. The ubiquitous quantum aspect of nature (see "What is the Quantum Theory" in the *Courier* for November, 1960) began to assert itself once more, and in several places.

In 1927, a brilliant young theoretical physicist, Werner Heisenberg, was able to state a highly significant generalization relative to the observation and measurement of elementary processes. It is called the Principle of Indeterminacy. In one way of phrasing it, the rule asserts that the more closely we determine the location of a particle, the less accurately are we able to specify its motion, and *vice versa*. Heisenberg contends that the underlying cause of this puzzling situation is the fact that every process of measurement or observation actually *interferes* with what is being measured or observed.

THE EVASIVE ELECTRON

For example, if we should wish to "see" directly a single electron, it turns out that it would be necessary to use light of very short wavelength for the purpose. But light of this kind is highly energetic, and if thrown at an electron would knock it completely out of its original position, thus defeating what we are trying to accomplish!

In the same way, there is a fundamental inexactness, an uncontrollable or indefinable element, inherent in *all* measurements relating to elementary processes. Of course,



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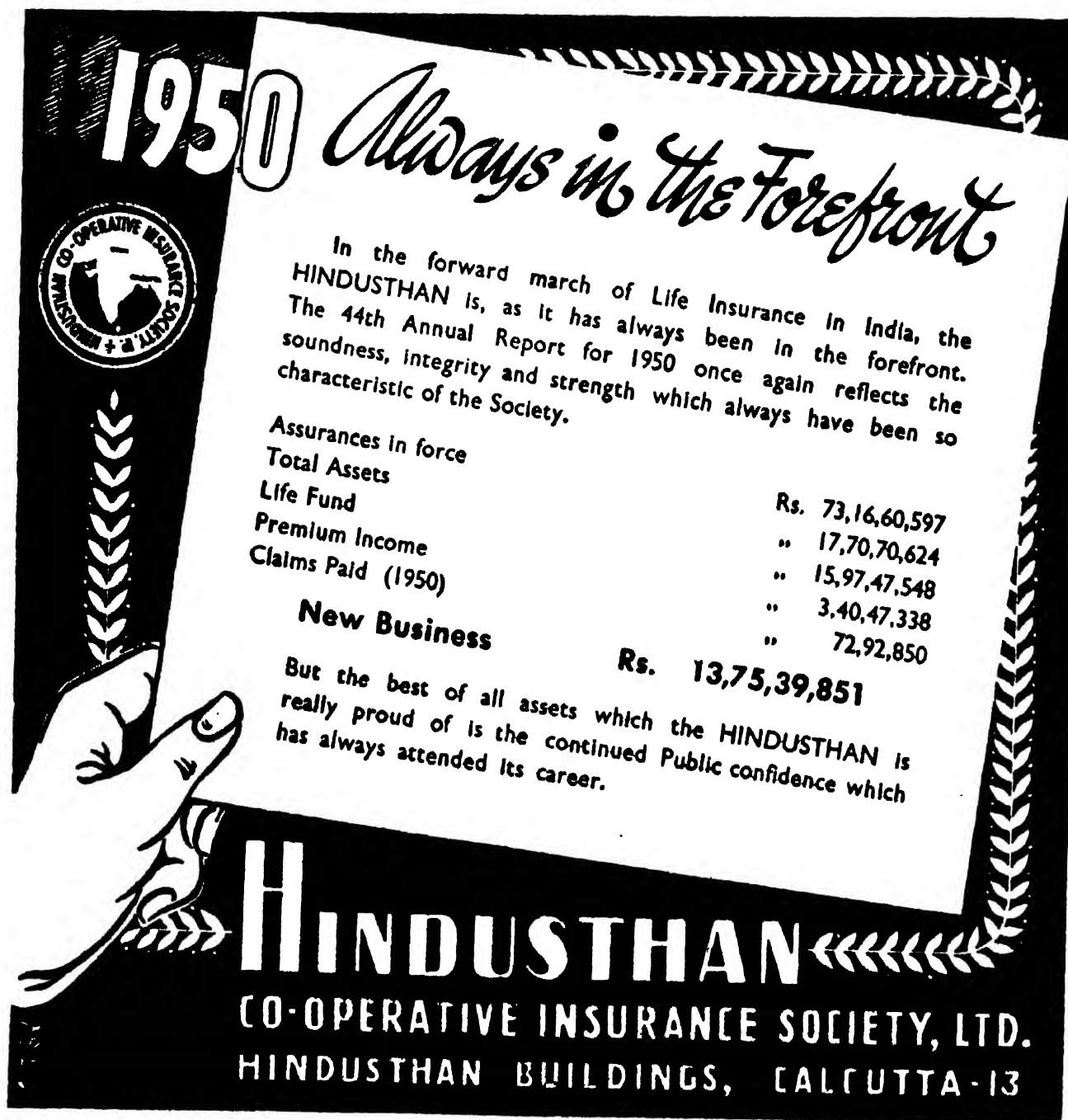
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in dealing with ordinary large-scale objects, the interaction between object and observer becomes vanishingly small, and things seem to behave in their accustomed way, but on the sub-atomic scale, the obvious connection between cause and effect is no longer in evidence.

After all, nature does seem to be governed by order and regularity, and so if strict causality is not valid in the submicroscopic realm, what takes its place? The answer is that what we observe in coarse-grained experience is a statistical orderliness—the average behaviour of a multitude of individual entities—and such an average is accurately predictable. It is predictable in the same way that

the death rate in a given population group may be computed in advance by a life-insurance company, although there is no way of forecasting when a given individual is going to die.

Chance rules the activity of the individual sub-atomic particles of physics, but their "cultural" or "crowd" behaviour, as mirrored by the large-scale world of ordinary experience, turns out to be completely in accord with expectation. The recognition of this fact has been of vast importance to the development of modern science, and has had profound and far-reaching effects on philosophical thinking as well.



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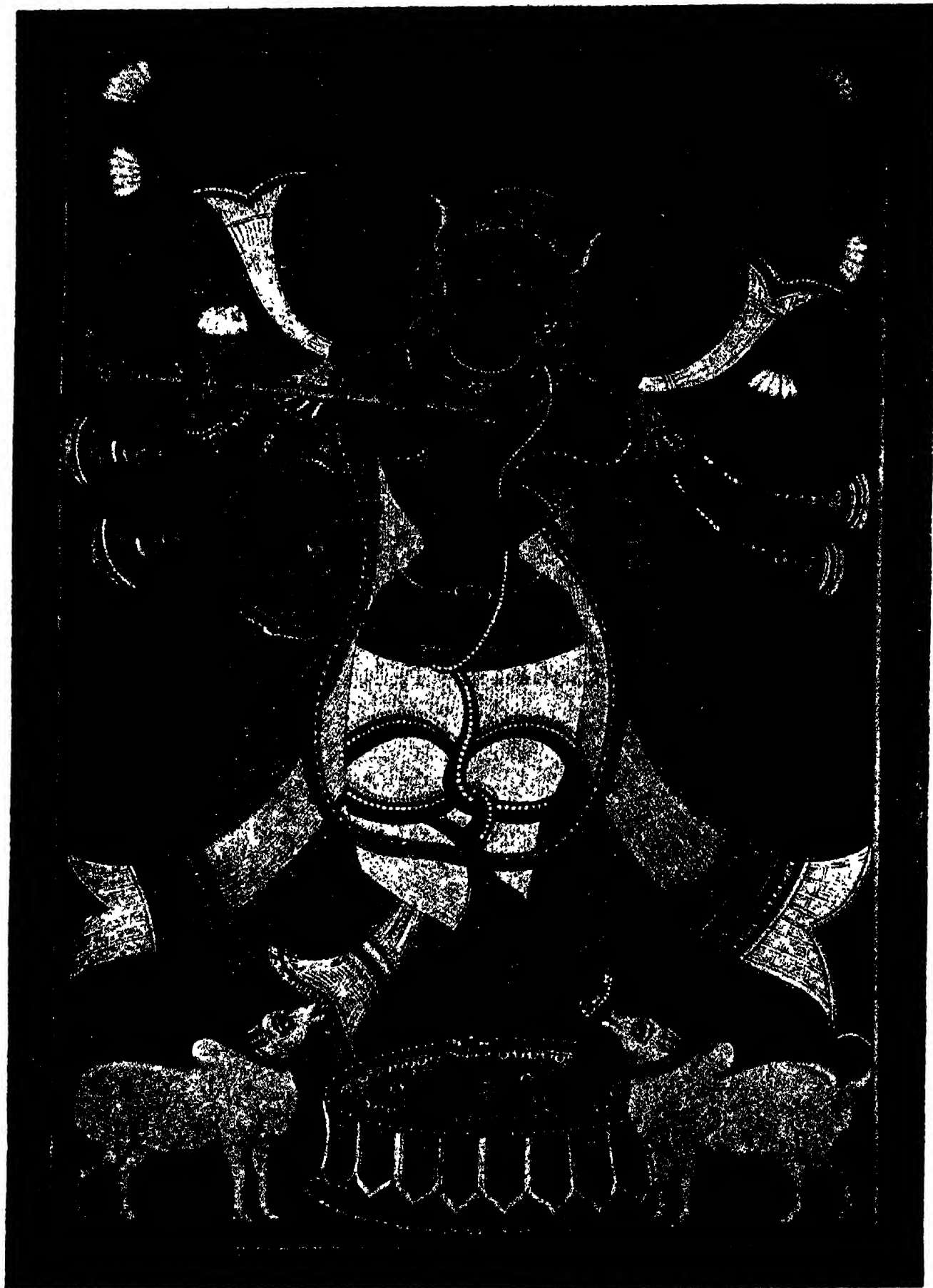
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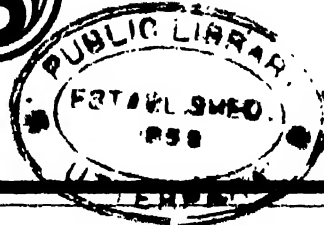
[After a painting in Gopalji Mandir, Sambalpur]

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER

1951

Vol. LXXXX, No. 3



Whole No. 537

NOTES

The Congress Crisis

There is a storm brewing over the control of the Congress and the Congress Government as well. The two camps are being led by the Premier of the Indian Union and the President of the Congress. The former is an international figure, deeply beloved by a very large section of his people for his spartan spirit of sacrifice and unchallenged integrity, the latter is an austere purist, highly respected by all who know him for his ascetic outlook on life and his sincerity and integrity is beyond doubt. Both are poor judges of men, specially where friends and satellites are concerned, and both have vulnerable spots, one due to an emotional temperament and the other due to his fanatic regard for Congress tenets. These have been exploited in the past by the more unscrupulous party agents of both, and in the end it has led to this present *impasse*.

Pandit Nehru has put forward his opinions on the situation in a Press Conference. He refuted the view that this crisis was caused by the schism in the U. P. Congress and insisted that the matter in question was far more vital.

He further said that the A.-I.C.C. and the plenary session of the Congress should state clearly what the Congress really stood for. Somehow there had been a lack of reality in the passing of the Congress resolutions. They did not attach much importance to them. Sometimes almost contrary things have been said and done.

The time had now come to infuse that reality. His resignation was meant to bring about that reality and force people to think. Congressmen should know what really they stood for.

There was a good deal of discussion in the Press and elsewhere about the conflict between the Congress President and the Prime Minister and how far the Congress Executive should control the Ministry. It was a very interesting question which would be settled only in the long run through conventions. Obviously the position of the Congress President and the Prime Minister after independence could not be the same.

The Prime Minister, he said, could not in a strict way be controlled by the party executive. But he must carry out the major policies that had been laid down by the party. "I do not think that the Congress Executive should interfere in my works except in broad matters of policy."

"If I belong to a party," he said, "obviously I must follow the broad policies which that party holds. Either I accept it or, if I feel I cannot do so, I have to tell them that I cannot do so and give my reasons. If, nevertheless, they say I must do so, then I get out and somebody else comes in who can do it."

"That has nothing to do with Parliament. If the Congress Executive told me to resign from my Prime Ministership, I resign immediately, but I do not think the Congress Executive should interfere in my work."

"All those questions," Sri Nehru emphasised, "were purely theoretical and his resignation from the Working Committee had nothing to do with them. Therefore, the question before the A.-I.C.C. was whether such policies as I stand for are to be Congress policies or some other policies. It has nothing to do for the moment with Parliament or my being Prime Minister."

Asked whether he subscribed to the view that the only way to solve the present deadlock in the Congress was the amalgamation of the two offices of Prime Minister and Congress President, Sri Nehru said, "As a general proposition that has no meaning. It can only mean the suppression of one function, practically speaking. That may occur during a crisis for a temporary period, but it should be avoided as far as possible unless circumstances are such that for the moment one does something which is normally not desirable but the compulsion of events brings it about."

Asked whether he wanted only reconstitution of the Working Committee or also changes in the Provincial set-up at some stage or other, Sri Nehru said, "Reconstitution of the Working Committee is to be a symbol of a change in outlook and direction. I feel that the Congress, in spite of the many good things that

it has done and the right resolutions it has adopted, is drifting in the wrong direction. I should like it to take a turn. As a symbol of that turn, the resolutions having failed, a reconstitution, of its executive would be effective. If the reconstitution or a partial reconstitution takes place without producing that sensation of a change, it has failed regardless of the individuals coming or going. I am always thinking in terms of the effect on the masses of people."

"I am anxious," Sri Nehru said, "to produce an atmosphere in the country of a certain united, concerted effort towards prescribed ends, of a certain unity of effort, of a certain wholehearted appreciation of what we call a secular State, of non-communalism, etc., because I think that if that is not done, the disruptive forces in India come into play and weaken us and prevent progress. Reaction comes in under the cloak sometimes of even nationalism as it calls itself. I want to fight that and in order to do that, I want the vast masses of people to feel that way."

He would, he said, like the Congress to think in terms of the Bangalore Resolution, which left its doors open to those who had left it and he would like the Congress to repeat that not only formally by resolution but warmly. "It did not matter who came back as a result of that invitation. It was not the individual but rather the approach which was important."

Sri Tandon has been much more taciturn and has in the main preserved an inflexible attitude. He seems less aware of the malady in the body politic of the Congress than Pandit Nehru.

But the main question remains unanswered before the Man in the Street and Man in the Field. What that question is, has been put in a more or less correct fashion by Dr. Jyotsna and Harin Shah in the *People* of August 11. The *People* being an organ of the Congress, this article has some significance and therefore we append the following extracts from therein:

"Must the Congress be wound up now that we have attained our political freedom? Gandhiji, with his remarkable foresight, saw dangers of the delicate fibre of our liberated nationhood being ravaged by early outbursts of party strife and power-politics in the absence of sound political morality.

He was driven at one time to the conclusion that the Congress may be 'folded up' implying thereby that the glorious chapter of freedom's fight should not be allowed to be besmirched by party strife and that a fresh beginning should be made by Congressmen from a new platform.

At any rate, he wished to pull out the hand of constructive workers from the organization so that even if the Congress indulged in power-politics and gravitated too much towards Parliamentary politics, undoing its glorious past, the country would still have constructive workers to fall back upon.

Three years after Bapu's death, the question still

worries his successor. Must the Congress be liquidated? Some of the closest advisers and associates of Shri Nehru are dinning this in his ears. Despite his strong love for the organization even Panditji, it appears, sometimes leans towards the view that the Congress must be peacefully liquidated after the General Elections.

If so, the question can be really considered after the general elections. For the elections do offer an opportunity for stock-taking, for setting the house in order, for enlisting new blood and talent and for overcoming frustration."

Needless to say we do not share this escapism of the authors. The question is of such vital importance that it cannot brook further delay. It must be considered now, before, during and after the elections. It is this procrastination and escapism that has discredited the Congress most in the eyes of the public. Further on the authors say:

"The immediate question, therefore, is, what is wrong with the Congress? What must it do to recapture the nation's love. Demagogic analyses and sermons cannot carry us very far.

We have seen the once-revolutionary party of the Chinese people, Kuomintang, crash so suddenly. Vulgarised by the power it acquired at the birth of the Chinese Freedom it is responsible for its own extinction. On the other side, the motley crowd that started surging forth from Canton and Hankow became by 1949 one of the biggest political and military powers of the world. The party after coming in power, fought vigilantly the inner contradictions, and its weaknesses. We are not concerned with its ideology or policy here.

Let us take the question of food. The Central Government, which is led and controlled by the Congress, had to decide to impose a further cut in the foodgrains ration and to make it simultaneously more expensive. While a big campaign should have preceded and followed this decision from the hundreds of branches of the ruling party, preparing public opinion to receive with equanimity the unpleasant but inevitable measure, we found no important leader or Congress Committee, even holding public meetings or issuing literature explaining how the measure was inevitable in the circumstances though of a short duration. The opposition parties, of course, could not be expected to be more charitable.

Let us size up the issue—the change that has visited us. From the point of view of the 'Supreme National Front,' we are now only one of the many political parties. The Press was by the side of the Congress. Today, the Congress can claim no such privileged support. The Congress should build up good relations with the Press and win over its sympathy.

Then again commerce and industry stood for the Congress. Today their approach is halting for they are diffident about their future."

Here again we differ. Commerce and Industry, ever since its invasion by speculative Big Business, has kept faith with none. They have most treacherously betrayed the very people whose staunch support for Swadeshi kept them guarded against extinction. The authors then go on to say:

"The students continue to be largely ignored and unorganised; all the more regrettable when we are pressing through such gigantic national projects.

We have not properly understood the great mental revolution that is going on in the mind of our Kisans. Aspirations for leadership are now developing among the few educated youths from amongst Kisans, and if the Congress fails to utilize them, they could hug other parties, eagerly awaiting them.

We seem to be blissfully undermining the morale and enthusiasm of the huge army of Government servants. Need not the Congress bring home to Government servants the golden opportunity that their service offers them in serving their country."

Despite our differences we agree with the authors inasmuch as they have pointed out the staring, glaring fact that Congress leaders are unwilling to face that they have lost touch with all and sundry, the rank and file, of all those on whom they counted in the past. True, the Congress is not dead yet, but that is no credit to the putrid leadership it has had since the passing of Bapu. So it is about time a sincere attempt was made to resuscitate it.

A great deal of hope has been based on these political schisms by the enemies of India, and Pakistan in particular. That however is another story. The Shia Conference must have been a rude shock to those who hoped otherwise, despite all the clumsy utterances of Zafarulla Khan and others of that ilk. The Nawab of Rampur, who presided at that conference, clearly stated his stand and that of his community.

Referring to Pakistan, he said: "We should realize that the destiny of the Muslims of India and our community in particular is indissolubly linked with the fate of India and its people. We in this country are no enemies of Pakistan or of any other nation, but let it be clearly understood that we have made India our home of our own freewill, that we stand solidly behind India in its struggle for peace and progress. My advice to Muslims is to support our own secular democracy and to call upon our Muslim brethren in Pakistan to give their minorities a fair and square deal."

The Japanese Treaty and India

India's refusal to attend the San Francisco Conference, where the Japanese Treaty will be finalised, is an event of major consequence. This refusal, together with India's expression of unwillingness to accept any reparations from Japan, has given a new turn in international politics. Sri Nehru's decision has been generally hailed in Tokyo and disclaimed in the American Press. But a few of the American commen-

tators have defended Sri Nehru and have been nearer the truth. May Lerner writes in the *New York Post*:

"If Mr. Nehru did not exist, it would be necessary for us to invent someone like him to fill the vacuum in Asia between a Russia the Asiatics fear and an America they still distrust. What remains of non-Communist Asia will not yet accept American leadership. If America is not to be the leader-symbol as against Russia, who is? The only possible answer is: Nehru's India. It can make a bid for Asia's leadership only if it speaks as an Asiatic people which is what it is doing. If it lines up solidly with our policies, it loses Asia—which means that the hope of any democratic life anywhere in Asia will be gone for generations. Since we cannot lead Asia ourselves, the next best course is to recognise Mr. Nehru's chances of leading it and to accept him as the last, next to best, hope."

The daily *Boston Herald* writes:

"We are failing India. It is hopeless to defend the East against Russian Communism if the East does not want to be defended by us. We cannot command. We must persuade."

The appointment of Mr. Bowles, a Liberal Democrat, as U.S.A.'s Ambassador to India represents another gesture towards better understanding with this country but the American Note on India's unwillingness to attend the San Francisco Conference has not been quite happy. It has been suggested that the Conference would be attended by 48 nations. Mere number of representatives, some from the Central and South American States of lesser importance and some from Asian countries of doubtful sovereignty, cannot lend sufficient weight to a decision affecting Asia with India and China as abstainers. It is unfortunate that U. S. diplomacy has failed to appreciate this position.

The following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement on the Japanese Peace Treaty:

"The House will be interested to know of the latest developments in regard to the proposed peace treaty with Japan and the Government of India's decision thereon.

"The war against Japan ended six years ago. This was followed by a military occupation of Japan which has continued till now. India, in common with other Powers, was interested in putting an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and terminating it by a treaty of peace. Owing to difference in the approach to this question between different Powers, little progress could be made.

"The Government of the United States of America and the United Kingdom thereupon took the lead in drafting a peace treaty with Japan. There were originally two separate drafts which differed materially from each other. Finally some minor changes were incorporated in the United States draft, and the Government of the United Kingdom accepted it. The United States and the United Kingdom then became joint sponsors of the revised draft treaty and this was communicated to us on July 20, 1951.

"The Government gave careful consideration to this revised draft and communicated their views on July 28 to the U. S. Government in regard to it. In this reply it was stated that the Government of India were in full sym-

pathy with the underlying object of terminating war with Japan as soon as possible and admitting her to the community of free foreign nations. It was pointed out that the other objective of the peace treaty with Japan should be to lessen the existing tension in the Far East and help towards a peaceful settlement of the problems affecting that area. In order to satisfy these objectives, attention was drawn to some provisions in the draft treaty and certain proposals were made on behalf of the Government of India."

On August 12, 1951, the Government of India received the reply of the U. S. Government to their comments. Some minor variations were made in the original draft, but none of the major suggestions put forward by the Government of India were accepted. The Government thereupon, after careful consideration, came to the conclusion that India should not sign the Peace Treaty or participate in the San Francisco Conference. It was further decided that immediately after Japan attained independent status, the Government of India would make a declaration terminating the state of war between India and Japan and, later, a simple bilateral treaty with Japan should be negotiated.

In accordance with this decision, the following communication was sent on August 23, 1951, to the Government of United States, through our Embassy in Washington :

"The Government of India have, after most careful thought, come to the conclusion that the Treaty does not, in material respects, satisfy either of these two criteria.

● (a) It is only natural to expect that Japan should desire the restoration, in full, of her sovereignty, over territory of which the inhabitants have a historical affinity with her own people and which she has not acquired by aggression from any other country. The Ryuku and the Bonin islands fully satisfy this description. Nevertheless, the Treaty proposes that until the U. S. Government seek and obtain trusteeship over these islands, they should continue to be subject to the legislative and administrative control of the U. S. It is apparent to the Government of India that such an arrangement cannot but be a source of dissatisfaction to the large sections of the Japanese people and must carry the seed of future dispute and possibly, conflict in the Far East.

(b) The Government of India recognise that, as a sovereign nation, Japan should have the right to make arrangements for her defence as provided in Article 5 of the Treaty. If, in exercise of this right, Japan should decide to enter into defensive agreements with a friendly Power, no one could reasonably object to this. But the right should be exercised by the Government of Japan when Japan has become truly sovereign. A provision in the Treaty which suggests that the present occupation forces may stay on in Japan as part of such a defensive agreement is bound to give rise to the impression that the agreement does not represent a decision taken by Japan in the full enjoyment of her freedom as a sovereign nation. The effect of this not only on the people of Japan but

upon large sections of people in Asia is bound to be most unfortunate.

"As already stated the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the treaty providing that the island of Formosa should be returned to China. *The time and manner of such return might be the subject of separate negotiations* but to leave the future of the island undetermined, in spite of past international agreements, in a document which attempts to regulate the relations of Japan with all Governments that were engaged in the last war against her does not appear to the Government of India to be either just or expedient. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same argument applies to the Kurile islands and to S. Sakhalin.

"For the foregoing reasons, the Government of India have decided, with regret, that they cannot be parties to this treaty. It is their sincere hope that lasting peace will prevail in the Far East and, to that end, they will continue to co-operate with the U. S. and other Governments in such manner as may be open to them, consistently with the principles on which their foreign policy is based. As a first step, it is their intention, as soon as this may be practicable, to put an end to the state of war between them and Japan, and to establish full diplomatic relations with that country.

"It has already been announced that the Conference convened at San Francisco to consider the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan will not be open to negotiation, though attending Governments will be free to state their views on the Treaty. The Government of India feel that the statement of their views on the Treaty contained in this reply, should be adequate to clarify their own position to the Conference. It is their intention, if the U. S. Government have no objection, to communicate this reply to their own Parliament, which is now in session, on August 27. Once the document has been published, it will be available for the information of the Conference, and the Government of India will be glad if the Government of the United States, which will act as host to the Conference, will have this reply circulated to its members. As, for the reasons already stated, the Government of India will be unable to sign the Treaty, they think that it is not necessary for them to send representation to it."

American Note on India's Decision

The United States State Department announced that India had served formal notice that it would abstain from the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference at San Francisco next month.

India was taking this action principally because it objected to provisions which permitted American Defence Forces to remain in Japan, the announcement said.

An American reply made public at the same time as the communication from India said :

"It would be quite impracticable and totally unwelcome for the United States to help to defend Japan if that were not wanted by the Japanese people."

In a 1,500-word note, the State Department expressed regret at India's decision not to sign the treaty at :

conference in San Francisco opening on September 4.

In its reply the United States deplored India's decision to make a separate peace, and said :

"There can never be united action for peace unless the nations are willing to accept what, to each, may seem imperfections.

"The Government of the United States believes that the peace will be more stable if it is founded on united action, just as victory involved united actions and the occupation involved united action."

The American answer expressed surprise at India's claim that the proposed treaty would not restore the Japanese to a "position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations."

It quoted the Japanese Prime Minister, Shigeru Yoshida, as saying in a letter dated July 13 : "The treaty as it stands, reflects abundantly American fairness, magnanimity and idealism."

The United States Note began by saying the American Government replied "in the same spirit of frankness and friendship" which animated the Indian Note of August 23.

Welcoming India's expressed intention to end its state of war with Japan and establish diplomatic relations, it said :

"The overriding desire of the Government of the United States is peace in Asia. The Government of the United States believes that the peace will be more stable if it is founded on united action just as victory involved united action and the occupation involved united action.

"However, the people of the United States will not feel their efforts and sacrifices for victory in the Pacific have been in vain if they have made it possible for the Government of India to make peace with a Japan, which is no longer a military and aggressive threat.

"The Government of the United States regrets that the Government of India feels that the pending treaty of peace has such imperfections that the Government of India prefers to make a separate peace. There can never be united action for peace unless the nations are willing to accept what, to each, may seem imperfections.

"In its specifications of imperfections the Government of India suggests that the treaty of peace will not provide Japan with a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations.

"This suggestion greatly surprises the Government of the United States. From the beginning the announced goal of the United States has been to restore Japan to just such a position.

"It is the belief of the Government of the United States, shared by the Government and people of Japan, and of many other States that the pending treaty, to an unprecedented degree, achieves the goal.

"For example, the Prime Minister of Japan in a letter of July 13 to Mr. John Foster Dulles written on the occasion of calling the San Francisco Conference said: "I am grateful that we have been consulted and given a full opportunity to submit our views and desires and moreover that these have been in a large measure incorporated in the draft treaty. The Treaty as it stands reflects abundantly

American fairness, magnanimity and idealism.

"The Government of the United States doubts that the Government of India had fully understood and taken into account the views of the Government and people of Japan."

The American reply said : "The treaty makes provision for multilateral signature now and obligates Japan to conclude similar treaties with all countries not now signatory who are parties to the United Nations declaration of January 1, 1942.

"The Governments of the United Kingdom and of the United States, sponsors of the present text, and the many other Allied powers which have co-operated to produce that text, have gone to great pains to assure that the treaty will be such as to enable all of the Allies to subscribe to it."

"The Government of India suggests that the treaty should restore in full Japan's sovereignty over territory of which the inhabitants have an historical affinity with her (Japan's) own peoples and which she has not acquired by aggression from any other country," the reply continued.

"This principle would involve a major departure from the Potsdam surrender terms, which specified categorically that the Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four home islands and to such minor islands as the parties to the surrender proclamation might determine.

"The Government of India has never questioned these terms during the five and one half years during which India had served as a member of the Far Eastern Commission, which was established to ensure the fulfilment of those terms.

"The principle now put forward by the Government of India would require the retention by Japan of full sovereignty over the Kurile Islands and over the Ryuku Islands.

"Yet, the Government of India criticises the treaty provisions with reference to the Kurile Islands because it does not explicitly transfer full sovereignty to the Soviet Union, and criticises the provision with reference to the Ryukyus because, although it leaves sovereignty in Japan, it permits of a United Nations Trusteeship with the United States as administering authority.

"The Government of the United States finds it difficult to understand how the Government of India can be confident that future arrangements regarding the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, the terms of which are not yet formulated, will hereafter be a source of dissatisfaction to large sections of the Japanese people.

"Nor does the Government of the United States understand why the Government of India applies such different tests as between the Kuriles and the Ryukyus."

Continuing, the American reply said : "The Government of India objects because the treaty gives Japan the right to prevent its becoming an indefensive nation between the date of the coming into force of the treaty of peace and the coming into force of some voluntary collective security arrangements.

"The Government of India suggests that the only way to prove that such a security arrangement is in fact voluntary, is to subject Japan to the grave risk incident

to a period of total defenselessness in close proximity to proved aggressors.

"There is no reason to believe that this is desired by the people of Japan or that it would promote the welfare of Japan for the treaty of peace to impose that grave hazard upon Japan.

"The Government of the United States has gone to great lengths to ascertain that and security agreement which Japan seeks shall, in fact, be responsive to the will of the Japanese people. It would be quite impracticable and totally unwelcome for the United States to help defend Japan if that were not wanted by the Japanese people.

"The statements of the Japanese Government and of the political leaders of Diet, and manifold expressions of public opinion, all demonstrate that the Japanese do not want Japan to become a defenceless nation upon the coming into force of the treaty of peace.

"No less than 32 of the Allied powers all members of the United Nations have freely made or are making collective security arrangements to which the United States is a party.

"It would indeed be surprising if the sentiment which has animated so many free peoples did not manifest itself also in Japan.

"The Government of India states that the future of Formosa should not be left "undetermined." It suggests that the treaty should provide for the return of Formosa to China but that the time and manner of such return might be the object of separate negotiations.

"It would seem to the United States that a future disposition is "undermined" if it depends upon future negotiations as to time and manner.

"The Government of India must be fully aware that there cannot at the present time be any final agreement among the Allied powers with respect to the future of Formosa.

"To insist that a Japanese Peace Treaty be deferred until there is such agreement, is in fact, to postpone indefinitely the restoration of Japan to 'honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations' which the Government of India agrees is an urgent requirement.

"Furthermore, the Government of the United States observes that the Government of India apparently does not intend itself to defer ending its state of war with Japan until the future of Formosa has been definitely dealt with."

The reply continued: "We the Government of the United States do not claim that the prospective treaty of peace is in every respect perfect. It involves adjustments such as are the inevitable accompaniment of any concerted human effort.

"The essential thing is that the treaty is a peace treaty and is drawn in terms which do not contain within themselves the seeds of another war.

"Delay would cost a price which makes petty all the sacrifices incident to present action. It would perpetuate the surrender terms which subject the Japanese Government to the military rule of the Allied powers.

"If that subjection is continued after the occupation

has served its legitimate and valid purposes, the result is indistinguishable from colonialism and imperialism in vicious form.

"The United States does not want to be a party to colonialism or imperialism. That is why it strives so earnestly to achieve the best possible peace as promptly as possible.

"That is why it contributes so liberally to the rehabilitation of our former enemies as well as of our friends.

"The Government of the United States regrets that the Government of India is not disposed to join this united offer for peace.

"However, the Government of the United States welcomes the assurances of the Government of India that, in so far as consistent with the principles on which its foreign policies are based, it will continue to co-operate with the United States Government and other Governments to the end that lasting peace will prevail in the Far East.

"The Government of the United States hopes that these principles to which the Government of India alludes, will permit of co-operation which is practical and fruitful of peace," the American note concluded.

The Indian Note, sent by the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Sri M. K. Kripalani, to Mr. John Foster Dulles, President Truman's special adviser on the Japanese Peace Treaty, said that India's present reply was conceived in a spirit of frankness and sincere friendship for the Government and people of the United States.

The Government of India throughout the negotiations had laid emphasis on two fundamental objectives :

1. The terms of the treaty should concede to Japan "a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations" and

2. "They should be so framed as to enable all countries specially interested in the maintenance of a stable peace in the Far East to subscribe to the treaty sooner or later."

"The Government of India have, after the most careful thought, come to the conclusion that the treaty does not in material respects satisfy either of these two criteria," the Indian Note stated. After clarifying its stand, as given in the note quoted by Pandit Nehru in Parliament, the Indian Note concluded :

"The Government of India would be glad to know if the United States Government have any objection to their informing our Parliament of this reply on Monday August 27, 1951," the Indian Note concluded.

India's Reply to America's Note

The following are the main points of India's reply to the last communication from the U.S. Government on the Japanese peace treaty:

"The Government of India welcome the assurance that the overriding desire of the Government of the U.S.A. is peace in Asia. The Government and people of India have striven to this end to the best of their ability, because they consider peace of paramount importance to the world

and, more especially, to the countries of Asia, which have suffered for many generations under alien domination.

"The Government of India also welcome the assurance of the U.S. Government that they do not want to be a party to colonialism or imperialism. Opposition to colonialism and imperialism has been the basis of India's struggle. Having experienced the burden and the injury that flow from both, the people of India are convinced that continuance of them in any form and in any part of the world cannot lead to peace or progress or to the happiness of the people concerned.

"Turning to certain specific points relating to the treaty which arise out of the reply of the U.S. Government, the Government of India wish to make the following observations :

(1) "The U.S. Government have expressed the belief that their view of the proposed treaty is shared by the Government and the people of Japan. The Government of India regret that their appreciation of the situation does not tally with that of the U.S. Government.

(2) "In suggesting the return of the Ryukyu and the Bonin groups of islands to Japanese sovereignty, the Government of India are not challenging the Potsdam terms of surrender. As the U.S. Government have themselves pointed out, those terms left room for the addition, by agreement, of some minor islands to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaidu, Kyushu and Shikoku, over which Japan was to be allowed to exercise sovereignty.

"Nor have the Government of India any intention whatsoever of applying dissimilar principles to different parts of territories which have a historical affinity with Japan and which Japan did not wrest from any of its neighbours. If they excluded the Kurile islands from the scope of their suggestion, it was because the Yalta agreement provided, without any reservation, that the Kurile islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union. The Government of India cannot be held responsible for any inconsistency, which is the result of the Yalta agreement.

(3) "In discussing the Government of India's views regarding defensive arrangements to be made by Japan, the Government of the United States describe them as tantamount to leaving Japan defenceless against proved aggressors. The Government of India fail to find any warrant for such a conclusion from anything that they have said. The draft treaty recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence and that Japan may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements. Adequate provision is thus made for Japan independently to make whatever arrangements she considers necessary for her self-defence as soon as she has signed the peace treaty, and it is not clear to the Government of India why there should be any 'period of total defencelessness' for Japan.

(4) "In regard to Formosa, the Government of India have suggested that, in keeping with international obligations, it should be stated clearly in the treaty that it would be returned to China. That would determine the

future of Formosa leaving the time and manner of such return to be settled at a future date. The Government of India have been and are of opinion that a declaration that Formosa shall be returned to China will help in creating conditions for a settlement in the Far East. But the Government of India have at no time insisted or even suggested that a Japanese peace treaty should be deferred until there is final agreement with respect to the future of Formosa.

(5) "The Government of India have been anxious that a peace treaty with Japan should be signed and the military occupation of Japan terminated at the earliest possible moment.

"The Government of India do not wish to come in the way of any nation which is satisfied with the terms of the present treaty and is prepared to sign it. They only claim for themselves their inherent and unquestionable right not to sign a treaty with the terms of which they are not fully satisfied.

(6) "The Government of India have no intention of proposing to Japan a treaty of peace which would in any way be controversial or which would run counter to the provisions of the draft treaty of peace. Their action is not being represented at the San Francisco conference and in making a separate treaty of peace with Japan, should not, therefore, adversely affect either the friendly relations that exist between the Government of India and the Government of the United States or the co-operation of the two Governments in everything 'which is practical and fruitful for peace.'

(7) "The Government of India hope that the observations made in the foregoing paragraphs reveal a unity of outlook between them and the Government of the United States in many vital matters that affect the future of the people of Asia and of humanity in general.

"The differences that exist between them are differences of method and approach. Such divergencies of opinion are bound to occur even amongst the friendliest nations and should not be allowed to cause resentment that might come in the way of mutual understanding and community of effect."

Korea

Negotiations have broken down in Korea. There was a fusillade of accusations against the U.N. forces, concerning the breach of armistice terms in regard to the neutral zone at Kaesong. The Commander of the U.N. forces, General Ridgway had the whole incident thoroughly investigated and as a result of which the following reply was sent to the Commander of the Communist forces :

"Your message of August 24 pertaining to alleged incidents by elements of the U.N. Command is so utterly false and so preposterous and so obviously manufactured for your own questionable purposes, it does not in its own right merit a reply.

"Nor do other incidents you have cited as intentional violations by the U.N. Command of the neutral zone at Kaesong.

"When not fabricated by you for your own propa-

ganda needs, these incidents have proven to be actions of irregular groups without the slightest connexion, overtly or covertly, with any forces or agencies under my control.

"In spite of this I have consistently required my senior delegate, and commanders of forces under my Command, to grant you the courtesy of a full inspection and report on every alleged incident, regardless of its manifest falsity.

"Evidence in this most recent alleged violation was even more palpably compounded for your insidious propaganda purposes than your earlier efforts.

"In line, however, with our constant adherence to the ethics of decency, I have in this case, as in all others, fully investigated your charges.

"My senior Army, Navy and Air Force Commanders have individually certified to me in writing that none of their elements have violated, or could possibly have violated, the Kaesong neutral zone in this or any other instance of alleged violations reported by you.

"I have caused the result of the investigation into this most recent allegation to be widely published so that the entire world will be fully cognizant of your quite evident intent to use a manufactured incident in order to evade your responsibility for having suspended the negotiations.

"Allegations made in your several recent communications concerning alleged firing at Pan Mun Jon; the alleged ambush of August 19 by U.N. forces; and alleged bombing and strafing of Wednesday night (August 22), are rejected without qualification as malicious falsehoods totally without foundation in fact.

"When you are prepared to terminate the suspension of armistice negotiations which you declared on August 23, I will direct my representatives to meet with yours with a view to seeking a reasonable armistice agreement."

The reply speaks for itself. But the affair is so astounding that one wonders as to what its significance really is. It is evident that it is not to the interest of some party—whether directly involved in the struggle as yet or not—that the war should end.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of linguistic provinces has again come to the forefront. A General Secretary of the Congress has declared on two occasions in two different places that the Congress is committed to the principle of the formation of linguistic provinces. During the Bangalore Session of the A.I.C.C., the Working Committee re-iterated this principle when it was agreed that claims for the formation of Andhra and Karnatak provinces would be favourably taken up.

Prime Minister Nehru has introduced a new factor of expediency and general agreement in the question of linguistic provinces. On August 22, Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament that *when there was a broad agreement between the parties concerned in the matter of creation of linguistic provinces, the Government on their part would gladly take every step possible and needed for the fulfilment of that demand.*

The occasion for this statement of Government's policy was provided by an adjournment motion tabled by Prof. Ranga. The motion was disallowed.

The adjournment motion wanted the House to discuss the fast unto death taken by over 15 well-known Andhra members of the Congress, including Swamy Sita Ram, Sri Bulusu Sambarmoorthy, Sri and Srimati Basavayya and others in connection with the failure of the Government to take effective and urgent steps towards the formation of the Andhra province.

The Prime Minister explaining the Government's policy stated that although this was a matter of the utmost concern to the House, the matter could hardly be the subject of an adjournment motion. "We are certainly anxious that well-known public men should not indulge in hunger-strikes with regard to any such matter."

He confessed the matter of the creation of the linguistic provinces was a matter of great interest to the Government, but so far as the Government was concerned, Sri Nehru added, they had always held the view and expressed it on numerous occasions that before any proposal for a linguistic province was considered, all the parties concerned should come to some broad agreement on the question. He admitted, however, that some measure of agreement was there over this matter in the case of Andhra. But the question was not one of agreement on the boundaries alone. There should be agreement on the finances, services and many other things. And the Government having gone through the question very carefully had concluded that this would create many difficulties.

After all, Sri Nehru added, at no time did the Government like the word "partition" in another context. But inner partition was bound to create difficulties, which would be faced of course, but one had to deal with the question carefully.

If, therefore, there was this broad agreement forthcoming from the parties concerned, the Prime Minister assured the House, "So far as the Government are concerned, I must declare this policy that the Government would take all steps needed for the fulfilment of that demand."

It might be possible for the Government, he said, that the preliminary step of setting up a Commission for the purpose might be taken even now. But in the absence of any broad agreement between the parties concerned, there was the danger of the Commission reporting back that there was no agreement between the parties. Therefore, instead of furthering the cause, the report of the Commission might delay matters.

"So far as we are concerned," Sri Nehru went on, *"we are prepared to go ahead with the question of linguistic provinces on the basis of a large measure of agreement."* But he was sure that the hunger-strike, particularly by eminent public men, was hardly the way to achieve the object.

But next day, a different note was struck by Shri Rajagopalachari when, during a Bengal-Bihar boundary

controversy in Parliament, he said that the boundary question was an administrative problem and that it should not be lifted to the level of a sentimental or language or nationality problem.

Now the question is whether the demand for linguistic provinces is looked upon as a matter of principle, or as an administrative problem. The Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Supreme Executive of the Party they represent seem to differ on this issue rather widely. If it is a question of principle, expediency is a secondary matter and the principle cannot be accepted for particular areas in the country and denied to the rest. If principle has to be adhered to, dissident voices must be overcome by the Party which should throw its entire weight on the side of the principle. If the unwillingness of Bihar to part with the Bengali-speaking areas is considered to be against the agreed principle, it is for the Party to overcome it. Bengal cannot be blamed for raising the issue. From the administrative side as well, Bengal's claim on these lost districts is irresistible. West Bengal is a maimed province which has suffered most due to partition and it is only fair to help her rebuild the house by altering her boundary so as to include these Bengali-speaking tracts. The case is of urgency because of the distinctly undemocratic—indeed inhuman—attitude of the Bihar administration towards the Bengali speaking peoples who are in a large majority in the areas concerned. We have before now spoken of the cowardly attitude of the Congress with regard to this question. Shri Rajgopalachari was never troubled with principles and so his statements are of no consequence in this matter.

Corruption in Office and in Industry

The Government of India appointed two Enquiry Committees to get track of the corruption in officialdom and amongst India's industrialists. Reports have been published, exposing a state of affairs that is staggering. The Shroff Committee uses the word "outrageous" in characterizing the "over-stocking and deterioration of Railway Stores" in India. A summary of this part of the report says:

"While the country was being starved of essential materials, such as iron and steel and copper wire, the Committee discovered in the excessive stocks of stores of the Railways, items such as steel bars, rounds, galvanized sheets and copper and enamelled wire. It discovered that the present stock of fire bricks on the Assam Railway would meet its requirements for 272 years, that of carriage body finishing enamel for 105 years and of asbestos for 65 years. The stock of cutter, for wood-working machinery, on the B. B. and C. I. Railway would last for 192 years, of bolts for 126 years, and of snap head rivets for 55 years. The stock of the tin plates on the E. P. Railway would last for 222 years, of steel transverse keys on the M. and S. M. Railway for 139 years; of brown paper on the South Indian Railway for 304 years, of

rope and steel spring wire for 367 years and of wooden keys for 195 years."

About corruption and its cause, the Committee's verdict is as follows:

"We have had no opportunity of investigating any cases of corruption or embezzlement in the stores organization. We feel, however, there is considerable scope for leakage because of the very unsatisfactory state of store-keeping at several depots, lack of inspection at receiving ends, very extensive direct purchases made by the Controllers of Stores under emergency powers of the General Managers, and the enormous and almost incredible quantities of stocks of certain items of stores, unavoidably resulting in serious deterioration and obsolescence with artificially created necessity of forced disposal."

The Ganga Nath Enquiry Committee has also submitted its report on Sugar racket of 1949. Its findings are:

"The Sugar Syndicate moved out stocks far in excess of agreed quantities. These stocks were cornered by hoarders who raised prices. The surprising thing is that the U. P. Government endorsed, and the Central Government accepted, the Sugar Syndicate's request for extra wagons without bothering to inquire why extra wagons were wanted. These wagons were used to move sugar in excess of agreed quantity.

"Wagons were allotted in the belief that they had a uniform capacity of 10 tons when actually very many of them could, and did, carry 20 tons! Huge quantities were moved to the border towns of Punjab from where sugar was smuggled to Pakistan. Nobody stopped the scandal at any stage! The Government allowed the Syndicate to export 30,000 tons of sugar to Pakistan at a time when the stock position was already weak!

"Earlier the Syndicate tried to sell sugar in Pakistan at 'cut' prices and, imposed a levy of four annas per maund on all home consumption! More than 75 per cent of the mills charged a premium—at times as high as Rs 10-12-4 per maund—on their sugar stock releases!"

These things were the talk of the people in the autumn of 1949. Since then they have had no occasion to thank either the Government or their Birlas, Dalmias, Singhanias and their legal advisers for making sugar less costly to them. The thing that irritates and rankles is that during the war, sugar was cheaper and that under Wavell, and now with a Rajendra Prasad, we are worse off in this and other kindred matters. This state of affairs will continue until the Parliament contains a majority of persons who feel for the agony of the suffering masses in reality. The present coterie of sycophants, drawn from the party-caucus, are responsible for all this corruption. They have fooled the people long enough with their lip-sympathy. It is about time they were purged.

Bhakra-Nangal Project and Damodar Valley

The courtesy of East Punjab's Publicity Department enables us to publish the following:

"As a result of the construction of Bhakra and Nangal Projects, I can see that vision of a Punjab not far distant from now, a new Punjab with a network of canals, with electric railway trains, tramways, with towns humming with industrial activity and with villages full of flourishing fields. The construction of this project will provide great opportunities to the people of Punjab for the exercise of their initiative and skill in the planning, construction and industrial fields. New ideas will spring up to make the border State one of the richest in India," observed Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Chief Minister, Punjab, on the occasion of the commencement of Bhakra Dam Works on the 29th April, 1951.

"The fruits of this project would become manifest even earlier," he added. "The Nangal Hydel Canal and Power house would be completed by 1953 which would enable them to supply electricity to Delhi and also provide a certain amount of non-perennial irrigation in certain parts which are at present without any irrigation facilities.

"He regarded Bhakra and Nangal Projects as the symbol of the New Punjab, a Punjab which has risen during the last 3½ years on the ruins of the old.

"We had numerous problems to face after partition. Not only had we to rebuild the shattered economy of this mutilated and truncated State but had to rehabilitate millions of our unfortunate brethren, who had been driven away from their ancestral homes by communal fanaticism. Starting from scratch we have reached a stage in the development of this State when there is no looking back. It is heartening to find this project has kept pace with the growth of our State. We look forward now to an era of peace and prosperity, of growth and development, in which Bhakra and Nangal would play a most significant role."

We wish god-speed to our brethren of East Punjab in this scheme. On our side the Damodar Valley is hanging fire due to prolonged obstructions from New Delhi on one side and hesitation on the other. One particular little Tin-God is blatantly following this "denial policy" in safety because of the ignorance of the Chief Executive of India, who has lost sight of his duties to the people of West Bengal.

Rajasthan's Water Resources

Rajasthan's people, and the Indian Union also, have been building high hopes on the Multi-Purpose Irrigation Schemes that both the Governments have been sponsoring. The story told below is really heartening. And it is good to hear that it is not all failure and futility, though a section of our politicians have been doing their best or worst to kill the

people's confidence in their own ability to solve their own problems.

"A Multi-Purpose Development Project costing nearly rupees 14 crores and capable of generating 7,75,000 K.W. of electrical energy and yielding over one lakh tons of food-grains every year is under construction in Rajasthan.

"The scheme known as the Chambal Valley Project consists of three power dams and a barrage with canals on either side of the river Chambal which takes its origin in the northern slopes of the Vindhyan range and flows through Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan for a length of about six hundred miles before joining the Jamuna in U.P. The total catchment area of the river is about 55,000 square miles out of which the main river and its tributaries drain about 11,000 square miles.

"The uppermost dam, known as the Gandhi Sagar Dam will be in Madhya Bharat State, the next two dams—the Rawatbhata (Bhopal Power Project) Dam and the Kotah Dam and the Kotah Barrage, the lower most, being in Rajasthan State.

"The Rawatbhata Dam will be built about 20 miles downstream of the Gandhi Sagar Dam and at a distance of about 32 miles from Kotah City in Rajasthan.

"A colony near the dam site has been laid out and the construction of road from Kotah City to the site are in progress.

"The Kotah barrage will be built about 15 miles downstream of the Kotah dam and about six miles below Kotah City.

"The water from the turbines at the Kotah Dam passing into the river will be picked up at the barrage and utilized for irrigation."

Tube-Wells

We have been depending on foreign experts for our river-control activities. We were not aware, however, that even for sinking tube-wells, we have to depend on U.S.A. for their machineries, pipes, etc. The Food Minister in Lord Linlithgow's Executive has rubbed in this dependence in a statement made in New York. He has advised the Indian Government to indent largely for materials required to sink 5,000 tube-wells, as the river-control activities will take years to show results. He thinks that these would prove of more value than the 2-million tons of food-grains which will carry us through 12 months only. What does India's Food Minister think of this brain-wave of Jwala Prasad Srivastava?

India's Food "Bill"

The enactment by the U.S.A. Congress of what is popularly known as India's Food Bill has put an end to a sorry business, the memory of which will rankle in Indian hearts for a long time to come. There has been bitterness in this argument as a section of the Congress

had attempted to exploit India's necessity for food-grains for extracting political advantages. Their attempts have been foiled, we hope; and it should teach rulers of States that there are limits to political meanness.

Today however, we desire to forget this episode, and try to realize what the cost of this food "bill" will remain for our descendants. The following indicates it in certain details :

The loan of 190 million dollars will carry interest at two and a half per cent per annum. The period for the first instalment of the interest begins on December 31, 1952. The loan is repayable in 35 years and the first instalment of the payment part of the principal is due in June 1957, whereafter semiannual instalments, including the principal and the interest, became payable in accordance with a fixed scale and schedule.

An amount of seven million dollars per annum become payable from 1957 to 1966, ten million dollars per annum become payable from 1967 to 1976 and twelve million dollars from 1977 to 1986.

Thus, posterity will pay for meeting the famine conditions now prevalent in Bihar and Madras and other parts of India and maintaining the twelve-ounce ration a head in the rationed areas for the next 35 years. While the scale and schedule of repayment of the principal and the interest have already been fixed, negotiations will start shortly for agreement on the details of raw materials and other goods, which may form part payment on behalf of India, as from December next year.

While two million tons of additional food-grains are coming from the United States of America more than about four million tons are coming from other countries—a considerable part thereof is again coming from America, Canada, Argentine, Australia—and from Russia and China commitments have gone down after a signing of trade agreements with the two countries. For the information, of those who have been shouting down "capitalist" America and boosting the "Peoples' States" of China and Russia we give the following facts :

Russia offered half-a-million tons of wheat, but when it came to negotiations India was evidently unable to supply goods in return for wheat for more than 100,000 tons. Russia wanted shellac, tea and jute from India. China offered one million tons of food-grains but the actual agreement related only to about four lakhs of tons. Of this rice is only about 76,500 tons and the balance consists mainly of milo or grain sorghums, a variety of jowar, red in colour but which is the nearest substitute for food in the rice-eating areas. India will supply 14,000 tons of jute bags in return. These cost more than Rs. 5,00,00,000 as against the total value of Chinese food-grains of Rs. 13,00,00,000 the balance being payable in cash. In the matter of wheat, there has been considerable annoyance in public over what was taken to be jowar adulterated with wheat. We find that was Russian wheat (of 2nd quality).

Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore

The report of the progress up to 1st March, 1951, of this Institute gives an idea of its value:

General: The 'Cheluvamba Mansion' in which the Institute is located was formally received by the Hon'ble Prime Minister on 29th December, 1948. The Institute office in Mysore commenced work in the beginning of February, 1949, and the first laboratories were fitted up and work started towards the end of July of the same year. By about the beginning of October, 1950, most of the laboratories had been fitted up and the Institute was formally opened by the Hon'ble Sri C. Rajagopalachari on 21st October 1950.

An important development was the decision of the Government of India, through the Ministry of Agriculture, to merge the Indian Institute of Fruit Technology with this Institute. The transfer was with effect from 1st March 1950 and the staff joined at Mysore between April and June, 1950.

Utilisation of Tubers and Production of Synthetic Grains: The immediate programme is mainly directed towards studies which have a bearing on the urgent food problems of the country. One of the important findings relate to the replacement of 25 to 50 per cent of cereals by tuber flours (particularly tapioca and sweet potato) and other processed tuber products. It was found that, in addition to maintaining growth, the tubers actually exercise a supplementary action because of their higher calcium content. This finding is of considerable practical value. The Institute has also succeeded in fortifying and then converting tapioca into grains which could be cooked and consumed the same way as rice. This work has already attracted considerable amount of attention and the Travancore-Cochin Government arranged for a pilot plant demonstration of the process at the All-India Exhibition organised under the auspices of the Trivandrum Municipal Corporation.

Mixed Farming in Uttar Pradesh

Mr. S. Ibne Ali's article reprinted from *Indian Farming* of August, 1950, should inspire farmers:

"The Department of Agriculture, Uttar Pradesh, aims at improving the economic plight of the cultivator. It can be achieved only by getting the maximum turn-out from a minimum investment and also by encouraging such means as may supplement their income.

"Although mixed farming is an old practice in our country, due to several reasons there has been a gradual deterioration in this type of farming and the domesticated animals' health and breed. The same has resulted in an all-round deficiency of good bullocks, cows, buffaloes and consequently, milk and milk products, manure, and above all in the fertility of our land—the national wealth of the country.

"India being primarily an agricultural country,

the sole occupation of the rural population is connected with agricultural pursuits. It has been observed that in our country agriculture has become more or less a gamble against nature. If there are timely rains and the weather is favourable the cultivator is able to earn his living without resorting to loans, otherwise, he is entangled in untold miseries inflicted upon him by the usurious money-lender. It is, therefore, imperative that he should adopt mixed farming not only as an extra source of income but also as a means for ensuring good breeds of domesticated animals. These days when prices of bullocks have gone very high, it is beyond the means of an average cultivator to buy them. But if cows of good breed are kept, the difficulty can be overcome to a great extent. Apart from this, the cultivator and his family get plenty of better and nourishing food comprising of milk and milk-products.

"Today, Western agriculture is based mostly on mixed farming practices and is very well organized. This has enabled America, Canada, Australia, and other advanced countries to achieve peak productions in agriculture and they are thus, in a position even to supply food-grains to the deficit countries."

"Sir John Russel, a well-known agricultural expert of Great Britain, after making extensive tour of our country in 1938 had very strongly felt, and rightly too, that the farmers of this great sub-continent did not keep good milch animals and hence their children got very poor nourishment and their land remained low in fertility.

"It is true that from a pair of bullocks or cows we can, if we wish, get 25 cart-loads of manure which is sufficient to provide humus and a large part of the fertilizing elements to four acres of wheat or paddy. For two cows, one acre of land is necessary for growing green fodder, viz., jowar in *kharif* and berseem in *rabi*. The manure thus obtained from the animals, if applied to four acres of land under wheat or paddy, will give an yield equal to the produce from six to seven acres of unmanured land. It is therefore incorrect to think that by growing fodder in one or two acres, the acreage under food-grains will go down and the output will be lowered. In fact, a cultivator having a pair of bullocks, can actually produce more from a smaller area if he keeps two cows also, than otherwise because in that case he can manure his fields better.

"In the Uttar Pradesh the Department of Agriculture selected six districts representing diverse soils and climatic conditions for undertaking experiments on mixed farming. The districts selected were Meerut, Bareilly, Lucknow, Barabanki, Gorakhpur and Deoria. In each district a village was selected for this purpose. In each village six cultivators who possessed eight to ten acres of land were selected. Out of these six cultivators two were picked out to practise mixed farming and they were asked to keep two or three well-bred cows and buffaloes. They were advised to maintain

them on improved lines. They also grew some fruits and vegetables, wherever possible. The remaining four cultivators were left to go on without adopting mixed farming. An account of their daily expenditure and income was regularly maintained. It was proved after five years of experimentation, that mixed farming was much more profitable than ordinary farming. By keeping a few milch animals an additional income is derived from the milk and milk-products and the progeny of the cattle. In addition, the manure produced from these cattle increases the fertility of the soil thereby increasing the turn-out per acre. In practising mixed farming, the rotation of the crops is so adjusted as to have fodder also from the same holding without affecting production of food crops. This is possible because, with the help of additional manure, intensive farming is possible without minimizing the fertility of the soil.

"It has been further observed from these experiments that in the western districts of the Uttar Pradesh a cultivator with a holding of eight to ten acres could easily maintain three cows and buffaloes and a pair of bullocks, while in the eastern districts only two cows or buffaloes besides a pair of bullocks could be kept. Such holdings were enough to provide sufficient fodder for the livestock to yield good produce and also to increase soil fertility.

"It is thus clear from the results of the experiments that in the case of mixed farming the cultivator's income per acre is Rs. 100 more than that derived by ordinary farming. Moreover, he gets ample supply of milk, milk-products, fruits and vegetables. Besides, he is able to raise his own bullocks and milch cattle and grow fodder crops like berseem, lucerne, jowar, guar, etc.; the animals help to increase the fertility of his land. Naturally, his overall income is greatly increased. It is also necessary to point out here that if the milch animals that are kept are of a poor breed, the sole purpose of the scheme of mixed farming will be defeated."

Side by side of work for the improvement of livestock, there is an incipient prejudice against it noticeable amongst officialdom.

Mineral Resources of the DVC Area

The Damodar Valley Corporation has published a very valuable report on the mineral resources of this region. The report has been prepared by Mr. V. R. Khedker who has already earned a high reputation as a geologist. It will be a mistake to accept it as a mere summary of all available data in the possession of the Geological Survey of India obtained during the past 100 years. The author has not only given a full account of the occurrences and reserves of mineral resources of this region, but at the same time, he has indicated the various industrial uses of these minerals and the pattern of integrated industry that can be developed with them. The potentiality of our mineral

industries against our present foreign trade has been assessed. This will serve as a guide to the future industrialists. Mr. Khedker has taken special care to warn about the danger of wastage in the extraction of important minerals. For example, he has pointed out that although the Foley Committee (1920) had said that "Indian coal is not inexhaustible and scientific mining methods are needed for its conservation and economic extraction," practically no action had been taken by the authorities. Not only nothing has been done to stop wastage, the direct result of the Coal Grading Board's recommendation in 1925 has been to encourage methods of further wastage due to partial extraction involving sections of a seam. The author says that this has proved to be responsible for the loss of future recovery from many other seams or parts of the same seam and that this grading of sections of seams must stop immediately. The conditions brought about by these processes of mining have, during the last 20 years, caused a disastrous series of fires, explosions and collapses in the Damodar Valley coal fields. He has indicated the need for the formation of a National Coal Commission as suggested by the Indian Coalfields Committee (1946). Mr. Khedker has studied our mineral problems from the standpoint of national interest. About the utilisation of bye-products he says, "The Indian Union is deficient in petrol. In other countries most of the Benzole recovered as a bye-product is used for preparing a motor spirit which has decided advantages because of its knock-suppression quality in high combustion engines. As something like 3 to 4 million tons of coal is coked in bye-product ovens in India, it may be asked why so little Benzole is made here. The Bararee Coke Company Ltd. were pioneers in 1920, and they were succeeded a few years later by the East India Railway plant at Giridih. The total output of the two plants does not exceed two lakhs of gallons per annum while the potential output of existing coke plants is about 3 to 4 million gallons per annum. Up to now this deficiency on the part of the industry has been ascribed to the Central Excise taxation on petrol and the resulting mechanics of price variation." In the present threatening petrol crisis, this suggestion should be given the closest attention by the Department of Industries of the G.S.I. Mr. Khedker says that the Central Government may consider extending some form of suitable protection to the manufacture of Benzole spirit.

Discussing India's high bargaining position in respect of manganese ore, Mr. Khedker says, "The reserves of manganese ores within India have a strategic value. Besides, India is perhaps the most important producer of certain high grade metallurgical ore. Consequently, the exporting ore should yield adequate benefits and may perhaps be utilised for securing essential commodities in which she is deficient, e.g., petrol, copper, zinc, etc." Great Britain, U.S.A.,

Germany, France and Japan produce about 70 per cent of world's steel but their manganese output is a little over 1 per cent. India is exhausting this very important mineral in the crude state and at a very low value. In its wide applications, manganese is perhaps only second to iron ore. In the section on mica, the author has shown that the royalty charged for mica is 5 per cent of the pit's mouth value and the dead rent in the new leases has been fixed at Rs. 12 per acre in the Kodarma Reserved Forest. These rates are ridiculously low and had been fixed to suit foreign interests. The number of important mica companies is about 12, and most of them are foreigners. There is no reason why the royalty and dead rents should not be reasonably enhanced and the mining lease rules suitably changed. The case with manganese is also the same. Mr. Khedker has focussed attention on the question of mining lease. In the section on silica, Mr. Khedker has indicated the potentiality of a new line in glass industry, viz., the use of glass in electrical installations specially in high voltage transmission lines. In Western countries, glass as insulator has come to be known as the Miracle Maker and is rapidly replacing porcelain. Mr. Khedker has revealed that besides the pyrites deposits near Sahabad, much sulphur can be recovered from zinc concentrates and from oil purification, galvanising and tinning plants. The de Lattre process for the recovery of acid from spent pickling liquors deserves examination. He believes that the resources of sulphur, which India is in desperate need today, in the Damodar Valley Area are encouraging, if a scientifically planned effort is directed towards mobilising them. In the last section, Mr. Khedker has given a very valuable study of an integrated mineral industry in the Damodar Valley clearly indicating the basic and subsidiary industries that can be developed there. The Report, to say the least, will prove extremely helpful to the future industrialists of the country. But meanwhile it will be profitable for the Government of India to consider seriously the problems of wastage of valuable minerals, utilisation of bye-products and a reorientation of the mineral lease policy on the lines pointed out in this report. The question of nationalisation of mines in this connection may be seriously considered. The report would have been of greater value, had the author been permitted to be a little more outspoken.

Indian Coal

A recent news announced to the world that India's coal has been able to re-capture certain of the markets in "four continents," Asia, Australia, Africa and Europe. There may be an element of exaggeration in this claim, and it would be foolish to depend on these outside markets. We should bend our efforts to re-organize the home market and be freer from the ups and downs, the whims and caprices of people who are not rich of the soil. We would be satisfied if the

following facts and their appreciation are borne out by experience:

"There is a popular misconception that because there is believed to be a shortage of metallurgical coal, which belief is now being examined by an Expert Committee, it necessarily follows that there is a shortage of other high grade coals. There is no shortage of high grade coal either in production or in reserves for ordinary industrial use.

"Non-coking high grade coal suitable for steam raising is produced in the required quantities and the output can be stepped up to meet any foreseeable increase in demand at a very short notice. Reserves of good quality non-coking coal are very great in India, and in four Fields only, they are:

		Millions of tons
Jharia Field	.. ..	1,625
Raniganj Field	.. ..	1,660
Karanpura Field	.. ..	3,740
Bokaro Field	.. ..	1,300

(The figures for Karanpura and Bokaro Fields are proved reserves and large areas remain unprospected.)

"It is conservatively estimated that the supplies in these Fields alone would be more than sufficient to last for over 350 years."

Trickery in Jute Trade

On more than one occasion we have tried to expose the trickery that prevails in the jute trade. The letter of Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, in *Harijan* of July 28 last, will go a long way in supporting us. But New Delhi authority has chosen to turn the blind eye to the moral and material lapses of this trade, on which Satish Babu can speak in more detail, if authority cares to look into the various factors that have been fostering this disease. The editor of this weekly appears to suggest that Satish Babu approached authority, but there has been "no response" to his request for investigation.

"For sometime past the Indian Jute Mills Association prices or market prices of jute twine have been less than the price of raw jute, e.g., on 30-5-51, the prices of raw jute and twine were as follows: Raw jute Rs. 105 per md.; Twine Rs. 83 per md. This is adversely affecting what is left of cottage spinning of jute . . . The jute cultivator now finds it more paying to sell out the little jute stock he has for household purpose. . . This is to explain how the lower price of jute twine vis-a-vis the raw jute affects employment in cottages."

After this, who will believe that the Rajendra Prasad-Nehru Government are anxious to promote the Gandhi Plan?

Bengal South-Eastern Border

Bengal's South-Eastern border, in spite of its strategic and economic importance, has been a neglected zone. The recent strike lasting over months together has resulted in at least this much good that the attention of the Central Government has been

drawn towards it. Although inadequate, one may say that let there be a beginning. The Minister of State for Railways has, on August 25 last, introduced a Bill in the Indian Parliament which seeks to replace the Ordinance promulgated recently which seeks to make provision for the proper management and administration of certain narrow-gauge light railway still managed by private companies. The Ordinance was made applicable to the Barasat-Basirhat Railway, owning a narrow gauge line about 52 miles long in West Bengal. The Ordinance was of a general nature and provided for the application thereof to a delinquent privately run railway company by a notified order. Such a notification would enable the Government to appoint a new Board of Directors and any contract of management between the railway company and any managing agent would be automatically terminated. The intention underlying these provisions, it is explained, is that the company should be put back in its normal position when it would be possible to restore the management of the company to its old board of directors or to a new board of directors appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed by the shareholders of the company. Powers to administer the affair of the Barasat-Basirhat Railway have been delegated to the Government of West Bengal.

This Railway is of strategic importance and is in an extremely unsatisfactory state; it has stations which are not worth the name, the running of the trains is clumsy and above all it continues to be one of a narrow gauge. The railway connects Calcutta with Basirhat, a very important town on the south-eastern border. This railway by now ought to have been converted to a metre gauge one and run on a full-fledged railway service. We hope some of the Parliamentarians, specially the Bengal contingent, should take up this matter when discussion of the Bill comes up. The appropriate Ministry of the Central Government in charge of road construction should also make an immediate survey of the communication of this area and link up by road places that ought to be connected with one another and finally with Calcutta. The serious attention of the West Bengal Government should be drawn to the maintenance of the embankments of this locality which are of utmost importance in the matter of food production. These embankments protect the paddy fields from the onrush of saline water. Breaches in the embankments not only destroy standing crops by letting in saline water, but it brings in its trail endless misery for the local people. Cattle mortality becomes heavy due to foot and mouth diseases. Drinking water is spoiled. Paddy fields go out of cultivation for a few years due to salinity of the soil. The morale of the people goes down. This state of affairs is highly unsatisfactory and is grossly detrimental in frontier strategy. The morale of the people inhabiting the first line of defence is essential in the proper maintenance of a border area.

"The Dividing Britisher"

Under this heading appeared a letter in the *People of Delhi*, dated July 28 last in which the writer quoted a "complete paragraph" from the book entitled *While Memory Serves* by Lt.-General Sir Francis Tucker who had been G.O.C. in Eastern Command during the last 18 months of British rule in India and for about 3 months after August, 1947. The point that the writer brings out in this quotation was that the Britisher had a larger hand in dividing India.

While there generally is such an impression in India we are constrained to say that the Britisher could not have done this mischief if the Muslims of India had been able to accept India as their own as they do Arabia or Pakistan. It is this separatist conceit that the Britisher exploited for his own purposes and which the Quaid-e-Azam lashed into a fury. All the same Sri Ram Kumar Leithra has done well to draw attention to this phase of British policy in its Kashmir context:

"There was much therefore to be said for the introduction of a new Muslim power supported by the science of Britain. If such a power could be produced and if we could orient the Muslim strip from North Africa through Islamia Deserts, Persia and Afghanistan to the Himalayas, upon such a Muslim power in Northern India, then it had some chance of halting the filtration of Russia through the Persian Gulf. These Islamic countries, even including Turkey, were not a very great strength in themselves. But with a Northern Indian Islamic State of several millions it would be reasonable to expect that Russia would not care to provoke them too far It seemed to some of us very necessary to place Islam between Russian Communism and Hindustan."

Indian Interests in Burma

The news of a new treaty of mutual advantage to India and Burma revives speculations about the present position of economico-financial interests built up by the labour, skill and intelligence of India's national in this neighbour of ours. The occasion should be taken advantage of to recall the many factors involved that have taken a not friendly form for some time, from before the last Great War.

Sometime ago a Madras weekly devoted to trade and allied subjects indicated these:

"The part played by South Indians, particularly Nattu Kottai Chettiars, in the development of land in Burma is by no means insignificant. They started as financiers and advanced considerable sums of money as loans to Burmese peasants. There was, naturally enough, a steady transference of land into their hands as the peasants found themselves unable to repay the loans and mortgages were foreclosed. While in 1930 the Indian community owned hardly half a million acres, in 1938 they had acquired about 2½ million acres out of a total of about 12 million acres of cultivable land. The total value of all lands and other immovable properties, owned by Indians in

Burma, according to a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India, is about Rs. 90 crores.

"In accordance with the provisions of the Burma Land Nationalization Act, owners of cultivable land, whether Burmese, Indian or European, will get 12 times the annual land revenue as compensation, the average annual revenue per acre being Rs. 3. The Act was enacted on the basis of Section 30 of the Constitution of Burma Act stating that "the State is the ultimate owner of all lands and it shall have the right to regulate, alter, and abolish land tenures or resume possession of any land and distribute the same for collective or co-operative farming to agriculturists, and that there can be no large holding on any basis whatsoever, and that the normal size of such private holdings shall, as soon as circumstances permit, be determined by a Commission. Though the said Commission has so far not submitted its recommendations regarding the normal size of a private holding, an agriculturist is allowed to have a holding of not more than 10 acres, and only in exceptional cases a joint family in which not less than 5 persons till the soil is given a holding of 50 acres. It is thus seen that the Act was meant, not as an anti-Indian measure as supposed in some quarters, but as a socialistic law to effect badly needed land reforms in a predominantly agricultural country. The charge of discrimination cannot thus be technically brought forward, though in reality its effect will be discriminatory.

"Whether the terms of compensation now arrived at between the Burmese Government and the Indian Delegation are equitable to both the Burmese Government and the Indian nationals cannot be decided with any degree of finality in view of the wildly contradictory views of the interested parties.

"The compensation that is likely to be offered, according to one estimate, comes to about Rs. 30 per acre for average land, and on this basis the total cost of acquisition of foreign-owned land in Burma will be only about Rs. 10 crores. No one can say what exactly will be the total amount that Burma will have to pay as compensation, but if it is to be only a paltry figure of Rs. 10 crores, it is certainly a meagre amount considering the value of the holdings. It should be borne in mind that between 1880 and the present day, the total acreage under rice in Lower Burma has increased something like 300 per cent, thanks mainly to Indian enterprise.

"One distinct gain, however, of the visit of the Indian Delegation is the new spirit of friendliness and cordiality that has developed between Burma and India. As for the immediate present, the offer by India to take Burma rice in lieu of cash payment of compensation for nationalised lands of Indians may meet with ready approval by the Burmese Government, though this question was beyond the brief of the Reddi Delegation. . . ."

We are glad that the old enmity between the Indian and the Burmese is being forgotten. Apart from British Imperialist policy, the most responsible factor in this enmity of the past was the greed of those very same money-lenders whose cause is being espoused by our Madras contemporary. The transference of land, which is assumed to be "naturally enough" was mostly a rapacious land-grabbing process, as we saw for ourselves in Burma when we visited that country after the first anti-Indian riots.

Malaya's Independence

In the first week of June last, Mr. Dato Onn Bin Jalafar, President of the United Malaya National Organisation (U.M.N.O.) and Home Member in the Malayan Federal Government, has come out with the statement that his ideal is achievement of an "Independent Malaya" within a period of seven years. It has been hailed as "bold and courageous" by Mr. C. C. Tan, leader of the Singapore Progressive Party, and welcomed by Mr. K. Ramnathan, President of the Malayan Indian Congress and Mr. Dato Tan Cheng Lock, President of the Malayan Chinese Association. Thus, all the three most important races in Malaya, the Malayan, the Chinese and the Indian, have jointly discarded their previous demand of "dominion status" under the Crown and agreed to fight for complete independence.

Malaya is rich in rubber and other important raw materials, so essential to British trade and industry in these days of acute shortage of raw materials. The British have therefore held fast to this peninsula ever since they came there in 1874 to "assist" the local population. But pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" between the Indian, Chinese, and Malayan communities, the British have been exploiting this rich peninsula, bleeding the country white.

After the defeat of Japan and reoccupation of Malaya by the British, the revolutionary changes in India, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Indonesia have had their repercussions in Malaya as well. The people raised the cry of "dominion status" under the Crown, but the British instead created a new Federation of nine States ruled by the Sultans with British advisers. Penang and Malaya were created as settlements, and Singapore was put under a separate Administration, the whole peninsula being governed by a British High Commissioner.

To meet the popular agitation, the British recently introduced some kind of constitutional reforms, which provide for a Legislative Council with members nominated by the High Commissioner and not elected by the people. The "ministerial system of Government" also provides for the appointment of six non-officials and five officials by the High Commissioner to take charge of the various Departments of the Government. This dyarchical form of government, without any popular representation, failed to meet the demands of the people of Malaya. They thus continued to agitate for transference of real power.

Mr. Dato Onn's statement has created a stir in

Malaya. The fear that the Malaysians may not like to share political power with other communities is offset by Mr. Onn's declaration that if the U.M.N.O. did not open its gates to non-Malaysians at the annual meeting in August, he would form a new party to be called "Independence of Malaya Party." The thing does not appear to be as simple as that. In Mr. Dato's household there is opposition. His son, Captain Hussein who happens to be the Secretary-General of United Malayas National Organization is opposed to his father's idea, though it indicates no deviation from U.M.N.O.'s objectives. We must wait for further light to appreciate the Malaya situation.

Malayan Federal Citizenship Bill

There is a large volume of opinion among Indians and Chinese in Malaya, that the provisions of the Malayan Federal Citizenship Bill must be considerably changed before they can be acceptable.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee of the Malayan Federal Legislative Council last week with little debate. That does not, however, mean that its provisions are not controversial. It only signifies that all discussion has been postponed to the Select Committee stage.

Legal experts have emphasised that if the Bill becomes law, no longer will an Indian or Chinese be able to enjoy dual citizenship rights in this country—that is rights of citizenship of his own country and of Malaya. The Bill requires that a citizen of the Federation of Malaya must abjure all other loyalties and must undertake not to exercise the rights and privileges of any other nationality or citizenship. Under the present law, such dual citizenship rights are permitted though the applicant for Malayan Federal Citizenship has to make a declaration that he is permanently settled in the Federation.

Under the Bill all Malaysians born in Malaya States become citizens by birth. In the case of locally-born Indians, Chinese and other non-Malays there are exceptional provisions. For citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies the first generation will be eligible for citizenship by registration. Only the second generation will be citizens by operation of law.

Persons who have lived for not less than ten years in Malaya in the preceding twelve-year period, are able to speak Malay or English with reasonable proficiency, and undertake to settle permanently in Malaya, can acquire Federal citizenship under the Bill by first enrolling themselves as subjects of the ruler of the Malaya State where they reside.

Certain facilities which British subjects now enjoy in respect of citizenship will be withdrawn from them under the Bill, and these privileges will be confined to citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies. According to prominent Indian lawyers, this will affect a large number of Indians in this country who are British subjects but not subjects of U.K. or colonies. They add that the tendency in Malayan politics has lately been to confine to U.K. and colonies nationals the special rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by British subjects.

During the debate on the Select Committee motion in Federal Legislative Council, a Chinese member said that the Bill sought to impose several new conditions for citizenship which were not present under the existing law. Thus, the first generation born in the settlements of Malacca and Penang would be deprived of the right by operation of law to be Federal citizens.

On the morning of the day the Bill came up for consideration in the Council, the influential Chinese-owned Singapore *Tiger Standard* urged that the Bill should be "killed." This new Bill is not an improvement on the present situation, the paper said. "On the contrary, it seeks to make even more rigid the lines of distinction between the various communities. It places new legal and constitutional barriers which would result in the intensification of communal fears and suspicions."

The Malayan Indian Congress, at its annual session, held last month, asked that Federal citizenship should be granted on standard and uniform qualifications, namely, five years' residence in Malaya, good character and ability to speak colloquial Malaya or English.

The above news was sent from Malaya on July 19 last.

Indians in Ceylon

Recent events in Ceylon has created a certain amount of tension in India. The people then in their new consciousness are apt to forget that Indians have made contributions to the island's enrichment. These people, about 8 lakhs of men, women and children, are being denied citizenship rights; and the policy of "Ceylonization" is being pursued with a certain amount of injustice.

We do not generally quote British observers in connection with our efficiency as compared to other Asian peoples. But in Ceylon's context we are tempted to quote the late Commander-in-Chief of the island's forces, Admiral Geoffrey Layton who, irritated perhaps by the threat of "Ceylonization" now directed against Indian-born Ceylonese but ultimately adversely effective against all foreigners, is reported to have said that Indians "worked twice as hard as Ceylonese. There must be something in this gibe. The same is heard of in Burma, in Fiji, in the West Indies, in Mauritius, in South Africa's sugarcane lands to the credit side of our people—about 40 lakhs spread all over the world.

Indians in Ceylon, organized in their Congress, have been at the forefront of Ceylon's fight for freedom. And they have not been able to ignore the Sennanyke-and-Bandarnayke discrimination. They have fought it to a stand-still in the law-court. A news-item from Colombo has sent the information that "recently a judgment was delivered by the District Judge of Kegalla. The Kegalla judgment delivered in favour of one Mr. Kodakan Pillai in his petition for restoring his name on Ceylon's electoral rolls held the Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Electoral Amendment Act of 1949 *ultra vires* of section 29 (2) of Ceylon's Constitution. This section provided that no law enacted by Parliament should make persons of any com-

munity liable to restrictions to which persons of other community were not made liable or confer on persons of any community any privilege or advantage which was not conferred on persons of other communities. The logical step for the Ceylon Government arising out of this judgment would be to restore all deleted names in the Electoral Rolls or to set about amending the Constitution."

This will not, however, stand in the way of the Ceylon Ministers having their way. Law-courts do not command that respect from the controllers of State policy as these used to do. This is a universal phenomenon. The resignation of Mr. Bandarnayake is a pointer which should warn us of coming events. It is about time that our Foreign office made it clear to all and sundry that any country that deliberately sets out to cheat and deprive the children of India who have gone abroad, would get "reciprocity" with a vengeance. Ceylon is a pointer, like South Africa, of the boons of the "Commonwealth."

Modern Amenities in Rural Ceylon

The United Nations Economic, Scientific, Cultural Organization has been sponsoring centres of modern amenities in various parts of the world, specially in Asia. One of these is at Minneriya in Ceylon in her Northern Central Province now reduced to a "dry zone." This is being re-converted to its former plenty. This story was told by Dr. Spencer Hatch, once U.N.E.S.C.O. adviser in rural education to the Government of India and now director of the Ceylon Project, in *Courier*, U.N.E.S.C.O.'s organ. We make no apology in quoting certain parts of it.

"Minneriya is the centre of a colonization experiment begun by the Ceylon Government as part of its resettlement programme, in which special emphasis has been laid on improved agricultural methods. The opening of the fundamental education demonstration centre there means the beginning of a new march forward—educational, cultural and scientific—which will not only help the people of that area, but will also be an example to other parts of Ceylon as well as to other countries with similar problems.

The Minneriya Colony, where the new Fundamental Education Centre has been set up, is a symbol of new hope for such people, for it has shown in recent years how practical ideas and strenuous efforts can work a "miracle" in the jungle. In this once dangerous malaria-infested area, the jungle has been cleared by the Government, the ancient irrigation system based on copious "tanks" which are the size of small lakes has been restored, and colonists, formerly displaced persons, have been settled on the land.

The Ceylon project is also providing a significant demonstration of co-operation and co-ordination, the Centre being staffed by experts in literacy training, agricultural education, sanitation, rural industries and home economics in co-operation with Unesco and three other UN Specialized Agencies—the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization and the Food and

Agricultural Organization. Representatives of different related departments of the Ceylon Government will also join the staff. All the bodies as well as voluntary non-official agencies will work together in a common programme.

The Ceylon Centre will also be co-ordinated with the new Unesco Pilot-Project in Delhi State, India."

The Suez Canal

The Middle East's resentment against Western domination is symbolized by Egyptian anger against British diplomacy. It is, therefore, necessary that we should get hold of the main facts of this dispute. It was the genius—the capacity to take infinite pains and the power of endurance—of a Frenchman, De Lesseps, which made possible the opening of what is known as the Suez Canal today.

The La Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez is French-controlled with the British Government holding 44 per cent of the shares. Until March 1949, only two of the directors were Egyptian (out of 32), but according to an agreement arrived at that month, five more Egyptians were to be appointed as and when vacancies occurred. According to the Company report of 1950, extracts of which were published in some of the leading English newspapers, the Canal earned 16 million pounds sterling for its shareholders that year. Out of this, Egypt's share was a little over a million pounds. These two facts plus the obvious one—the canal is part of Egyptian territorial waters—gives the background to the rising dispute between Great Britain and the Government of King Farouk. Egypt can do nothing about this state of affairs until 1968—when the 99-year canal lease ends. At the same time, she has usurped powers of traffic control and utilises the immunity given to her coastal trade to interfere and upset the principles that have hitherto guided the passage through what are international waters.

It must be recalled, however, that the then British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli took advantage of Khedive Ismail's extravagance to get hold of the 44 per cent of Suez Canal shares that Britain holds today. Very soon followed Arabi Pasha's revolt, and Liberal Gladstone's virtual occupation of State power in Egypt. His adviser in this matter was the "Radical" John Morley whose informant on empire concerns was the equally Radical Charles Dilke who lost his chance for Britain's Premiership owing to Queen Victoria's old world prejudices against sexual laxity. These are the facts of the 70-years' imbroglio that waits a solution even today.

Security Pact for the Pacific Area

On the 13th July last the United States, Australia and New Zealand signed this Pact at Washington. It consists of 11 articles and is expected to go into effect when the peace treaty with Japan is concluded and continue indefinitely. The Japanese treaty is due to be signed in September in San Francisco

The Pacific Pact provides for the establishment of a council of the three nations' foreign ministers or their deputies to implement it.

In the preamble to the treaty the parties declare their "sense of unity."

The preamble reaffirms the faith of the three parties in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and their desire to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific.

It notes that the United States, on the coming into force of the Japanese peace treaty, may station armed forces in and around Japan, to assist in the preservation of peace and security in that area.

It recognises that Australia and New Zealand as members of the Commonwealth have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific area.

The treaty provisions follow :

Article 1 : The parties undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may become involved in a manner consistent with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

Article 2 : The parties shall maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 3 : The parties shall hold mutual consultation in the event of aggression in the Pacific.

Article 4 : Each party shall recognise that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and shall act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Such an armed attack and resulting measures taken to meet it shall be immediately reported to the United Nations Security Council.

Article 5 : For purposes of Article 4 an armed attack includes an attack on any island possession of any of the parties in the Pacific.

Article 6 : The treaty does not affect the parties' rights and obligations under the U.N. Charter.

Article 7 : A council of foreign ministers or their deputies of the parties shall be established to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty.

Article 8 : The council of foreign ministers is authorised to maintain consultative relationship with other authorities in the Pacific area.

Article 9 : Relates to ratification of the treaty.

Article 10 : The treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Any party may withdraw from the council of foreign ministers one year after notifying the Australian Government which shall inform the other party.

Article 11 : The treaty, in the English language, shall be deposited in the Australian Government's archives."

It was made plain throughout the draft that Australia and New Zealand's commitments to the United States are limited strictly to the Pacific area including the Pacific coast of the continental United States. American involvement in the European area, for instance, would not obli-

gate the two dominions to come to their ally's aid.

The U.S.A. signatory, Mr. Dulles, reiterated America's hope that the pact would be only the first step in the building of a comprehensive regional security system in the Pacific area. This declaration explains the significance of the projected treaty with Japan. For, without her, the security of the area cannot be secured.

Canada's Culture

Since the days of the second world war, there has been an integration of Canadian defence arrangements with the U.S.A.'s. Canada's Defence Minister publicly indicated the lines in which the armed forces of the two neighbours have been co-operating. This arrangement "makes sense," he said; and one of the reasons "for sending the bulk of the Canadian Army's special force to Fort Lewis, Washington, to complete training was because the force 'may have to fight side by side with United States Forces.'"

"He did not elaborate on either point in a political broadcast but raised the prospect of Canadian Forces being moulded into higher American rather than British formations."

This collaboration has, however, been having other consequences which were brought out in a 500-page report of the Commission on national development in the arts, letters, and sciences appointed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurents. The report appears to be worrying the Canadians. As one of them put it, "The gist of Commission's findings is that Canada is losing her soul to the United States."

"Culturally Canada is "anaemic" because of "easy dependence on a huge and generous neighbour." Some American contributions, such as Rockefeller and Carnegie awards, have done much for the Dominion's cultural progress, but at the same time a heavy price has been paid; Canada has no national theatre, film industry or literature worth talking about.

"The five-man Commission was headed by Mr. Vincent Massey, Chancellor of Toronto University, and spent two years on its investigations. One of the recommendations of the commission to combat "soap opera" Americanism is State control and development of the arts and entertainment."

We have our doubts about the efficacy of "State Control" over culture. Canada happens to have a uniform language and literature except for the French Canadians. And it is they who will supply the marks and notes of an independent culture.

Denmark's Fisheries

The Royal Danish Legation's Commercial Section, released on July 1 last the following: "The annual output of the fisheries in Denmark amounts to more than 450,000,000 lbs. at a value of Rs. 150,000,000 when sold by the fishing industry. Exports of fish and fish-products in 1950 amounted to more than Rs. 100,000,000 (1949: 130,000,000).

The North Sea is the main fishing ground of the Danish fishing industry. The fishing vessels working in the North Sea range in size from about 20 to about 40 tons gross. The fishing is carried out with the Danish seine and trawl. In contrast with the trawl the Danish seine is no dragging implement but is heaved in to an anchored vessel.

The Danish fishing vessels are, in the great majority of cases, owned by the masters of the vessels, whereas owners of more than one vessel are a rare occurrence. Generally the crew on the fishing vessels work for shares.

The catch is partly sold at public fish auctions partly through private exporters, and partly through the so-called co-operative fish selling associations, of which there are about 50 in the country. The part of the catch sold by the fish auctions amount to about 50 per cent of the total catch, the sales through private exporters to about 40 per cent, and the sales through the co-operative fish selling associations to about 10 per cent.

The Government offers various forms of support for the fishermen, partly in the form of Government loans, partly in the form of subsidies for the construction of new fishing vessels, etc. The Government loans are granted through the Fisheries Bank of the Kingdom of Denmark "Kongeriget Danmarks Fiskeribank."

West Bengal's Premier has staked his reputation on two Danish trawlers. In view of this experiment, the facts are worth knowing.

Nuffield Foundation

In addition to its programme of fellowships and scholarships, the Nuffield Foundation, during the year that ended on March 31 last, made grants in support of research schemes in Commonwealth countries. Among these grants was one of £1,500 (Rs. 20,000) to the Christian Medical College, Vellore, for special equipment needed in the neuro-anatomy research department.

Since the last report, India, Pakistan and Ceylon have accepted the Foundation's offer of travelling fellowships similar to those already in existence for Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. Five fellowships for study in Britain are available for India each year (two in medicine, one in engineering, one in the natural sciences and one in social sciences); three for Pakistan, and one for Ceylon.

Capital in the West makes itself pleasant by devoting part of its earnings to public education and relief. In India except the Tatas there is hardly any one that deserves mention in this connection. The few other instances that there are, are those of self-aggrandizement and show of opulence at the home-towns of the capitalists, away from where the money has been earned, and where the money could be spent with the greatest utility.

An Assamese Scholar Honoured

The news that the University of London has conferred the title of D.Litt. on Sriyut Surya Kumar

Bhuiya, the Director of Archeology and Ancient History to the Government of Assam, will be welcomed by lovers of knowledge all over India. In his own Province, Doctor Bhuiya has the well-deserved reputation as a historian of Assam proper; he had long been recognized as an authority on men and things Assamese. His appointment was a recognition by the State of a popular verdict. Today it has won recognition in wider circles beyond India.

Commemorating Sister Nivedita

The Ramakrishna Mahamandal has realized a dream and aspiration of Swami Vivekananda's—to establish a Centre of Ramakrishna culture in the garden-house of Jadu Mullick where Swamiji had received initiation from Paramahansa Dev, and where a revelation of Jesus Christ had flowed into the Master's consciousness. The Mahamandal has been able to secure most of this garden-house land through the help of the West Bengal Government from the East Indian Railway which had acquired it for building the Willingdon Bridge. For this thanks are due to an old-time Agent of the Railway, Mr. N. C. Ghose.

The old garden-house is being renovated. And a new idea appears to be taking shape there—an International Guest House has come into being, and the Committee of Management with Deputy Commissioner of Calcutta Police, Sri Satyendra Nath Mukherjee, have vast schemes of extension and improvement that would justify the title of the House. We are glad to notice that the House has signalized its advent by organizing a memorial meeting of Sister Nivedita—the first of its kind after the few since her departure from this world (1911). The meeting is to be held on the 9th September, 1951, and we have no doubt that as the years pass on, the House will be able to organize study into the life and work of Sister Nivedita which are being forgotten.

To the success of this noble endeavour the editors of the *Prabuddha Bharat*, English monthly and the *Udbodhan*, Bengali monthly, can contribute the most by making available to the world the many unpublished letters and writings of this noble daughter of Eire who had devoted her superb powers to the service of India, the land of her *Guru*.

Venereal Disease

The Second World War has left the scourge of venereal disease widespread all over India. Arrangements for fact-finding about this disease in our country are so poor that no correct idea of this curse can be made. During the last war, not only the cities and towns but even villages have been contaminated. Attempts so far made to fight this menace in Bengal have been far from satisfactory and have been done on entirely wrong lines. Too much attention had been laid on its propaganda side and too little attention

had been given to educate the medical practitioners and medical students in modern methods of treatment of the disease. About 1943 a Director of Social Hygiene was appointed and some 17 lakhs of rupees were spent on propaganda. Proposals were later made for the appointment of Visiting Surgeons in Medical Colleges but these posts had been held in abeyance. Arrangement for specialist lectures in the Medical College was made but in a country where knowledge of treatment of the disease is meagre, such lectures were ineffective. Recently it had been decided to attach three professors of Venereal Disease in the three Medical Colleges of the City, but, it is understood, only one of them will be filled. Applications have been invited from F.R.C.S. men for this post. But again a mistake is going to be committed. This disease is essentially a case for medical and not surgical treatment. In England, venereal disease is a subject of study under the Medical Group and M.D. or M.R.C.P. with V.D. as a special group can be taken up. Surgical manifestations in this disease are only some 10 per cent as compared to the medical manifestations of this disease. It will be good if means can be found to appoint all the three professors as originally proposed.

Rana Hiranya Shamshere

Death occurred on August 8 in Calcutta of this scion of Nepal's ruling class. Father of Rana Subarna Shamshere, at present Finance Minister of the State, he was different from his class, and "lost caste" with them for his progressive views. His son inherited the same traditions and was driven to tread the dangerous path at the end of which shines equality in the various relations of human life. During last year's developments in Nepal, he was a tower of strength to the popular cause. He lived to see the back of autocracy broken in his motherland, and must have died happy.

Rukmini Lakshmipathi

In the death of Dr. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, India has lost one of the leaders of the Women's Movement. She was, however, not left long to follow this rather narrow path; and from an inner urge was found to stand shoulder to shoulder with men in our common fight against British rule. During the Salt Satyagraha which formed part of the wider Civil Disobedience Movement of 1939, she was the first woman in Madras to defy this law and court imprisonment. Then came the acceptance of Ministry by the Congress and Rukmini Lakshmipathi was chosen Deputy Speaker of the Council, the Upper House of the Legislature. We remember her specially for her work for women's uplift in her own Province; and for the eager interest she took in the activities of the Nari Siksha Samiti, of Calcutta as and when she happened to visit our city. She died in her 67th year, May her soul rest in peace!

TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

In the area between Egypt and India—as we may define the Middle East—the causes of tension are many. Besides the over-all problem of Soviet efforts to penetrate into the area and the present intense conflict over Iranian oil, we must list Anglo-Egyptian disputes over the Sudan and the Suez Canal, the problem of Arab-Israeli relations, including the vexed Arab refugee problem, the Egyptian blockade of Israel-bound vessels passing through Suez, Syrian opposition to Israel's drainage project in the Huleh swamps, the permanent status of Arab Palestine. In addition, India's foreign policies affect the whole of Asia, while additional sources of conflict are Pakistan's relations with her two neighbours, Afghanistan and India, and subversive Communist agitation in Pakistan.

Let us examine these issues briefly. The British desire to create an independent Sudanese State is bitterly opposed by the Egyptians who wish to give the Sudanese full local autonomy while federating the Sudan with Egypt. To one who has studied British procedure and arguments in partitioning other countries, British concern for minority rights and self-determination in the Sudan becomes suspect. One reaches the conclusion that a Sudanese program which will intensify existing anti-British feeling in Egypt must be avoided. For rapprochement between Britain and Egypt is of utmost importance to the entire free world.

Ever since, through the far-sighted statesmanship of Disraeli, Britain managed to get control of the Suez Canal, domination of the lands around the Canal has been the crux of British policy. There is nothing in international law to prevent Egypt from nationalizing the Canal when the 99-year lease of the Suez Canal Company expires. But an Egypt in control of Suez and allied with Soviet Russia would be highly prejudicial to the Atlantic Pact powers and the forces friendly to them in the Middle East. Hence, it is of the utmost importance that American, British, French and Egyptian statesmen devise a formula which will be satisfactory to Egyptian national interests, as well as to the needs of the free peoples.

It would clearly be to the advantage of Egypt, in this tense situation, to come to terms with Israel, so that those two advanced Middle East States might co-operate towards greater security and progress. I sometimes hear vague talk of the possibility of such a settlement, but at the same time Egyptian and Israeli spokesmen continue to exacerbate matters by

making public statements to the effect that the breach between the two countries cannot be healed. Certainly, as long as Egypt blockades Israel, there is no possibility of a peace settlement. The blockade has been strongly protested by the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, for since it involves oil which might otherwise be refined at Haifa, it touches Western interests to the quick.

It is of immeasurable importance to the future of the Middle East that the Arab League powers recognize that Israel is a fact which cannot be wished out of existence or destroyed by a new Arab invasion. Once Israel's existence is recognized, Arab hostility would, with inevitable logic, have to give way gradually to collaboration with Israel. This is not so impossible as it may sound. It was the program of the late Emir Faisal who welcomed Zionism to the Middle East as a future aid to the Arabs in the development of their territories.

In the framework of over-all collaboration, Israeli swamp reclamation would come to be seen as being what it really is—beneficial to the Arabs as well. Such projects would then cease to be sources of conflict and become factors towards cementing friendlier relations.

Essentially neither the Jews nor the Arabs can or should pursue a pre-Russian policy. Their friendship to the West will be strengthened if the Anglo-American powers and their friends in the United Nations encouraged Arab-Israeli co-operation. This will be possible if powerful forces in Great Britain and the United States forswear their present sympathy for anti-Semitic thinking, on the one hand, or political Pan-Islamism, on the other.

Racial or religious exclusiveness of the Pan-Islamic or anti-Semitic types lead to intolerance of minorities and ultimately to refugee problems, as we see in the sad cases of the Arab refugees from Palestine or the vastly more numerous Hindu refugees from Pakistan. In the special case of the Arab refugees, it is beginning to appear that they might be best readjusted by making their homes in under-populated Arab countries, with the aid of internationally administered funds to which Israel would contribute for compensation. The approach of combined resettlement and development work suggested by the Clapp Commission remains valid and should be the foundation-stone of aid to the Arab refugees.

Certainly no area of the world needs large-scale

development more urgently than the Middle East.

Students of world affairs cannot ignore the fact that international tensions are caused not merely by international rivalry, but are often the direct result of internal conditions affecting the well-being of the masses. Poverty and depressed conditions lead to national disunity, civil wars and revolutions, resulting in serious national weakness which invites aggressive action from expanding imperialist powers.

The Near and Middle East today are characterized fundamentally by abject poverty of the masses and workers, due primarily to the feudal land system. Whenever there are expressions of unrest among the masses of the Middle East, we are at once told that this is due to Soviet Russian plots and intrigues. To be sure, Soviet Russian governmental agents—Russian and native—are always alert to opportunities for spreading disaffection among the masses, but their propaganda alone cannot bring men to riot and revolt. Ordinary human beings are extremely conservative and do not wish to risk their lives to bring about a change in the social order unless they have reached the point of desperation. Full recognition must be given to the fact that the masses of the Middle East are reaching that stage.

The newspapers daily print items about unrest in the Middle East—attempts by peasants to take over the properties of landlords in Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and India. We read of the growing strength of Left Wing political groups in country after country.

It is often said that Islam immunizes the Moslem peoples against Communist propaganda. The Moslem countries are regarded as the bulwark against Soviet Russian imperialism trying to penetrate into the Middle East. Pakistan, in particular, is considered a dependable ally of the Anglo-American Powers against Communism. But the fact is that it was a Communist plot, headed by the Chief of the General Staffs of Pakistan and others, that recently almost overthrew the present government of Pakistan. The rise of the Tudeh Party in Iran, too, disproves the assertion that Islam is the best antidote to Communism.

It is equally true that Hindu India has Communist parties of various brands, while the tension due to internal social inequalities and economic oppression is so grave that the Nehru Government has imprisoned several thousand Indians—Hindus, Moslems, Christians—without trial on charge of subversive activities. The Nehru Government has even restricted the freedom of press in India by a constitutional amendment.

Social revolution in the Middle East cannot be checked by wishful thinking. The standard of living of hundreds of millions in the region must be raised by internal reforms, sponsored by the local Governments and aided by the Government and people of the United States. It is here that Point Four Program can play a

great and crucial role, welding together diverse parts of the world towards freedom.

The case of Iranian oil is an aggravated example of the social tensions affecting the Middle East. Persia has been a pawn ever since Tsarist Russia and Britain tried to partition it between them as part of the attempt by the Triple Entente to check Germany and her Berlin-Baghdad Railway and German-Turkish collaboration in world politics. Persia is still a pawn and Persian nationalists and every self-respecting Persian resents this.

One of the most revealing items regarding Persian oil came out of the recent hearings regarding the ouster of General MacArthur. It was the information given by General Hurley to the late President Roosevelt that continued exploitation of Persian oil by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (which is controlled by the British Government which owns more than 60 per cent of its stocks) will result in serious discontent in Persia which will be used by Soviet Russia. He suggested that Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and other Middle Eastern oil concerns should take the initiative to make more equitable arrangements regarding royalties, etc. Heeding this suggestion, American oil concerns have made greater concessions to the Arab States regarding royalties. Had the British Government followed this precedent, there might not have arisen the present crisis.

To look at the present crisis realistically, one will have to acknowledge that Iran, like Mexico and other countries, can, by exercising the sovereign authority of the State, cancel a concession and nationalize an industry. This is not contrary to the practices of International Law. The Labour Government in Britain which has nationalized its coal industries cannot very well take exception to Iran's right to nationalize the oil industry. But it must be understood that Iran must not expropriate private property without just compensation. Adjustment of compensation should be arrived at between Britain and Iran, and the Government of the United States should use its influence to bring about a peaceful solution of the issues involved. The Government of the U.S. should, however, be careful not to take any action which may give the impression that the Anglo-American powers are in concert against Iran. Landing British forces in Iran might well have serious repercussions in the whole of the Middle East and even lead to World War III.

The possibility of Iranian nationalists who are not pro-Soviet, seeking Soviet support, must not be ruled out. This can be clearly understood if we take into consideration certain developments in the situation in China after World War I. To my personal knowledge, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, after World War I, tried to enlist the co-operation and support of America, Britain and also Japan toward abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, but the statesmen of

those nations, largely through British influence, completely ignored Dr. Sun's legitimate pleas, while the Government of Soviet Russia formally gave up all extra-territorial rights and concessions in China. This situation forced Dr. Sun, who was pro-American and pro-Japanese and had always been suspicious of British and Russian imperialism in Asia, to seek Soviet Russian aid. Then came the importation of Soviet experts into the Republic of China under the Kuomintang regime. And we know what has happened in China, step by step, leading to complete Communist control.

In the present Anglo-Iranian crisis, American statemanship should be directed towards the preservation of American interests, not following the British anti-Iranian program blindly. It cannot be over-emphasized that if the conduct of the American Government in relation to the present Anglo-Iranian dispute is anti-Iranian, there will be very serious effects all over Asia, even in Egypt and Turkey. Today all Asian statesmen of any consequence must think and act in terms of Asian independence and sovereignty, and all of the Middle and Far East countries are in full sympathy with the present Iranian efforts to divest the country of British control. Any false step on the part of American statesmen will rouse Asian antagonism and raise louder cries of American imperialism siding with the British. Let us hope that American statesmanship, seeking to co-operate with the British, will be successful in solving the present crisis in Iran and solidifying the common interests of the Anglo-American and Asian peoples to uphold world freedom, rather than playing into the hands of Soviet Russia.

If we move further east to Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, we find that tension between India and Pakistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan may have most far-reaching and disastrous consequences to the whole world. This is not understood by the majority of Americans, even American experts on the subject, who have tended to make the British point of view their own.

The very creation of Pakistan by partition of India is an indictment of British rule. In pursuance of the policy of "divide and rule," the British authorities deliberately led up to partition.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, let me acknowledge the fact that there was a very small group of Pan-Islamists in India during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early days of the twentieth century, but not until 1940 did the demand for partition of India come from the Moslem League. It came then under the leadership of Jinnah, who in his early days had prided himself on being "an Indian first and a Moslem afterwards." The seed of this idea that Moslems and Hindus are different nations

was sown by British officials who in 1905 introduced Communal representation into Indian political life in the Morley-Minto Reform scheme. The Moslem League and the British authorities nurtured the seed of dissension for 35 years, and in 1940 the demand for partition of India came to the fore in Indian politics.

In 1947 when the British found that they could not remain in India as rulers, they decided to leave India in partitioned, not united form. Mr. Churchill agreed to support Indian independence, provided that the Moslems of India were given a separate State—Pakistan, which would have territories in the North-western part of India adjoining the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan and Western India (Punjab) and in North-eastern India (Eastern Bengal) adjoining Tibet, Burma. This was a monstrous scheme from the political and economic points of view, and unfortunately the leaders of India, such as Mr. Nehru, did not have the vision or courage to oppose partition effectively because they held that after the British got out, Pakistan and India would become a United India.

In supporting the Moslems of India, the British hoped to use the Moslem bloc of Western Asia as an obstacle on the part of the Soviet march towards the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, while in the East they anticipated using Eastern Pakistan, Burma and Malaya to check the Russians and Chinese.

The Indian people cannot help feeling that any nation that supports the cause of partition of India cannot be a friend of India. This is one of the facts in the Indian attitude of non-hostility to Soviet Russia and China. They feel that the Anglo-American Powers are for Pakistan and against India, as has been demonstrated in their attitude on the issue of Kashmir. The Anglo-American powers seem anxious to appease the Moslem world even to the extent of hurting the vital interests of 340,000,000 Indians.

The reflex of this is the growth in India of a trend towards Russo-Chinese-Indian collaboration in world politics which is dangerous for America and the people of India and the world at large. The only way for the free powers to counteract this is to adopt a positive policy which will lead to Indo-Pakistan co-operation, not at India's expense, but in terms of the development of federalism in India and Pakistan so that Pakistan would be analogous to the province of Quebec in Canada. Today more than 35 to 40 millions of Moslems live in India and enjoy equal rights. Just as Catholic and French-speaking Canadians in Quebec are Canadian citizens and Quebec is an integral part of the dominion, so Pakistan must in the course of time be reunited with India in a new United India which will pursue a policy of collaboration with America.

Playing Pakistan against India, to check the

bility of the development of a strong united India, is as dangerous as it was to play Japan against China to avert what was called "Yellow Peril." That policy, originated by the British, Germans and Russians, did not serve to maintain western or White supremacy in Asia. If a similar policy is adopted by America now, it will also fail and ultimately help the cause of Soviet Russia.

American scholars tend to think exclusively in terms of Europe, and of Asia incidentally; but I

venture to predict that Asia is the key to the future destiny of mankind and that co-operation between Asia and America is the most important factor in the field of world politics and one of the best hopes for the future peace of the world.*

* This is a summary of views expressed by the author, as one of the participants in a panel discussion on "Tensions in the Middle East" on July 9, 1951, in one of the sessions of the Institute of Public Affairs, at the University of Virginia.

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THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

THE Planning Commission has recently published the Draft Outline of the First Five-Year Plan involving a total outlay of Rs. 1793 crores on various sectors of national development. The Plan is, evidently, a valuable document containing a fund of data and statistics regarding the different phases of reconstruction in India. It is the first attempt of its kind in this country and cannot be dealt with lightly in a spirit of indifference. The Draft Outline contains several hopeful and sound features of economic development and social evolution. Its emphasis on agriculture, rural uplift, small-scale and cottage industries, basic education, decentralisation of political, economic and administrative power is, indeed, to be welcomed. But there are several other features of the plan which cannot be called satisfactory from the standpoint of India's national reconstruction.

The basic defect of the Five-Year Plan is its failure to present a clear-cut picture of future economic development. This is partly understandable because the Planning Commission has tried to follow the present economic policy of the Government of India. But I have always strongly maintained that our Planning Commission should be, more or less, a non-party organisation consisting of experts who ought to be above party politics and whose policies should not be easily changed with a change in the Government. We, therefore, expected that the Commission would try to present a bold and definite Plan for Free India, a Plan that would be in conformity with India's indigenous culture and traditions and, thus, catch the imagination of the people. The ideal of "mixed" economy has become almost synonymous with the maintenance of the *status quo*; it is not capable of making the masses feel the glow of freedom and Swaraj. Mixed economy is bound to be a "hotch-potch" of several principles of economic reconstruction, often contradictory and, therefore, making for confusion. In the modern world there are two main economic ideologies, namely, capitalism and communism. These two ideologies are at war with

each other and threaten the very existence of humanity. In India, Gandhiji had shown a third ideology which beautifully combined the good points of the other two. It is now recognised by eminent thinkers that the only alternative to Communism can be Gandhism. The Gandhian way of life is not a "fad" but a sound and scientific pattern of socio-economic re-orientation. If the Plan had been able to envisage such a new order in our country it might have been possible to present an attractive but practical picture not only for India but for the whole world.

The other chief drawback of the Plan is its rejection of the aim of "Full Employment" which is the ideal of all modern economic planning. The Constitution of India also guarantees to every citizen the "right to work" and "the right to an adequate means of livelihood." I, therefore, honestly feel that the Planning Commission in laying more emphasis on greater production rather than on full employment has gone against the fundamental directive of the Indian Constitution. In fact, any Plan which does not try to provide employment for all citizens as the top-most priority cannot be called a Plan at all. In order to achieve the objective of Full Employment in India, it is essential to organise decentralized cottage industries on the widest possible scale and as the very basis of economic planning. With the exception of basic industries which ought to be owned and managed by the State, all the consumer goods industries including cloth, oil, sugar, paper, rice and match have to be organized on a small scale in the rural areas so that the nation may have "fields, factories and workshops" for solving the problem of employment, and what is even more, under-employment. Obviously, the Plan has not been able to face this basic fact with courage and holdness.

As regards the details of expenditure in different sectors of national economy, the Plan has attached too much importance to "grandiose" schemes of multipurpose River Projects and development of Transport and Commu-

fications. Out of the total outlay of 1493 crores of rupees in the first part of the Five-Year Plan, the Power and Irrigation projects will consume Rs. 450.26 crores. While the importance of irrigational facilities and cheap power supply cannot be under-rated in any plan of economic development, the fact remains that the nation cannot afford to rely on long-term and centralized projects which might ultimately prove to be "white elephants" for the poor cultivator and artisan in India. A decentralized plan of irrigation with a country-wide network of village wells, tube-wells, small canals, tanks, reservoirs and similar other devices would have been more practical and useful. Improvement of railways, roads, shipping and civil aviation, according to the Plan, will involve an expenditure of Rs. 388.20 crores. This huge amount could also be reduced by about Rs. 100 crores which could, instead, be more profitably spent for providing better social services.

Rs. 100.99 crores have been earmarked for the development of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries. Out of this amount, only Rs. 16 crores are to be utilised for village and cottage industries. Moreover, the Commission maintains that "programmes for cottage and small-scale industries cannot be viewed in isolation from programmes relating to the corresponding large-scale industries." The Plan therefore, recommends "common production programmes." This clearly shows that the Planners do not visualise a decentralised type of economy for its own sake; they favour cottage industries only for the sake of certain immediate advantages and expediences, particularly relating to capital and investment.

Social services, including education, health, housing and social welfare, have been allotted Rs. 254.08 crores in the first part of the Plan. This is, surely, inadequate in a country which is proverbially poor and which desires to grow into a Welfare State. The chapter on Education, is, unfortunately, the least satisfactory. No lasting socio-economic reconstruction is possible without a radical change in the educational system. It is, therefore, surprising that the Planning Commission should have dismissed the vital problem of education in such general terms. It is necessary that the country should be given a comprehensive picture of the future educational structure in the Five-Year Plan.

The sources of Finance envisaged in the Plan are by no means very certain. The Plan also admits that the items of public loans, small savings and additional revenue due to fresh taxation are "a matter of speculation."

Under the prevailing money market conditions it is very doubtful whether the expectations of the Commission are reasonable. Even if these expectations are realised, there will still be a gap of Rs. 375 crores over five years. The Commission indicates the possibility of "deficit financing" to the extent of Rs. 290 crores. This would "impose a definite strain on the economy" of India by setting into motion the inflationary tendencies. The Plan further mentions that "if foreign aid is available for financing development expenditure, the sterling balances can be used for importing consumption goods and thus bringing down domestic prices." The use of sterling balances in the manner mentioned above appears to be highly unsatisfactory.

The Plan does not present the problem of Controls in a convincing manner. Curiously enough, the Commission think that if—and this is a big "if"—the controls are efficiently worked, they can "raise the moral standards of the community." Can we expect any such miracle from the existing administrative machinery? In regard to the Food policy, the Commission urges that during the next few years annual imports of foodgrains to the tune of 3 million tons should be planned for, and adds that in exceptional years imports may have to be larger. So, this is the brilliant picture of the much-boasted national self-sufficiency programme!

There are several other aspects of the Plan which could be discussed here in detail. But considerations of space in these columns prevent me from dealing with them. There is, however, one basic question that must be answered. What is the future of the Plan? The Commission have so far been able to publish one Draft Outline which is to be finalised only after "further consultations" with the Central Ministries, State Governments and its own Advisory Board and Panels, and the members of Parliament. This procedure will easily take several months. By that time, the country will be in the grip of election fever. After the general elections the altered strength of different political parties at the Centre and in the States might necessitate a change in the personnel of the Commission. This would mean a further revision of the Plan and a fresh chain of consultations. So, unfortunately, the Plan bids fair to remain only a paper Plan for endless discussions. It would have made a world of difference if the Plan, after receiving final touches, had been launched in all seriousness on the 15th August, the fourth Anniversary of India's Independence.



THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA—PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

By DR. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR

I consider it a special privilege to be invited to deliver the second annual lecture for the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Foundation here in Iowa City on the great campus of the State University of Iowa. I am especially happy because I had the pleasure and privilege of knowing Dr. Bose and because I am thoroughly convinced of the utility of the work that he was doing.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose was a noble son of Mother India, a fine American citizen, a great teacher, and a worthy citizen of the world. The trail he blazed some of us are trying to follow in our own humble fashion. In his rich remarkable career Dr. Sudhindra Bose taught various generations of students in the field of political science. But, more than that, he taught them a better appreciation of the cultural heritage of half the population of the world who inhabit the continent of Asia. This pioneering work needs to be done more today than ever before. The inventions of science and technology have practically annihilated distances in time and space, and the world as a result has become a small neighborhood. Orient and Occident are no longer far apart. Indeed, the problems of the Orient today become crucial considerations in the formulation of our American foreign policy.

The officers and friends of the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Foundation deserve to be congratulated on their vision to keep alive the memory of the remarkable work that Dr. Bose did on this great campus.

In my own humble fashion I have been interested in doing the same sort of thing that Dr. Bose had dedicated his life to achieving: namely, bringing about a better understanding between the peoples of the Orient and the peoples of the Occident. Perhaps, a word about my background might be in order. During ten years of my stay in this country as a student, I undertook to present Mahatma Gandhi's cause, and the cause of India's freedom, to the American people as an extra-curricular activity. Then, after finishing my studies at the University of Wisconsin, I returned to India during the Christmas week of 1929 when I attended the famous Lahore Session of the All-India National Congress. It was at this Congress that the resolution on independence was passed by the acclamation of the people gathered together. Then, I was a guest of Mahatma Gandhi's at his Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, for three months, and at his invitation became a member of

the Dandi Salt Party. This Dandi Salt Party of Mahatma Gandhi's was very much like the Boston Tea Party. Just as the Boston Tea Party was the starting point of the American Revolution for freedom so Gandhi's Salt Party was the prelude to India's non-violent revolution. Then, in the fall of 1930 at the suggestion of Pandit Motilal Nehru, father of the present Prime Minister of India, I returned to this country to interpret the inside story of India's non-violent revolution and to present Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence and soul force. For well-nigh fifteen years I busted myself with the self-imposed task of interpreting Gandhi and India to the American people as a twenty-four-hour job. Thus, you can see that I am tremendously interested in the present topic that has been assigned to me, "The Republic of India—Promise and Performance."

Before I take up the subject of the evening, may I say a word about the reasons that brought me to this country for my higher education. It was the fashion in those days in the twenties for young men from India to go to England for their studies to earn English degrees, to return to India and get fat government jobs. You may wonder why I chose to come to America instead of going to India. Well, the reason is simple. It can be traced back to a very important experience I had in my grade school in the State of Baroda. In my second grade reader in the Gujarati language I came across a lesson about a boy from this land. I knew he was not from India because he had a different type of costume on and because he had an unpronounceable name. A name such as Haridas Thakordas Mazumdar is easy and simple. Anybody can say it—in India. This boy's name was George Washington quite a difficult name. To judge from the contents of the lesson, it seemed to me the people would like to talk about George Washington, but I was afraid that because of his unpronounceable name, people might shy away from talking about him. The lesson dealt with the story familiar to all American children, the story of the famous cherry tree. The lesson had a great many interesting meanings for me. In the first place, of course, it is not unusual for a boy in India to receive a gift. It is unusual for a boy in India to try out actually how sharp the little gift might be, the hatchet that George received, for instance. As a boy, one grows up in India with a great many cultural inhibitions, and here

George had the temerity and the audacity actually to try out how sharp his little hatchet might be. The result was a little disastrous. The cherry tree was crest-fallen, shall I say? And, as a boy, I said to myself while I in India could not very well try out, even though I might have longed to do it under the same circumstances, I felt very happy that George did it. And, I said, "Hurray, for George!" Secondly, I discovered that George was willing to talk to his father—I think it would be appropriate to say to 'talk back to his father.' In India, the little boys do not talk back to their parents. I was later to learn after a stay of some time in this country that in George Washington's country people magnificently disregard the old world saying that children are to be seen but not to be heard. In this country, on the other hand, if you have children in your family and if friends come to visit you, it is the children who do the talking—nobody else. Thirdly, I discovered that George's father, instead of meting out punishment to the boy for his offence, congratulated him that he told the truth and let it go at that. I said to myself, "They seem to have very pleasant ways of dealing with some situations in George Washington's country." Finally, the lesson ended up by saying, "And, the truth-telling George Washington became the Father of his country." I said to myself, "If George were so good and truth-telling and if he became the father of his country, perhaps, all of his children must be equally good and truth-telling. Some day I ought to go and pay a visit to George Washington's children." Thus, it came about that everytime I came across a lesson on America or any reference to America, I thought back and reminded myself of that first introduction of mine to George Washington's country, and my desire to come to this country became ever more firm. Hence, when in 1920 I was in a position to make a decision for study abroad, I decided in favor of coming to this country rather than going to England. Perhaps, you may be interested to know whether or not my boyhood impressions of George Washington's children have been borne out as a result of my visit to this country. Well, on the whole I should say, and I speak with considerable experience and research behind this statement, on the whole I can say that my boyhood impressions of George Washington's children were correct. On the whole, the American people are good and truth-telling, and I would advise anybody to take his chances with them. One would not be going wrong. But I must also report to you one qualification that I feel ought to be made: namely, that when George Washington's children are engaged in the national pastime of a political election campaign, I do not give two cents for their truthfulness.

(Laughter!). Even so, let me say, ladies and gentlemen, I think enough of George Washington's children, think highly enough of them, to have cast my lot in with you and I became an American citizen four years ago. This means that I have a twofold responsibility—one responsibility to Mahatma Gandhi's children, another responsibility to George Washington's children. And I am trying my humble best to promote better understanding between the people of India and the people of America.

I

As you can readily see, having spent over twenty-five years of my life in the promotion of India's cause for freedom in this country, in England, and in India, I am especially interested in assessing the results of that non-violent revolution for freedom. What, for instance, was the promise of the free India? What are the accomplishments of the free India? These are legitimate questions, and I wish to address myself to these questions this evening.

At the very outset, let me make it clear that we are thinking of India as a free nation not for one year only, though technically India became a Republic only last year, to be precise on January 26, 1950. Actually, India became free on August 15, 1947. It was on that historic day that the British Empire in India was liquidated with the creation of two autonomous dominions, the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India. Thus, we have a period of four to five years of India's career as a free nation, and I shall attempt to evaluate the results of this freedom of India. We shall attempt to look into the promises of freedom and the actual accomplishments of free India during the last four or five years.

The best way to start this discussion is by reminding ourselves of the vision of free India as described by Mahatma Gandhi. During his voyage to England on board the *S. S. Rajputana* in the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi gave an interview to newspaper reporters. In this interview he in a magnificent manner embodied his hopes and aspirations for the free India of his dreams. I was privileged to spend a month with Mahatma Gandhi in London at the time of the second round table conference, and I can assure you that this vision of a free India literally and faithfully sets forth Gandhi's dreams and hopes and aspirations for his dearly beloved Motherland. Let me quote this statement verbatim. It is a short statement. Just one paragraph. But it is important not only because it is Gandhi's vision of his free India, but because it has also served as a guide-post to his co-workers and his followers in the rebuilding of the free nation—in the fashioning of the free India. Here is Gandhi's vision of the Free India:

"I shall strive for a constitution which shall release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to err. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice—an India in which there shall be no high class and no low class of people—an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks or drugs. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable." (Please note: The apostle of non-violence, the embodiment of soul force, still makes room for the existence of an armed force for the State of the Free India!) "All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected whether foreign or indigenous." (May I parenthetically add that the word 'dumb' used by Gandhi really means inarticulate). To continue Gandhi's statement, "Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams."

Here in this statement you will notice one dominant note, namely, the supreme concern with the well-being of the masses, the under-privileged millions of India, that they would have an effective voice in the making of the new India; that their well-being would be the supreme concern of the government of the free India. Now, we may ask of ourselves the question, "Is this promise of the Free India being realized?" And, my answer is a very emphatic "Yes." Yes, indeed, the well-being of the masses of India is being today translated into reality not only as part of the government policy but it is also being realized in the actual lives of these millions of people. For instance, the concern, the master concern, of the Nehru Government is the increasing of the purchasing power of the masses and raising the standard of living of the vast millions of India. By improving methods of agriculture, and by promoting industrialization, the Government of India is at present successfully implementing Mahatma Gandhi's point regarding the conserving and the safeguarding of the well-being of the masses. Yes, in the making of the new nation the under-privileged will have an effective voice! One special project of the Government of India has promise of tremendous good to the whole nation. I refer to the projected construction, projected and actual construction, of at least ten to twelve hydro-electric projects on the TVA model. These TVA-type multipurpose projects are expected to be finished within less than ten years. It is gratifying for us in America to know that some of our best engineers and technicians are helping the Government of India in the building of these hydro-electric projects. When finished, these projects would serve a number of purposes, all aiming at the improvement of the standard

of living of the people. For instance, these hydro-electric projects will, in the first place, mean flood controls. Secondly, they would bring about irrigation and thus bring under cultivation many millions of acres of land which today remain uncultivated. Thirdly, these hydro-electric projects will facilitate internal navigation, and, fourthly, they will generate tremendous electric power which will be made available to the people at large whether in the huts in the villages, or in the dwellings in the towns, or in the factories in the cities. They would make available to all these citizens of India electric power at low cost. Thus, we may well see that these hydro-electric projects will literally change and transform the face of Mother India for the better. So far as the economy of the new India is concerned, I visualize the emergence of what we in this country call a mixed economy. The Government of India is committed to the proposition of owning, directing and operating certain key industries, what in this country we would perhaps call "public utilities." It is also committed to the proposition of permitting full and free play to private enterprise on the one hand and to the co-operative societies on the other. Thus, in the field of economic activity, we may well visualize part state socialism, part co-operationism, and part capitalism. This is not a new mixture dreamed up by the leaders of India. They have an excellent model before them in the well-regulated and well-articulated economy of Sweden, the home of the Middle Way. Whether a vast country such as India will be able to make a success of this mixed economy, the future will have to tell. I for one feel optimistic about the outcome of this experiment. This is not to say that I advocate the same sort of arrangement for this country. It simply means that in the conditions of India where the industrial development is still very backward, the Government must take a lead in behalf of the under-privileged masses.

Now, let us look at the other aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's dream of the Free India. He said that in the Free India that he visualized, there would be no curse of untouchability present. How is this promise being realized? Well, if you could imagine, in your wildest stretch of imagination, that at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia we had as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution a slave from Georgia, you would perhaps have an approximate picture of the sort of revolutionary change brought about in modern India. It is pleasing for us to note that in Mr. Nehru's cabinet a so-called untouchable gentleman has been holding the portfolio of law. It is still more gratifying to note that this same untouchable gentleman, so-called, was Chairman of the

Drafting Committee entrusted with the task of framing the new constitution of Free India. Is untouchability on the way out? Well, I could not give you any more concrete proof. And it is also instructive to note that in the new constitution of the Republic of India the practice of untouchability has been made a punishable offence.

With reference to Gandhi's dream that women shall enjoy rights with men, I don't think at this late day we need to ask ourselves the question whether that point is being implemented. There are hundreds of leading women who are today taking an active part in the public life of India, in the diplomatic service of India, and they are helping fashion the new India. Thus, economically and socially, the dream of Mahatma Gandhi is on the way to realization. In the field of political achievements, we in America may legitimately take just pride in the fact that the framers of the new constitution of India derived a great deal of inspiration from our constitution. As with us, so in India, the Government is divided into three co-ordinated branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. And, the Supreme Court of India is made the custodian and interpreter of the new constitution of India. As in our constitution, so in the constitution of the Republic of India, they have a Bill of Rights, what they call "fundamental rights," guaranteeing to the citizen most of the rights that our Bill of Rights guarantees to our citizens. Then, of course, they have a special clause in their Fundamental Rights section prohibiting the practice of untouchability which is peculiar to the social organization of India.

II

In the field of political achievements, I am even more thrilled by the preamble to the constitution of the new India. For the first time in the long and checkered history of the Orient, we find the enunciation of the political doctrine of popular sovereignty. Let me read to you the preamble to the new constitution of India. "We the people of India." Yes, "we the people," a direct echo from our own constitution; "we the people" marks a revolutionary change in the outlook of the new India. In days gone by in India, or, for that matter, in Europe, too, the divine right of kings used to hold sway in the thinking of the people. Indeed, when the emperor of Japan at the time of the Meiji restoration gave certain rights and privileges to his subjects, it was in terms of the king or the emperor granting rights. The emperor, in other words, was conceived as the fountain source of authority and sovereignty. Here in the constitution of India as in our constitution a century and a half ago, we find enunciated the doctrine of the people as being

the fountain-head of authority and sovereignty. Let me read the complete text of the preamble:

"We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all

Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation,

In our constituent assembly, (or, as we would say, 'in our Constitutional Convention,') this 26th day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this constitution."

One of the most spectacular achievements of the new India in the political field is the integration of some 500 odd princely states with the federal government of India. In the days of British rule these princes were maintained on their thrones as relics of feudalism, as props to the British Raj. Once the people came into their own they saw to it that these relics of feudalism would not stand in the way of the enjoyment of democratic rights and privileges by any of the sons and daughters of Mother India, whether they were born in a princely state or in what was previously British India. And now these states are today integrated with the government of India. Some small states have been merged into what were adjoining provinces; some States have been merged together, smaller units into one larger viable administrative unit, and some of the larger states have been permitted to function as autonomous states. Indeed, the provinces of what was British India have also been raised to the level of states or commonwealths. It may interest you to note that in my doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin dealing with the same problem, I had forecast the emergence of a federal government in India with the provinces and states as autonomous units on a par with one another as constituent members of the Government of India. The only difference between the so-called princely states of yesterday and the new states that were provinces, is that the administrative head in the princely state is a prince who serves there as a hereditary monarch subject to the will and confirmation of his subjects, while in what used to be provinces, the administrative head is a governor appointed by the President of the Republic of India. It is interesting to note that these states were integrated into the government of India on condition that their subjects be given the right to convene a constitutional convention of their own and to frame a democratic constitution.

Thus, we see that economically, socially, and politically the vision of Mahatma Gandhi is being fulfilled. Free India is implementing the hopes and

aspirations of that great man of God. I may therefore say that so far as the field of internal reconstruction and reorganization in India is concerned, the promise of freedom is becoming an actuality. It is good. We are all happy that the people of India are forging ahead on the path to liberty, social justice, and equality—also, to abundant life, in spite of temporary set-backs now and then caused by the forces of nature.

III

In the field of external relationships of the new nation, I must confess I cannot find reason for being unqualifiedly enthusiastic. There are items both on the credit side and on the debit side of the ledger. Certain expressions of India's foreign policy are commendable and creditable to the new nation. Certain other aspects of India's foreign policy are, in my judgment, mischievous, wrong and detrimental to the well-being of India, to the cause of freedom, and indeed detrimental to the whole world.

Let me at the very outset of this discussion make one point clear. It is not pleasing for me to be critical of India or her leaders. After all, I spent twenty-five years of my life in the service of India. And I wish her people well. But if I am to be true to the cause of truth for which Mahatma Gandhi stood, then I cannot help making adverse criticisms of certain aspects of India's foreign policy. Let me also make another point, that so far as I am concerned, I look upon Mr. Nehru's thinking in the field of foreign relations objectively, and I criticise his views not by attributing any base motives to him, but by resort to certain psychological interpretations. After all, Mr. Nehru is dominantly concerned with the rebuilding of the economy of India. That is his master passion. It is a laudable one. The people of India do deserve a better deal, economically, socially, politically. Therefore, I have no quarrel with Mr. Nehru's sincere preoccupation with the rejuvenation of his country. But this very preoccupation sometimes makes it impossible for him to judge the things in the outside world objectively and realistically. Anything happening anywhere in the world that might conceivably stand in the way of India building up her strength and economy is a nuisance to be brushed aside. I think this is the psychological motivation behind Mr. Nehru's erratic thinking with reference to Korea and the United Nations.

Let me, first of all, point out two constructive and positive expressions of India's foreign policy. Soon after British rule came to an end in India, at the invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, an All-Asia cultural relations conference was held in New Delhi. This was the consummation of a longing

of all the sons and daughters of Asia through the centuries. Asia has a great and noble heritage and all her sons have been hoping and praying that some day they might all get together to share their ideas one with another. In this conference and the succeeding one the leading men and women of the different countries of Asia participated and they pooled their resources with a view to discovering appropriate ways in which the experience of one country might be of benefit to others.

Another positive feature of India's foreign policy was symbolized by the convening of a conference of interested nations in New Delhi to resolve the then existing deadlock between the Republican forces of Indonesia and the Dutch government.

Perhaps, you all recall that the United Nations at that time had certain resolutions passed instructing or inviting the Dutch rulers of the East Indies to release the political prisoners and to enter into an agreement with them for transfer of power from Dutch hands to Indonesian hands. These resolutions of the U. N. were immediately tucked away on the shelf. They were not implemented. Feeling that the situation was becoming impossible, Prime Minister Nehru took the lead in inviting interested nations of Asia, including the representatives of Australia and New Zealand; and in the historic conference held in New Delhi, these representatives of Asia passed certain resolutions after due and proper consideration—resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners in Indonesia and calling upon the Dutch rulers of the East Indies to transfer power to the Indonesian Nationalists at the earliest possible moment. It is interesting to recall that within less than two weeks after these resolutions were passed in New Delhi, the Dutch authorities did see fit to release the Indonesian Republican leaders, and, of course, after that with the help of the good offices of the United Nations Commission, the Indonesian people achieved their independence.

These two expressions of India's foreign policy are, in my judgment, highly commendable. They redound to the credit of India and in a real sense express the vital concern and hope of Mahatma Gandhi that his people would play a leading, but humble, role in bringing about better understanding among the peoples of the world and in helping oppressed peoples to gain their freedom.

In the matter of the attitude of the Government of India toward the Korean crisis and toward the role of the U.N., I must confess a deep sense of disappointment. As I said a while ago, I do not doubt the integrity of Mr. Nehru nor the high purposes of the government of India.

IV

What I am afraid of is that the present government of India, especially Mr. Nehru, looking at the problems of the outside world through the perspective of a people engrossed in their own internal problems, has been unable to view objectively the problem of right and wrong in the international scene.

I, for one, was very much heartened when the government of India, along with the other governments of the world, took a stand in June, 1950, to brand the North Koreans as aggressors.

As the crisis in Korea developed, we began to detect in Mr. Nehru's thinking his special concern to localize the war in Korea. This concern was a laudable one. The American government, too, like every other well-intentioned government, was doing its utmost to localize the conflict in Korea.

But when this concern for localizing the conflict in Korea was concretely expressed by Mr. Nehru in terms of certain policies, one began to see a trend in his thinking toward compromise and appeasement. For instance, as you will recall, at the very start of the Korean crisis, Mr. Nehru undertook to play the role of an intermediary, and he wrote letters to our own Secretary of State and to Mr. Stalin. In these communications, he suggested the appeasement of Red China as a way to end the aggression in Korea by the North Korean aggressors. I am very happy our State Department refused to accept Mr. Nehru's suggestion. That suggestion had no merit from a moral or ethical standpoint. Later, when the United Nations forces were about to cross the 38th parallel, Mr. Nehru's government took the position that they should not cross the 38th parallel.

It seems to me that the problem of crossing the 38th parallel was strictly a military problem. If the North Koreans had been aggressors and the United Nations undertook police action to combat that aggression, then the existence of the 38th parallel as a dividing line became entirely irrelevant. Indeed, the North Koreans themselves by their aggressive action had eliminated the relevance of the 38th parallel.

Later in the course of the military campaign in Korea, Mr. Nehru's government and Mr. Attlee's government in Britain pleaded for consultations with the representatives of the Communist government of China as a possible way to end the Korean conflict.

In a real sense this was entirely an irrelevant issue, but precisely because the American government and the United Nations organization were in the right they could afford to accept the suggestion of the government of India, the government of Britain, and other governments of their mode of thinking.

We had at the United Nations at that time the

humiliating experience of the representative of Communist China flouting the collective judgment of mankind and indulging in irresponsible talk which left no room for negotiation or conciliation. And when the Chinese government did intervene in the Korean conflict on a large scale, Mr. Nehru's government began to make the claim that this situation arose because of the failure of the United Nations to give a seat to the Peking regime.

This claim, it seems to me, was beside the point because the seating of the Peking regime in the United Nations was a matter entirely unrelated to the original aggression perpetrated by the North Koreans against the Republic of Korea in the last week of June, 1950.

Later yet, when the problem arose whether or not the United Nations should take a stand on the intervention in the Korean conflict by the Chinese Communist regime of Peking, Mr. Nehru's government took the position that it would be unwise to brand the Communist Chinese regime as an aggressor. For the record, it may be noted that the government of Pakistan abstained from voting on that resolution. The government of India voted against branding the Chinese Communist government an aggressor.

I cannot understand how the government of India, having branded the North Koreans as aggressors, could logically refrain from branding the Peking regime as an aggressor as well. Or, does the fact that Communist China represents a large reservoir of manpower make the difference in Mr. Nehru's thinking?

Perhaps, we can charitably say that Mr. Nehru believed that by treating the Communist regime indulgently we might be able to work out a peaceful settlement. But then, the question arises, a peaceful settlement at what price? By the betrayal of principle? The principles for which Mahatma Gandhi lived and died?

It would appear that in the field of international relations, Mr. Nehru has failed fully to utilize the responsibility that devolved upon India as a free nation.

Indeed, I must go a step farther and say that Mr. Nehru is going back on the very principles that brought him to the leadership of his people; the rebel who was willing to go to prison rather than make a compromise with principles is today advocating compromise with principles and betrayal of the truth.

I am quite sure that Mahatma Gandhi would much rather want his people to stand by truth than act on the basis of expediency even for a gain real or fancied.

Is there any way to explain the gap between Mr. Nehru's realistic thinking in the field of national

reconstruction and unrealistic thinking in the field of international relations? Let us remember that he has said that the United Nations cannot solve tensions between great powers.

Let us remember that the League of Nations collapsed precisely because it, too, confessed that it could not settle disputes between great powers. If the United Nations Organization is to play the same role as the League of Nations, then its disappearance from the world scene would be no calamity.

V

It is very interesting to note that in the field of internal reorganization Mr. Nehru has fully realized the menace posed by Communism. The Communist leaders have been dealt with more harshly by the Government of India than by any other non-Communist government in the world. And yet, Mr. Nehru persists in his wishful thinking that it is possible to do business with the Communists outside of India. I cannot understand how one could be so unrealistic in one's approach to Communism. Perhaps, it is possible to do business with the Communists, but you can do business with the Communists only on their terms which means liquidation of the life of freedom and democracy. And, I am quite sure, Mr. Nehru is not willing to liquidate democracy and freedom. But precisely because he is deeply concerned with the problem of India's rebuilding, he is willing for the moment to overlook the menace posed by Communism externally.

Having spent many years of his life as a fighter for freedom, Mr. Nehru, of course, fully realizes the nature of the problems besetting his people. And as an ardent follower of Gandhi, as a humanitarian in his own right, and as a great patriot, he has embarked upon a program of national reconstruction which already has brought India into the forefront of nations as a democratic and stable force.

However, this very preoccupation with the struggle for national freedom over a long period of time has left Mr. Nehru unprepared to shoulder the responsibilities of a newly emerged free nation in the field of international relations.

I personally feel sorry for this because we have had a right to expect that Gandhi's nation would under all circumstances stand for right, truth, and justice, and not for expediency or for betrayal of principles.

In spite of my dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the present foreign policy of the government of India, I would urge the American public to be patient and tolerant with the young Republic of India. Whatever may appear on the horizon at a given time in the shifting international field, the

long-range goal and perspective of India both internally and externally, shall abide. And it is this feature of the long-range validity of the goal of India's policy that gives me hope that at the crucial moment the government of India will take its stand on the platform of truth and justice.

Our dissatisfaction with Mr. Nehru's approach to Korea and to the U. N. should not lead us to take actions which would be unworthy of the American heritage. We have always stood ready to help those who have been in need. On the morrow the people of India shall be in the throes of a famine. The government of India has under pressure from public opinion in this country just entered into a trade agreement with the government of Pakistan whereby the surplus food stocks of Pakistan would go to India in exchange for Hindese commodities needed by Pakistan.

This is a good agreement. Even so, the needs of India in the matter of food grains will not be fully satisfied by the import of surplus food-stuffs from Pakistan. The best estimates are that the people of India may need approximately 2,000,000 tons of food-grains in the next six months if they are going to avoid wide-spread famine.

It is a tribute to the good-will of the American people and to their sincere desire to serve the afflicted that throughout this land millions of Americans have raised their voices in behalf of sending food grains from this country to India. It is also commendable on the part of our government in Washington that it has been taking prompt steps to aid India with the needed food-stuffs.

I would not want to see this food sent to India in the hope of converting Mr. Nehru to our point of view. I am firmly of the conviction that Mr. Nehru's stand on Korea and the U. N. is wrong, that it is capable of change, that it could be brought in line with the point of view of the democratic world; but I would not want to use the food as a weapon in an attempt to coerce Mr. Nehru regarding his point of view or policy.

I am quite certain that the doing of the good, namely, the sending of this needed food-stuff to the starving people of India is its own reward. And we hope that the common people in India, when they receive this food, will think kindly of their friends and neighbours across the Pacific in the United States of America who are willing to make the sacrifices in order that they may have food.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to two points of more than contemporary interest. Both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Attlee of Britain present the phenomenon of two of our greatest armchair strategists. They both

want to tell our military leaders how to conduct the war. If I were in President Truman's shoes, I would accept the suggestions of both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Nehru under the following conditions. I would say to both of these gentlemen, "Messrs. Attlee and Nehru, perhaps you are right. Maybe we ought not to cross the 38th parallel. Suppose then in order to carry out your wishes we make this suggestion. Since you allege that the presence of our troops in Korea is creating a panic in the thinking of the Chinese people on the mainland, we wish to withdraw every one of our American soldiers from Korea, and you, Mr. Attlee, and you Mr. Nehru, send your British and Hindese troops to Korea to man the 38th Parallel line, and please give us an undertaking that there will be no Dunkirk. With your boys manning the 38th Parallel, we shall be very happy to keep on talking, if need be, for the next ten years, how to bring about peace with Communist China."

Finally, in spite of some of my criticisms of India's foreign policy at the moment in relation to Korea and the United Nations, let me say that I have complete faith in the abiding framework of India and her destiny. India's abiding framework is and shall remain quest for truth, quest for justice, quest for liberty, quest for equality. In this noble four-fold quest, so well exemplified by Mahatma Gandhi, America and India can stand shoulder to shoulder and march forward to the realization of man's age-old dream of peace on earth and good will among men. Thank you. (Prolonged applause).

QUESTION PERIOD

Question : Will you tell us something about Pakistan?

Answer : It is not possible to give any brief answer about Pakistan and I do not know what special point you have in mind. If you are asking the question whether the leaders of Pakistan are also concerned with raising the standard of living of the under-privileged masses, I would say that on the whole they, too, are adopting the same procedures and implementing the same policies.

Question : What about population pressure in India?

Answer : The problem of population pressure in India and, for that matter, throughout the Orient is a real one. Just this morning I was happy to note in one of our newspapers that Mr. Nehru has come out in favour of birth-control. I believe the intelligent

leadership of India, and of the rest of Asia, is going to institute planned parenthood clinics all over the lands and thereby help the underprivileged masses to regulate the size of the family.

Question : Will you tell us something about the impasse in Kashmir? Is it true that Mr. Nehru is opposed to a plebiscite in Kashmir?

Answer : No, it would not be true to say that Mr. Nehru is opposed to a plebiscite in Kashmir. Indeed, it must be recalled that Mr. Nehru was the first one to make a suggestion that the plebiscite in Kashmir should be the final determinant as to the destiny of the people of Kashmir. But it is true today that Mr. Nehru wants to have the plebiscite under conditions he sets forth. Indeed, I wish I had a little more time to discuss this question, but I can say in a few words that to me the problem of Kashmir and the problem of Korea are in many ways parallel and identical. Mr. Nehru takes one set of criteria in dealing with Kashmir and another set of criteria in dealing with Korea. Perhaps, the fact that Mr. Nehru's family originally came from Kashmir may have something to do with this mode of reasoning. Perhaps, subconsciously, I admit. At any rate, in Kashmir he takes the position that the aggressor must first be removed, ejected, from the territory. Then he takes the position that the army of the government of India should be there to maintain order while the plebiscite is conducted. In Korea he takes the opposite stand. He wants the aggressor armies to remain where they are. He wanted them to remain below the 38th parallel in his first suggestion of compromise. And he wants to have a plebiscite held, if at all, not after the ejecting of the aggressor forces from Korea, but he wants the plebiscite to be held in the presence of the aggressor forces. I must confess that the problem of Kashmir is very delicate and I cannot help thinking that if Mr. Nehru's position in Kashmir is right, his position in Korea is entirely wrong, and *vice versa*. In both cases, aggression has been committed. Now how to resolve that problem is the supreme business of statesmanship. Mr. Nehru cannot have his cake and eat it, too. If he wishes to hold one set of criteria in dealing with Kashmir, he should have the same set of criteria in dealing with Korea. Thank you very much.*

* The article is a recording of Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar's speech, the second annual Sudhindra Memorial Foundation lecture at the State University of Iowa, on April 19, 1951.



"THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

IN the last May, June and July numbers of *The Modern Review* have appeared two articles of Prof. Banerjee and one of Mr. Sen-Varma respectively on the above subject. I have dealt with Mr. Sen-Varma's article hereinafter. I am grateful for his fair approach to the points at issue. He sets out my propositions without any attempt to misread them and almost in the way that I would like to state them myself, before he starts answering them.

Ordinarily it should not have been necessary to reply to Prof. Banerjee's article any further. Both Prof. Banerjee and myself adhere to our respective points of view in the matter, and I have given reasons for my views, and I am content to leave such reasons to the judgment of the readers. On the last occasion¹ it was only because I found that some of my views had been misapprehended, and therefore misrepresented, that I had to write. Unfortunately, it is the same reason that has called for the present article so far as Prof. Banerjee's articles are concerned.

I

The extract from *Marbury vs. Madison* was cited by me expressly with reference to the American and the Indian Constitutions which have "controlled" legislatures.² How far, if at all, it can apply to other Constitutions is beside the point. Again, on the issue whether the said observations of Marshall C. J. are sound arguments they were mere *dicta* and not part of the *ratio decidendi* of the case, and that emphasis on the said observations was relatively less, are clearly irrelevant. The particular judgment came up for consideration before the U.S. Supreme Court in a number of later cases,³ in none of which the soundness of the above extract appears to have been questioned at all. In the absence of a decision or *dictum* of a competent court disapproving, or even doubting the correctness of the above observations, I find it difficult to accept any views to the contrary.

That the judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution was stated not merely following Marshall C.J. or Hughes C.J. as has been wrongly supposed. It was stated⁴

obviously in relation to the fate of section 14 of the Indian Security Act (Act IV of 1950) before the Supreme Court of India in *Gopalan's case*.⁵ Until the Constitution has been suitably amended to reconcile its provisions with the said section 14, the said section must remain void as a result of the above decision. That is how the judiciary has "the last say." Judges have indeed no occasion to interpret any provision of the Constitution until the same comes up before them in a litigation. (I am leaving out for the present the consultative function of the Supreme Court of India). But it is only then that the question of judges having any say on the construction of the Constitution can at all arise. It is needless to point out that I did not refer, nor was I understood to have referred, to views of judges expressed *per incuriam*.

On the question of admissibility of the debates in the Constituent Assembly I put forward the proposition⁶ that "... unless there is ambiguity, the actual language used in the Constitution is the acid test, ...". This appears to be quite in accord with the observations cited by Prof. Banerjee himself of Cockburn C.J., Lord Wright and Kania C.J. as also of the text-book writers, Willoughby and Willis. This accounts for the majority of the galaxy whom he presumes to claim to be in his company.⁷

The eminent professor evidently failed to appreciate the above proposition, and so I may be permitted to dwell on the matter in a greater detail. It should be observed, however, that it was never in dispute that such extraneous matters as are legitimate may be resorted to for a limited purpose in cases of ambiguity.

Two propositions seem to be fairly clear in the maze of judicial learning on this topic: (1) Resort to such extraneous matter is permissible only where there is an ambiguity in the relevant text, and (2) even then, only to ascertain the historical background of the words actually used. It is unnecessary to burden this article with numerous quotations laying down the principle.⁷ I propose to cite only

5. *Ibid.*

6. *The Modern Review*, June, p. 456.

7. Apart from the cases cited in my article in *The Modern Review*, February, 1951 (p. 143), it should be noted that Gwyer C. J. in *Central Provinces and Berar Act (1939)* 1 F. C. R. at p. 46, favoured such reference only for historical purposes and to matters of which the Court would take judicial notice, and even then Sulaiman J. dissented from him. (*Ibid* at p. 77). Prof. Banerjee has relied

1. *The Modern Review*, February, 1951, p. 141.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. In 1883, when the *Lawyers' Edition of the Reports of U.S. Supreme Court* was first published the above judgment appears already to have come up for consideration on more than 65 occasions.

the views of the highest courts of England and India respectively on this point.

In *Assam Railways and Trading Co. Ltd. vs. Inland Revenue Commission*⁸ reference by counsel to a Report of a Royal Commission for the construction of a section of Income Tax Act, 1920, was rejected by Lord Wright (Lords Blanesburgh, Warrington of Clyffe, Atkin and Thankerton concurring) as inadmissible in the following words:

"... But on principle no such evidence for the purpose of showing the intention that is the purpose of object, of an Act is admissible, the intention of the Legislature must be ascertained from the words of the statute with such extraneous assistance as is legitimate . . . It is clear that the language of a Minister of the Crown in proposing in Parliament a measure which eventually becomes law is inadmissible and the Report of Commissioners is even more removed from value as evidence of intention . . ."

Further in *Liversidge vs. Anderson* (1942 A.C. at pp. 270-1) Lord Wright made the following observations :

"... Counsel for the appellant knew English law too well to contend that they were entitled to refer to what passed in debate in the House of Commons or the House of Lords. That is clearly inadmissible. . . ."

In *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras and the Union of India*,⁹ the Attorney-General M. C. Setalvad is reported¹⁰ to have insisted on a reference to the debates in the Constituent Assembly only for the purpose of showing that the Assembly was fully aware of the implications of the difference between the old form of expression and the new. Kania C.J. and Fazl Ali J. in that case were prepared to allow such reference only for such limited purpose as aforesaid as will appear from the following observations:

"... The result appears to be that while it is not proper to take into consideration the individual opinions of members of Parliament or convention to construe the meaning of the particular clause, when a question is raised whether a certain phrase or expression was up for consideration at all, a reference to debates may be permitted."—(Kania C.J. at p. 185).

"... In my opinion though the proceedings or discussions in the Assembly are not relevant for the purpose of construing the meaning of the expressions used in Article 21, especially when they are plain and unambiguous, they are relevant to show that the Assembly intended to avoid the use

of the expression 'without due process of law'.—(Fazl Ali J. at p. 212).

In the same case Patanjali Sastri and Mukherjea JJ. rejected the contention of the learned Attorney-General. Das J. was frankly doubtful about such admissibility, while Mahajan J. did not think it worth his while to deal with such contention at all. The relevant observations are set out hereunder:

"Learned Counsel drew attention to the speeches made by several members of the Assembly on the floor of the House for explaining, as he put it, the 'historical background.' A speech made in the course of a debate of a bill could not reflect the inarticulate mental processes lying behind the majority vote which carried the bill. Nor is it reasonable to assume that the minds of those legislators were in accord. The Court could only search for the objective intent of the Legislature primarily in the words used in the enactment, aided by such historical material as reports of statutory committees, preambles, etc. I attach no importance, therefore, to the speeches made by some of the members of the Constituent Assembly in the course of a debate on Article 15." (Now Article 21).—(Patanjali Sastri J. at p. 236).

"... In my opinion in interpreting the Constitution it will be better if such extrinsic evidence is left out of account . . ."—(Mukherjea J. at p. 277).

"... If it were permissible to refer to the drafting Committee's report, it would be another answer to the contentions of Learned Counsel for the petitioner . . . I do not, however, desire to base my judgment on the Drafting Committee's report and I express no opinion as to its admissibility . . ."—(Das J. at p. 290).

Both Mukherjea and Das JJ. had been at one time practising before the Calcutta High Court. In view of Prof. Banerjee's avowed aversion to Calcutta lawyers I was reluctant to cite their views. Such views nevertheless being in substantial agreement with others' are binding on all Indian Courts, and hence are relied on.

From the speech of Lord Wright in *Assam Railways*, (etc. case cited hereinabove it is obvious that even where resort to such extraneous materials is at all permissible it can only be for the limited purpose of assisting the court in ascertaining the intention of the legislature from the words used. The extracts of the judgments of the Supreme Court of India cited hereinabove also make it clear that the said Court also held unanimously that such debates, for whatever other purposes they may be referred to, cannot be referred to for "the purpose of construing the meaning of the expressions used" in the Constitution. "The actual language," therefore, "is the acid test," notwithstanding Prof. Banerjee's disapproval¹¹ of this observation of Lord Wright's¹² which the eminent Professor mistook for mine.

(The Modern Review, June, 1951, p. 454. fn. 94) on a newspaper report of an alleged argument of the Attorney-General before the Patna High Court in support of such reference, but was silent as to whether such argument was upheld. I dare say that the Patna High Court found such argument as untenable as did the Supreme Court in *Gopalan's* case, mentioned herein.

8. 1935 A.C. 445 H.L. at p. 458.

9. XIII Supreme Court Journal, p. 174.

10. Ibid, at p. 277.

11. The Modern Review, June, 1951 at p. 455.

12. 1942 A.C. at p. 271.

Language of Article 74(1) of our Constitution appears to provide that any exercise of function of the President under the Constitution must have *inter alia* this element of "aid" of his Council of Ministers. Participation of his Council of Ministers in any exercise of his functions by the President thus appears to be imperative, from the said Article. Exercise of functions of the President must therefore be in accordance with such "aid" given. This interpretation is also supported by the obvious antinomy of aid and hindrance. Omission by the Council of Ministers to give or by the President to take such "aid" in the exercise of any of President's functions under the Constitution does amount to a violation of the Constitution. I find that Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh is also of the same view.¹³

To say that "the text of our Constitution has not given us a true picture of the position of the President" is merely to beg the question. Because, whatever picture is given in the text is the true picture. Such a view is not a purely technical or "legalistic" one. Even if it is so it will still be a more correct approach to the construction of the Constitution than what Patanjali Sastri J. in *Charanjit Lal Chowdhury vs. The Union of India*¹⁴ has deprecated as "a doctrinaire approach."

Language of Article 74(1) thus not being ambiguous, if literal and ordinary meaning is given to all the words therein, as already explained in my previous article,¹⁵ reference to the debates in the Constituent Assembly is entirely out of place in its interpretation. I had also pointed out¹⁶ that the word "aid" actually occurring in the said Article cannot be treated as redundant or a mere surplusage. One cannot create an "ambiguity" by so strange a construction, for the mere barren pedantry of strutting out with lengthy extracts of the debates in the Constituent Assembly. Prof. Banerjee in his recent articles¹⁷ seems to have even gone one better in his explanation. "... nor can we reasonably treat the word 'aid' as a technical term. . . ." says he, as if he had, at any stage, sought to give any meaning to the word "aid."¹⁸

"Bless thee Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated."

I am sorry that any one should have read in my article any self-complacency or self-conceit. In a controversy where there is room for *bona fide* difference of opinion such mental attitude is certainly unbecoming. That shrewd men of the world pay their

hard-earned money for the advice, in Constitutional matters, of persons licensed to practise in Courts in preference to those of laymen claiming to be better informed in such matters is a fact. Such propensity on the part of seekers of advice may appear unsatisfactory, unreasonable and even irritating to some of such opinionated laymen, but it is none the less a fact. And I have yet to learn that a statement of a fact may sound of conceit.

For example, a casual reader, unfamiliar with Prof. Banerjee's pronouncements, *ex cathedra* and infallible, may suspect some lurking conceit in the following homilies:

"One should be sure of one's facts before one makes a categorical statement in regard to a point of constitutional law."¹⁹

"One should think a little deeply about the implications of one's statement about a constitutional matter before one should make it."²⁰

But such suspicion is unwarranted, and will be unjust to Prof. Banerjee. He has done well to remind all who write on constitutional matters of these conditions precedent. One only wishes that he himself had had them in mind when he did burst into print.

II

The main point of difference between Mr. Sen-Varma and myself appears to be the interpretation of Article 74(1) of the Constitution. My reading of the said Article has been published elsewhere,²¹ as also in the previous portion of this article. Mr. Sen-Varma has attempted to test my interpretation by reference to a hypothetical legal provision.²² I think, however, that the wording of such hypothetical provision should have corresponded as much as possible to that of the relevant Article before the same could be used as a test. If therefore such hypothetical provision had been worded thus, "There shall be an association of lawyers to aid and advise the Supreme Court in the exercise of its functions," I have little doubt that such aid and advice would have been a *sine qua non* of exercise of any of the Supreme Court's functions, and, therefore, no function of the Supreme Court could be exercised without the aid and advice of the association of lawyers.

The duty to give such aid and advice on the part of the Council of Ministers presupposes a corresponding duty to receive such aid and advice on the part of the President. Mr. Sen-Varma has contrasted a possible absolute supreme and unfettered exercise of functions by authorities under powers conferred on them by Parliament under Article 53(3)(b) with the

13. *The Modern Review*, June, 1951 at p. 462.

14. XIV *Supreme Court Journal* 29 at p. 37.

15. *The Modern Review*, February, 1951 at pp. 142-3.

16. *Ibid* at p. 142.

17. *The Modern Review*, May, 1951 at p. 372.

18. e.g., *The Modern Review*, December, 1950 at pp. 458-459; *Ibid*, May, 1951, pp. 371-372. He had been talking all through about "advice" and not "aid."

19. *The Modern Review*, May, 1951 at p. 370.

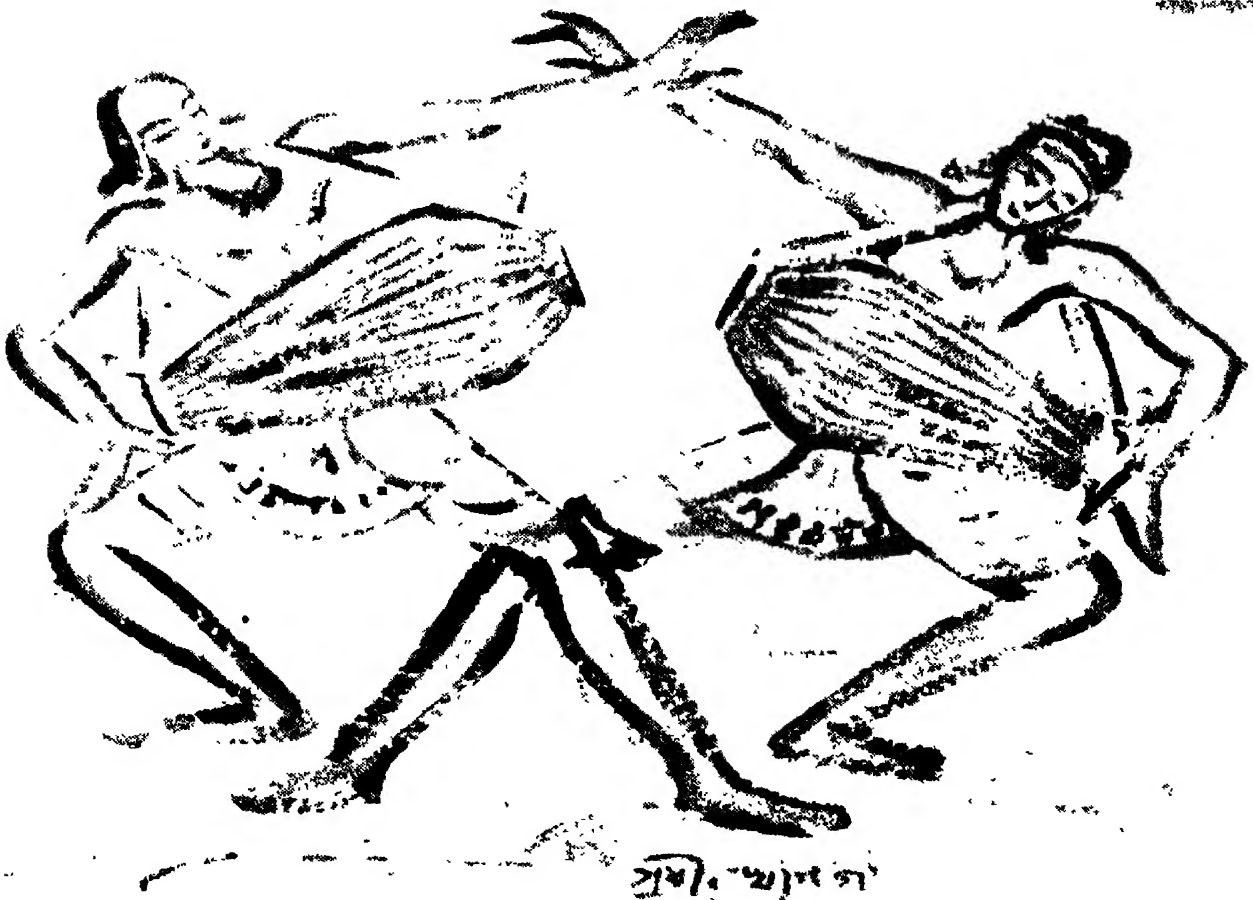
20. *Ibid* at p. 372.

21. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at p. 203; *Ibid*, February, 1951 at pp. 142-143.

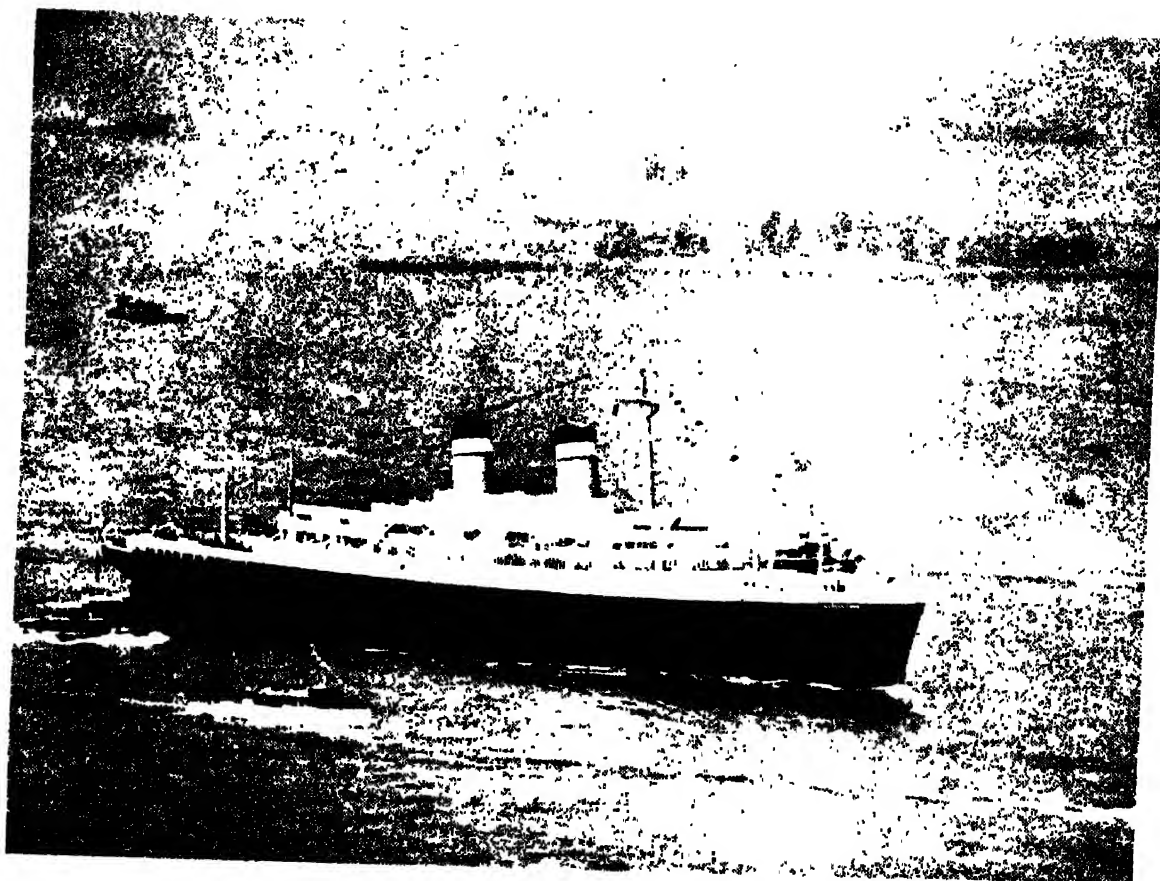
22. *The Modern Review*, July, 1951 at p. 27.



Dancer (water colour)
By S. Khastgi



Folk Dancers
By S. Khastgi (1949)



The new U S luxury liner *SS. Constitution* as she enters the New York harbour and sails past the Statue of Liberty



Ten Indian students, who have been awarded U S Governmental scholarships for higher studies in American Universities, sailed from Bombay on June 28

exercise of functions by the President. He explains the position further in these words,²³ ". . . it not being the duty of the Council of Ministers to aid and advise these other authorities or the duty of these other authorities to seek such aid and advice" It is apparent that he himself has in mind the correlation of the duties to give and seek aid and advice as suggested in my interpretation of Article 74(1).

If I am correct in my interpretation of the above Article there need be no difficulty in reconciling the said Article with other Articles *e.g.*, 75(2) or 85(1); because the exercise of any function of the President including the functions contemplated in these latter Articles, must be aided and advised in the terms of Article 74(1) before they can at all amount to any exercise of his functions under the Constitution. I agree, however, that had Article 74(1) contained such additional words as Mr. Sen-Varma has suggested²⁴ the interpretation put by me on the said Article would undoubtedly have been fool-proof.

I have previously distinguished between the political usages in states having written constitutions and conventions of the English type.²⁵ Without elaborating further on the topic I may say that the facts that political usages do grow in states with written constitutions, and that such usages may be obeyed and respected for a considerable length of time, do not necessarily alter their character. Their contravention does not lead to such inevitable legal consequences as will happen in a case of similar contravention of constitutional conventions in England. The distinction is always there, however the two types of usages may resemble each other in appearances.

Much has already been written on Article 53(3)(b).²⁶ I only write to give reasons why I have no

apprehension that a possible application of the said Article may lead to such absurdity²⁷ as Mr. Sen-Varma envisages.

If, for example, the executive power of the President is conferred on another authority by Parliament under the said Article, the power so far as the President is concerned stands abrogated in the sense that he can no longer exercise it. This is the result of the operation of the *non obstante* clause "Nothing in this Article shall . . ." at beginning of clause (3) of the said Article. Secondly, "functions" in clause (3)(b) of the said Article is undoubtedly wider in import than "executive powers" in clause (1) thereof and includes the latter. This also follows from the said *non obstante* clause. Because, unless conferring *inter alia* of executive powers of the President by Parliament under clause (3)(b) was also in contemplation the said *non obstante* clause in that form would not have been necessary. Thirdly, Parliament may, and in all probability will, confer such functions not in an unfettered form but with such conditions for their exercise attached thereto as it may in its wisdom prescribe. Again, the saving clause at the very opening of Art. 73 prevents its coming in conflict with any power that may be conferred under Article 53(3) (b).

I agree that it is possible to draft a written constitution with an "uncontrolled" legislature and in such a case the doctrine of *ultra vires* in relation to legislation can have no application. One of the earliest experiments of this was the Constitution of the State of Queensland enacted in 1867. But as Mr. Sen-Varma himself has noted²⁸ I restricted my observations to Constitutions with "controlled" legislatures like the American and the Indian.*

26. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at p. 203; *Ibid*, February, 1951 at p. 143.

27. *Ibid*, July, 1951 at p. 28.

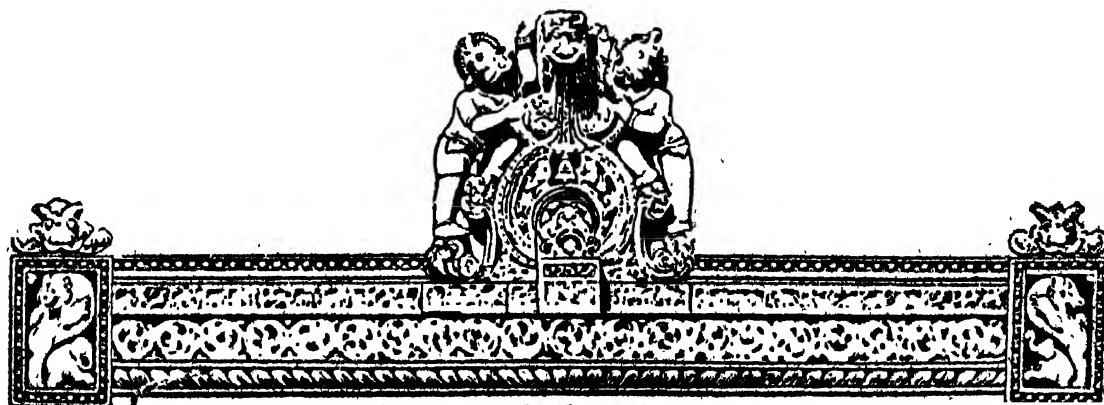
28. *Ibid*, July, 1951 at p. 25.

23. *Ibid* at p. 28.

24. *Ibid* at p. 27.

25. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at pp. 202-203; *Ibid*, February, 1951 at pp. 141-142.

* The italics are mine.



PLANNING EDUCATION AT THE POST-MATRICULATION STAGE

By R. C. RAY, M.A.,
Vice-Principal, M. B. B. College, Agartala

WHEN a student passes the Matriculation Examination he at once finds himself on the cross-roads, where he has to make his choice of the path he will take to reach the goal he has in view. The road, at this point, fans out in various directions before him, offering him a choice of educational opportunities in different fields. He takes the path that promises to lead him to the field of work most suited to his taste and aptitude, wherein by devoted application and honest industry he makes good use of his opportunities and lays up the foundation of a successful career for himself.

That is, he does in a progressive country with a well-planned and well-organised structure of national education. In a country like ours, where such an educational structure is yet in the stage of planning, he is hardly ever as lucky as that. For him there is not much of a cross-road as yet at any stage. He walks the broad path of literary education, which is still almost the only path for him, and finds himself in the College very often compelled to pursue an unsuitable course of education with results that are far from happy to contemplate. We are at the moment deeply worried by the deplorable pass-rolls in our University Examinations; but if we care to look into the root-causes, we will find that this limited choice of educational opportunities for our youth at the post-Matriculation stage is perhaps the largest single factor that accounts for this lamentable state of things.

The educational system of a country must reflect its ideals and aspirations and must be broad-based upon its needs in educated and trained man-power to work for the realisation of those ideals and aspirations. The India that the British left to us when they quitted her soil was poor, almost destitute, in everything except in ideals and aspirations. The educational system we had then reflected nothing but our state of degradation and if it was based upon any needs at all, those were the needs of a dependent people as conceived by their benevolent masters. To make that educational system serve the purposes of a free and progressive nation, it has to be re-shaped and re-conditioned almost from base to apex with due attention to every part of the structure so as to strengthen and re-vitalise those weak links which at present make the whole structure weak and ineffective. Finally, it has to be based upon the large and growing variety of needs of a free people and thus made to reflect something of the ideals and aspirations of the new India. We know that a re-organisation on these lines has already been planned for our University education, and that our secondary education also has, of late, engaged a good deal of the attention of the reformers in the different States. But our post-Matriculation education, we are afraid, has not received even half the attention that it undoubtedly deserves. In fact there seems to be a lot of loose thinking about the purpose and scope of such

education and its due place in the general educational structure of the country. It is commonly forgotten that apart from its importance as a link between the school and the University stages, education at this stage marks, and should mark, the close of all academic training for large numbers of our young people. As such it has a distinct usefulness of its own which has to be recognised by assigning it a place of importance in our scheme of national education. If our secondary schools are the weakest link in our educational machinery, our post-Matriculation Institutions can only be described as the broken link. This broken link has to be restored and geared up as much for the smooth and efficient working of the machinery as for the success of our efforts towards national reconstruction.

In the following paragraphs it will be our endeavour to indicate briefly the lines on which this part of our educational machinery can be strengthened and revitalised with an eye to the more urgent and pressing needs of the nation today.

II

The one great problem of India today is the problem of feeding our growing population. It is said that in the last ten years our population has recorded an increase of nearly 13.4 per cent, and that during that period there have been, on an average, 42 lakhs more births than deaths every year. Our deficiency in food-grains amounts to nearly 4 million tons at present, and it is bound to go on increasing at a tremendous rate from year to year with the population figure going up at the present rate. Even with all reasonable checks on the growth of population, it will require a colossal effort to step up our food production to bring us anywhere near the target of self-sufficiency. Then, again, it is not merely a question of stepping up food production; we have at the same time to step up the production of such essential raw-materials as jute and cotton if our industries are to carry on at all and if we are to attain even a workable independence on the economic front. But our grow-more-food and other campaigns in this direction have shown us that we shall never succeed in our efforts at stepping up production up to the desired extent so long as, along with the improvement of our land resources and operational methods, we do not take measures for the improvement of the quality of the personnel engaged in agricultural work. That is to say, we have to improve and extend the facilities for agricultural education at all levels. For it is by such education alone that we can ensure the necessary efficiency in the organisation and working of this our principal and most vital industry and aim at self-sufficiency within our existing resources.

At present we have 21 Agricultural Colleges in the country with facilities for admitting only 1500 students annually. As the University Education Commission have

pointed out, even if half of them should graduate "this would represent only three agricultural graduates per year per million of the farming population." This is not an encouraging picture at all; but far less encouraging is the picture of agricultural education at lower levels. We have at present only 19 schools providing facilities for non-graduate courses in Agriculture, and the ratio of the annual output of these schools to the farming population of the country must work out at a far more hopeless figure. And yet it is this kind of trained personnel that is our greatest need today. The Central Advisory Board of Education estimated that for their programmes of agricultural development they would require the following personnel in the course of the next decade :

Field assistants	20,000
Stockmen for animal husbandry ..	20,000
Non-graduate assistants	10,000
Graduate assistants	1,500
Inspectors (graduate) for animal husbandry	4,000
Gazetted officers for agriculture ..	300
Gazetted officers for animal husbandry ..	550
	<hr/>
	56,350

It will be seen that out of the total personnel of 56,350 listed above, the overwhelming majority of 50,000 are non-graduate assistants of various types such as can be trained by Agricultural Schools. We have not enough institutions today to train even a third of the required number in the next decade; nor, as far as we know, have we any plans for setting up such institutions in any number in the near future; and yet we must have them if we want to put through our programme of agricultural development as the first and most important step towards the stabilisation of the economy of the country.

A large part of this personnel, it is true, can have the necessary education even at the pre-Matric. stage at resident rural high schools, such as are contemplated in the proposals of the Central Advisory Board of Education, or even at our Secondary Schools if their curriculum of studies is expanded to include the programme of education necessary for the training of such personnel. But the vast majority of them will be required to go through a separate course of studies and training in Agricultural Schools, after passing the Matriculation Examination to qualify themselves for the work which they will be called upon to undertake. Such schools will naturally include in their courses of study, besides elements of Agricultural Science and practice, such allied subjects as irrigation, animal husbandry, poultry farming, etc., and should preferably be located in the countryside where the students will have the opportunity of supplementing their academic education with practical knowledge gathered from direct contact with actual farm practices.

Here then is a very useful branch of education to which our students can be diverted at the post-Matriculation stage, to the immense benefit of the students themselves as well as of the nation. Students educated in such schools will not only supply the essential man-power for

the development projects of the Government, but some of them may well turn out to be of the more enterprising type who will go in for independent business as agricultural, poultry or dairy farmers.

III

Though agriculture still remains the principal basis of our economy and will continue to remain so for many years to come. India has vast potentialities for industrial development and we are already committed to a policy of rapid industrialisation of the country. The Planning Commission has prepared a five-year plan to that end which is now under the active consideration of the Central Government. For the success of any place, however, the greatest need today is for trained man-power to work the various development schemes that have been proposed or taken in hand already. We require an army of engineers and technical experts to work at the top and we look to our Engineering Colleges and Technological Institutes to supply them. We require a far bigger army of technicians, draftsmen, foremen, etc. to assist the engineers and experts at the top, and it is in this type of personnel that we are at present hopelessly deficient.

We have at present 23 full-fledged Engineering Colleges and about 13 technological institutes or departments attached to universities. It has been roughly calculated that the annual output of Engineering graduates in the country is at present nearly 1130, while it is 3000 in Great Britain and over 50,000 in the U.S.A. That is to say, our annual output of Engineering graduates and diploma holders is only one-third that of Great Britain and only one-fortieth that of the U.S.A. But even if we leave out comparison with other countries and consider our own requirements only, our present output will be found to be hopelessly below the mark. According to the estimates of the Scientific Man-Power Committee, the requirement of the country for engineers and technologists of all types in the next 5 to 10 years is nearly 27,000, which will put the annual demand at between 5400 and 2700. With our present output standing at 1130, the gap between the demand and the supply seems to be very wide indeed. We have great hopes, however, in our four proposed Higher Technological Institutes, one of which (Eastern Technological Institute in Hili near Calcutta) is going to start working very shortly and it is hoped it will not be very long before the other three also will be in a position to admit students. When these Institutes will begin to send out graduates, our present gap will surely be narrowed down and we will become nearly self-sufficient in this type of personnel.

We wish we could be half so confident about the other type too—we mean that big army of non-graduate technical assistants without whom our engineering experts would be as ineffective as a band of redoubtable army commanders without any army to command. In the U.S.A. it has been found by experience that for every high-grade engineer ten technicians are needed. Even if we calculate our requirement at a more modest proportion, our annual need for this kind of personnel cannot

be anything less than between 10,000 and 20,000 in the next 5 to 10 years. When we remember that this figure represents only the requirement of the Government for the implementation of their development plans, and that there is a vast field of demand for such trained personnel in our numerous and fast-growing private industries as well, we will be inclined to raise this figure to twice or even three times as many. For, in any well-ordered and progressive economy Government's venture in the industrial field can represent only a part, and that too by no means a very large part, of the total activity of the country. Then, again, while planning for such education we must keep in mind the country's need for ambitious young men who, after receiving training in some art or craft, will, instead of seeking jobs in Government or private industrial concerns, go in for starting small industrial units of their own or settle down independently in the business of making and repairing scientific apparatus, hospital appliances, electrical and photographic equipment, etc.

For real economic independence we need self-sufficiency not only in agricultural products and industrial goods, but also in the thousand and one small things which are daily necessities in a modern society and yet for which we have even today to depend, in a very large measure, on foreign imports. Take, for instance, the equipment of a modern office and see for how many items in it you can depend solely on our indigenous manufactures. For such manufactures we do not require highly educated engineering or technological experts. All we need are technical entrepreneurs—men with a sound training in some technical institution with just the necessary initiative and enterprise. We are sure there is no want of young men with initiative and enterprise in our country; but our present educational machinery, instead of fostering these great qualities and bringing them into proper play, mostly helps only to smother them by condemning their possessors to uncongenial educational activities. The resultant wastage in human energy and loss in national wealth, if it were possible to calculate them in hard arithmetical figures, would be a staggering revelation indeed!

To prevent this wastage and this loss and to build up a sound economic life aimed at all-round self-sufficiency, there should be increased facilities for technical and vocational education at the post-Matriculation stage. There should be one more broad line branching out of the royal road of literary education at this stage and there should be a halt to the present general stampede for admission into the colleges and a planned diversion of students to that branch line. This is necessary as much for the sake of those vast numbers of our young men who are at present swelling the ranks of the 'failures' (not only in examinations but in life as well) for their enforced submission to the wrong type of educational discipline, as for the nation whose efforts towards a progressive economy are bound to be thwarted so long as there remains any weak or broken link in its educational machinery.

For that purpose we require a number of Engineering Schools offering non-degree courses of study and training in various branches of engineering and technology. These schools will supply the non-graduate technical personnel for employment in Government and private concerns and also that band of technical entrepreneurs who, after picking up the necessary know-how in these schools, will start small industrial units of their own to manufacture that great variety of small things which make up such a large part of the total material needs of the society. At the same time we require a large number of technical schools for the training of foremen, draughtsmen, craftsmen and general technical assistants. They will ensure a continuous supply of skilled technicians for our industries and, by helping a large number of young men to set up in independent business and earn an honest and decent living, will play an important part in the solution of the problem of unemployment. Besides admitting regular students these schools will also provide facilities for short-term refresher courses for our existing craftsmen, mostly recruited from untrained artisan class, so that they may improve their skill and efficiency and adapt themselves to the highly mechanised industrial processes of the modern age.

IV

When we have thus dispersed the 'misfits' in general education by providing facilities for them in other lines more suitable to their tastes and capacities, it will be time for us to think of re-organising general education itself at this stage and put it on a sounder basis.

From what has been said in the foregoing sections, we must not be understood to underrate the importance of general education. On the other hand, we believe that such education will always continue to occupy the place of first importance in any scheme of national education, and that specialisation, at whatever stage it may be introduced, will always have to be grounded on a sound general education. For, we fully agree with the University Education Commission when they say:

"The person with a narrowly specialised education is like a man who lives in a house with only one window, so that he can look out only in one direction. A general education should open windows in many directions, so that most of the varied experiences of his life and most elements of his environment shall have meaning and interest to him."

Similarly, nothing is further from our mind than to suggest that we have too many colleges in our country and too many students seeking collegiate education. For, the fact is far otherwise and we are fully aware of it. According to the Report of the Radhakrishnan Commission, referred to above, we had in 1936 only 1,26,000 students in the colleges out of an estimated population of 363 millions, which works out roughly at one student for every 2880 inhabitants; while the corresponding figures for some of the progressive countries of the world for that year were as follows:

Country	Population in Thousands	Students	Number of inhabitants per student
U.S.A.	122,800	9,90,000	124
Canada	11,000	48,500	227
South Africa	2,000	8,400	238
(white population only)			
France	41,907	81,000	517
Great Britain	44,795	50,600	885

From the above it will be clear that far from having too many colleges or too many students in the colleges we are as backward in this as in other branches of education and have a good deal of leeway to make up to come anywhere near the progress achieved by the more advanced countries of the world. If still we hear complaints about overcrowding in the colleges, it is overcrowding in an altogether different sense and in the ultimate analysis it reduces itself into a problem of distribution and organisation. Our problem at present is: (i) we have too many students in some colleges and too few in others, and (ii) we have too many of those students who should not be there at all and too few of those who should.

The problem of distribution can be solved by restricting admissions to colleges up to a permissible maximum, and by insisting on all affiliated colleges maintaining a minimum standard of efficiency in the strength and quality of the teaching staff as well as in Library, Laboratory and other equipments. The problem of organisation can be very largely solved by effecting planned dispersal of students to technical and occupational lines as suggested in the foregoing sections, and by encouraging poor but meritorious boys to come to the colleges in larger numbers by making generous provision for stipends and other awards. In this latter respect particularly there is a lot to be done by us yet to save good merit, that might well be turned into national asset, from being merely wasted for want of assistance from society. The provision for financial assistance to deserving students is very meagre in our country. In most provinces only about 10 per cent of the total enrollment in a college is entitled to exemption from payment of tuition fees, and the government and other awards also do not generally exceed 1 per cent. These few lucky students also are assisted only to the extent of one-fifth or one-sixth of their total expenditure, and for the remainder they have mostly to shift for themselves. On the other hand, in the British Universities taken as a whole the proportion of assisted students was no less than 67.9 per cent in 1946-47, while at Oxford and Cambridge over 82 per cent of the students receive financial assistance in one form or another. It may not be possible for us to emulate, with our existing resources, the practice of the British universities, but it is nevertheless the duty of the community to see to it that, as long as it can be helped, no meritorious student may be debarred from collegiate education merely on account of indigence.

Thus while we want to see a large number of boys, at present wasting their time and energy in the colleges, diverted to more suitable branches of education, we also

want to see a large number of other boys, now rotting in uncongenial spheres of activities outside, coming to the colleges to pursue the higher courses of study with profit to themselves and to the nation. But more than that we want to have a reformed and re-organised course of general education at the post-Matric. stage that will be designed to serve adequately the needs for which such a course of education should rightly exist. For that it is necessary, above all, that we should start with a clear idea of the objective we have in view in planning the education of our youth at this stage.

What, then, is the objective here? In the words of the University Education Commission, the aims of the Intermediate Colleges should be "to meet a variety of needs of our young men by giving a vocational bias to their courses while retaining their value in a system of sound general education as a preparation for the University courses." Whether we have separate Intermediate Colleges as recommended by the Commission, or whether our Intermediate classes continue to be attached to the degree colleges as at present the aims of this course of studies must remain the same. Is our present system of education, with the existing curriculum of studies and the existing methods of putting that curriculum into effect (through teaching and examinations), adequate and suitable for fulfilling those aims?

We would say nothing about the working of the curriculum for that would take us further afield and involve us in controversies, which, however important, are not strictly relevant to our present purpose. We would, therefore, content ourselves with a few remarks about the curriculum and our present reading programmes in various subjects. We hope nobody would deny that our present curriculum of studies is inadequate and unsuitable, in some respects as being based on certain pre-conceived notions rather than on a correct appreciation of the needs of the time. It would also be generally agreed that it is rather too narrow, too limited in its scope, to meet the growing variety of the needs of our students and of the nation. It does nothing to give a vocational bias to the course, and if it does prepare for the University courses it does so only in a very limited way. For, while it includes preparatory courses for higher studies in general Arts and Science subjects it wholly leaves out those for higher studies in technical and professional subjects. Besides, the reading programmes in some of the subjects (in English, for example) have to be re-modelled to bring them in line with the changed needs of the time; in some other subjects, (in the sciences, for example), they have to be revised and brought up to date; and in all subjects they have to be rationalised and made more practical in their outlook and general aim. Above all, the curriculum has to be widened in its scope so as to give full latitude of choice to boys with different tastes and inclinations.

The importance of this aspect of the matter seems to have been recognised by the Syllabus Committee of the new Board of Secondary Education of West Bengal by giving a distinct vocational bias to the proposed Syllabus

of the School Final Examination. This is all to the good, no doubt. But it will lose much of its meaning and usefulness if it is not followed up by a similar vocational bias in the Intermediate Syllabus too. For what does a boy do after passing the School Final Examination with Agricultural Science or Elements of Engineering as his optional subject? Either he goes to an Agricultural or Engineering School or to an Intermediate College to prepare for the University Course in the subject of his choice. The present Intermediate Syllabus, however, would leave

him no choice but to engage in a fruitless and wasteful pursuit of a general Arts or Science course. Besides this, the widening of the scope of the curriculum may well prove a boon to those boys who come to the College for want of opportunity for more suitable education elsewhere and, finding no interest in the usual subjects of the curriculum swell the ranks of the 'failures.' Some of the new subjects may at last stimulate their interest and may even point to a hopeful career for some of them.

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

By PROF. GUR PRASAD SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

THE object of the Indian National Congress, which constituted the spearhead of anti-imperialist agitation before the transfer of power and which is now running the administration, was to make India free from foreign domination. Therefore, with the attainment of that object the question arises whether it has outlived its usefulness. Some people answer this question in the affirmative. They are of opinion that the Congress which once captured the imagination of the Indian people and was their sole mouthpiece can now exist only as a political party which, having assumed power, is bound to suffer in popularity. But the majority of people are of the opinion that the party which has been instrumental in winning the freedom of the country should also be given the opportunity to consolidate it because at present it is the only properly organised party which is capable of assuming the reins of Government. In these circumstances it is both interesting and instructive to speculate on its future.

But the question of its future can not be answered without a reference to its past and present activities. The Congress, like freedom movements all over the world, was a purely political organisation in the beginning. Its object was the establishment of parliamentary democracy in India. No doubt, this was due to the character of its leadership which was drawn from the upper middle class, the lawyers being foremost in its ranks. But with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi this conception changed. Mahatma Gandhi had a complete philosophy of life and to him the freedom of the country was not an end in itself, but only a means to an end, viz., his constructive programme. Thus there were two conflicting currents of thought inside the Congress. But with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi the parliamentary programme has triumphed over the constructive. In the opinion of Acharya Kripalani¹ the present leadership of the Congress is incapable of implementing any constructive programme. But this is an extreme point of view.

The Congress Ministries did much valuable work during their first regime. In fact, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams speaking about their work in 1938 said that "they deserve much credit for what they are doing; they are completely in earnest and are working desperately hard."² Even in their present regime they have taken up many useful agricultural reforms including the abolition of Zamindari.

But the future of the Congress would be determined by its work during the present regime. No doubt, the partition of the country unleashed the forces of darkness and disruption on an unprecedented scale. The problem of the relief and rehabilitation of the uprooted millions would have been enough to shake the foundations of any Government and, more so, a newly established Government. But the Congress administration handled it with firmness and tact. The solution of the problem of Indian States—first their accession and then merger in the Indian Dominion—is a marvel of statesmanship. Moreover, the successful termination of the controversy about Dominion Status versus Complete Independence gives us a glimpse of the realism of our Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru, who had been instrumental in changing the goal of the Congress from Dominion Status to Complete Independence, could neither eat his own words nor could he write off the history of the Congress since 1929. At the same time he realised the advantages of membership of the Commonwealth. The result was a compromise by which India has become an Independent Sovereign Republic and at the same time she also enjoys all the privileges of membership of the Commonwealth. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru's success was due to his personal influence in both the countries and Sardar Patel rightly remarked that it was his personal triumph. So far as foreign policy is concerned, even the Socialist Party has accepted the broad principles enunciated by our Minister for External Affairs, although fault may be found in minor details. It may also be pointed out

1. *The Future of the Congress*, p. 32.

2. *What about India*, p. 139.

that our foreign policy is more idealistic and less realistic in approach.

Coming to internal administration we find that the Congress Governments have done much to conduce to the prosperity of the poor Indian peasant even at the risk of being called a partisan Government. Their abolition of Zamindari, which they promised in their election manifesto and which is taking place before our very eyes, speaks eloquently of their attitude towards agrarian problems. Besides this, they have taken up many schemes of agricultural reclamation and agricultural debt relief. Moreover, they are effecting nationalisation of transport and are taking steps for promoting the health and education of the people.

But this is not the whole story and the Congress Governments are also guilty of many omissions and commissions. In spite of the existence of nationalist Governments both in the States and at the Centre one fails to see the glow of freedom on the face of the common man and woman of India. The question arises, why is it so? The causes are not far to seek.

The principle of the Congress, specially since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, has been that example is better than precept. Gandhiji symbolised this principle in his own personal life. But the present leaders with a few notable exceptions have forsaken this principle. That is why they are unable to inspire the common man with the zeal for freedom.

Moreover, the Congress Governments have failed to check inflation and the soaring prices of commodities which are hitting the lower middle class very hard. The Prime Minister of India speaking at Allahabad on 5th September, 1949, said:

"We are trying to bring down the level of prices of commodities. As a matter of fact, the rising prices have already been arrested."³

But instead of going down, the prices are going up. In fact, there is room for suspicion that the Congress is not really keen on controlling prices as that would ultimately affect the prosperity of the Kisans. The Prime Minister in the speech referred to above said that "kisans and labour constituted a very large majority of the population and they had grown richer."

The Congress Governments have practised patronage and jobbery on a large scale. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that when President Washington was once beseeched by the widow of one of his soldiers for a job, he refused to grant the request on considerations of merit.⁴ But here it is not so. As for example, the age concession for political sufferers applying for Government service really puts a premium on patriotism. Moreover, this

thing is fraught with grave consequences for the country. At the same time the multiplication of the posts of ministerial rank as well as other well-paid jobs in utter disregard of the demands of economy is evident of the fact that the Congress Governments have fallen from the high moral pedestal which they once occupied. Two instances of such jobs in Uttar Pradesh are the posts of District Information Officers and the District Development Officers. The Public Service Commissions have also been dwarfed in their status due to the play of party politics. On the principle that the function of recruitment belongs to the Public Service Commission, the holding of interviews in the Secretariats is also improper. At least it creates suspicion in the minds of the candidates. Moreover, the manner in which the Home Ministry of the Government of India recently conducted interviews for emergency recruitment to the I.A.S. is also not above suspicion. The interviews were spread over a year as the Special Recruitment Board travelled throughout the length and breadth of this country and interviewed the candidates at the capitals of the various provinces. But after completing the interviews in some provinces they came to the conclusion that some candidates, who had attained very high positions in the interview test, would be selected in any case and ordered such persons to take their probationary training while the interview in some provinces had not even been started. Such a thing is indefensible in principle. It is possible that the Recruitment Board was quite right in its opinion. But it is a principle worth accepting that the selecting authority should do nothing which is likely to cause suspicion of partiality or patronage in the minds of the general body of candidates.

But the Congress Governments have practised patronage not only in the narrow sense of appointments to public posts but in the larger sense also. An instance of this was the granting of permits for public careers to political sufferers. They can also get permits and licenses for the various essential commodities, such as sugar, iron and cement and many of them make profit by selling the commodities thus obtained in black market.⁵ Moreover, the interference of highly placed Congressmen in minor details of administration on behalf of friends and relations has marred the efficiency and integrity of administrative and judicial bodies. It is interesting to note that the President of the Congress issued a directive to Congressmen in this connection on 17th January, 1949 which said:

"No Congressmen—more specially the members of the elective bodies—should interest himself in recommending candidates for offices, for securing permits for export or import or for obtaining licenses for shops, for themselves and

³ *The National Herald*, dated 6-9-49.

⁴ Quoted by L. D. White in *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, p. 220.

⁵ *The Pioneer*, dated 10th October, 1949, reported such a case involving a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.

their friends and that none should approach the authorities—particularly the executive, including judicial officers—in respect of civil or criminal matters pending before them.”

The Congress Governments have also failed to check bribery and corruption. No doubt, the Anti-Corruption Department of the Government is in existence but it is common knowledge that a large majority of Congressmen themselves are a prey to this evil. In fact, some people even accuse ministers of it. In this connection it is significant to note that a Public Conduct Resolution was passed at the Jaipur Congress and although the ministers were excluded from its scope, it was admitted that it exists among them also.

Moreover, the Congress administration is very extravagant. The Congress Governments have formulated a host of plans and projects without caring the least from where the money to finance them will come. The opening of embassies in even insignificant countries, the appointment of various Committees and Commissions, the opening of numerous scientific laboratories and generally the spending of public money in various long-term schemes could certainly be postponed at present when economy is the crying need of administration. Even our constitution-making has proved a very costly affair.

Finally, the problem is that of efficiency versus democracy. The democratic system is by its nature slow-moving. That is why in times of stress or emergency it is put on the shelf and only the semblance of democratic institutions is maintained. But here democracy has not been able to deliver the goods due to many reasons. Firstly, the electorate is very large. Secondly, the people are ignorant. They do not know how to derive the maximum benefit from the Government. The leaders of the Indian democracy are themselves unfamiliar with the practical working of Government. The political agitators of yesterday are the Ministers and Governors of today. Naturally we have to make some allowance for this fact. Lastly, there is no effective opposition to Government. In this connection it is significant to note that an opposition consisting of twelve members styled as the Social Democratic Party was formed in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India under the leadership of Prof. K. T. Shah last year, but it was soon liquidated. Recently the Congress dissidents under the leadership of Acharya Kripalani, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. T. Prakasham have formed an opposition party known as the “Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party.” It is difficult to predict at present whether that party will be able to act as an effective opposition party in the legislature after the coming general elections.

But most of the defects of the Congress administration are due to the fact that the rank and file of the party is drawn from the class of people having no stake in society. They, therefore, want to make the best of their situation. But, after all, we have to admit that these defects have resulted from the fact that due to long political dependence the people themselves have lost the qualities associated with a free people. They lack character and we know that water cannot rise higher than its source. Therefore, we have to put up with the present phase of our national life which is a necessary transitional stage.

However, so far as the future of the Congress is concerned we have to bear two facts in mind. Firstly, the Congress which has now become a political party in the narrow parliamentary sense is bound to be discredited in course of time due to its assumption of political power. The second fact which makes us a little apprehensive about the future of this mighty organisation is that it has no younger element which might replace the old leadership when time comes as the youth of the country is inclined towards socialism and communism. But there is no cause for unnecessary alarm, although, doubtless, the Congress will soon lose its present hegemony as other political parties gain support on the strength of their own programme and due to the weaknesses of the Congress. In fact, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at the meeting of the U.P.C.C. at Cawnpore on 27th August, 1949 said: “We have lived so far on our past earnings, but that cannot continue for ever.” But, perhaps, it has enough bank balance to win the next elections.

Although deterioration and disintegration are fast setting in the Congress organisation and individual and groups of Congressmen are withdrawing from it to form rival political organizations, there is every reason to believe that the Congress will exist as a political party in future. No doubt, it would have to revitalise itself by internal reform of its machinery which includes the purging of the self-seeking elements who have entered its fold. Moreover, the Congress should also act on the advice of its ex-General Secretary, who speaking at Benares on 2nd October, 1949 said that “the Congress must now be reorganised as a political party as distinguished from a platform.”

Dr. Sampurnanand, the Congress Minister of Education in Uttar Pradesh, feels that the Congress has lost its old moral fervour. “That is why,” he says, “the Congress is dying, slowly but surely. Its momentum will carry it forward yet a while but not for long.” Therefore, he thinks that “if we feel that we cannot now carry on as an organisation with a message

6. *The Pioneer*, dated 18th January, 1949.

7. *The Pioneer*, dated 28th August, 1949.

8. *Ibid*, dated 3rd October, 1949.

and a mission, let us honestly face facts and give to this great body that honourable burial which it deserves." But this is a counsel of despair. In fact, the Congress should not only try to regain its old

moral fervour but should also promote the material prosperity of the people.

9. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Republic Day Supplement), dated 26th January, 1951.

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SELF-INTRODUCTION

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR
(A Contemporary Indian Artist)

I am not a writer, scholar or an art-critic. Seldom I use my pen, brush is my companion and clay I am fond of. I get hold of a pen when I feel I am misunderstood and misrepresented.

existence. If I am told I produce too many puerile pictures and sculptures it may hurt me, but I must confess, I can't help it. I do them with all sincerity.

"History of art has no connection with artistic experience. To try to understand something of a period and its circumstances is not the same as allowing oneself to be carried away by enthusiasm for one movement in art," says Ludwig Goldscheider.

He continued in his book *Art without Epoch*:

"Many of the great monuments of art have been destroyed; others have been cast aside or still await discovery. But it is not only those which lie buried in the earth that have been cast aside; many works still exposed to the light of day or



Study (oils)
By S. Khastgir (1944)

I have actually no quarrel with anybody. Painting and modelling are not my hobby but my whole



A woman (terra-cotta)
By S. Khastgir (1950)

preserved within the walls of museums have been cast aside because they are no longer necessary to our everyday life . . . if Raphael has not yet been

cast aside, at all events dust has descended upon his monumental frescoes. Yet while some works vanish into darkness, others arise from their concealment. . . . What was the general opinion of Rembrandt two generations ago? In 1877, Burckhardt thought fit to describe Rembrandt's weaknesses as follows: 'It is highly probable that these deficiencies disturbed even the master himself in his work; for him, who was always talking about nature, it must have been a great humiliation to be unable to avoid defects which even a beginner could avoid.' In reality, the past changes as rapidly as the present."

So, it is no use worrying about criticism as long as we remain sincere to ourselves.



A woman Sadhu in meditation (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir (1950)

I must confess, I do believe in tradition and heredity, and do not altogether neglect experimental cross-breeding in the progress of art and culture. Recently there is much talk on art in our country by all sorts of people. I do not grumble for that as long as I am also given a chance to say what I have to say. Difference of opinion will always be there. The world will not be so interesting a place if we all thought the same way and if the angle of vision of all of us were the same.

Let me begin with my own story. My art-teaching commenced in Bengal; at no other place

than the famous centre of art, Santiniketan. Though from this it does not follow that I am a great artist, being in no way removed from the common run of them. What I wish to assert is that in learning art I got the right start. It is now twenty years I left Bengal, I am fixed up in a place outside Bengal pursuing my own work as well as teaching the same. Thus regarding myself there are scores of other artists from Bengal who like myself are engaged in pursuit of art outside Bengal.



Dancer (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir

The main reason for this is of course known to all. The revival of Indian art began in Bengal. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, inspired by the Poet Tagore and Mr. Havell, was enabled to bring about the revival of Indian art. This reinstatement of Indian art was effected by the hard labour of Abanindra Nath Tagore.



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's recent head-study
from life in Dehradun
By S. Khastgir



Major General Thimayya's recent head-study
By S. Khastgir



Charkha (oils)
By S. Khastgir



Poverty (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir

Modern Indian art commenced on its career basing itself on the ancient paintings and sculptures of Ajanta, Ellora, on the Rajput, Mughal and 'Pahari' schools of painting, and the style and technique found in them. No doubt, this great task was achieved in Bengal, but it must never be overlooked that credit of this great revival belongs to India as a whole.



Maharajkumar of Sikkim
By S. Khastgir (1945)

In order to link up Modern Indian art with the lost arts of the country it was necessary to retrace the steps back through the centuries—this was secured by Abanindranath Tagore. It will be a matter of regret and utter ungratefulness on our part, if we, his pupils and his pupils' pupils, forget this fact. Indeed, we are enjoying the fruits of his labour to a large extent.

The link with Indian traditional art and sculpture has been restored and surely time is now ripe for establishing contact with the art of other countries. For Indian art to boldly march ahead, not only great strength and courage but more than anything else a full awareness of its own individuality, is necessary.

In the modern world of art, I am aware, there is an aspect where all the various arts of the different countries are bound to meet and join hands. In our country a new school of painting is devoting itself to an ideal which is based on the imitation of ancient representa-

tions of temple gods and goddesses, *Kalighat Pat*, and coloured wooden dolls and toys done by the village artisans. This is attracting much notice; great resemblance is observed in the folk-songs and folk-arts of all lands. And just as our old country-tunes like *bhatiyali* or boatmen's songs easily move the heart, in the same way folk-art contains a simple appeal readily felt by all. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his foremost disciple Dr. Nandalal Bose painted quite a few paintings in this style long before others dreamt of taking this line. But it is significant to note that they soon quitted this path. This again seems to be for the same reason that quaint country melodies are best sung by peasants and boatmen as they ply their oars. These may provide entertainment enough when sung in the rich men's parlour, or heard on the gramophone or the radio, but how thin and poor is the effect compared with the original. Abanindranath and Nandalal in their wisdom of the true artist, saw the distinction and were warned. They contented themselves by merely blazing the track. Great art is never beguiled by the counterfeit, it pursues truth alone.

No country today wishes to remain isolated and limited within its own culture. Nor is such a course possible. We must proceed warily, well on our guard. In Europe, modernists' experiments created a storm in the world of art. Not that a blast or two from there did not reach our shores. But it was enough to prostrate those who had sprung hastily from loose earth and shallow roots, therefore, in their conceit terming themselves 'progressive,' 'cosmopolitan' and what not, whereas those who withstood the storm and are still standing erect were the followers of tradition, who had nothing but to gain from the severity of their experience. A blind imitation of foreign modernism is possible by those alone, who have never fully realised the richness of Indian art and culture. They stupidly imagine themselves bankrupts and set much store by any trifle or trash thrown into their beggar's bowl.

It is customary even now for some art-students of our country to proceed to other foreign countries, specially Europe, to learn Western art-technique without first completing a study of their own art. I am fully convinced that this is to receive an entirely wrong training. Such imitation of the technique, style and mannerism of foreign artists, long before we have allowed our roots to grow deep down into the culture of our own country, will inevitably result in the decline of our own individuality. Of course, mutual interchange in a spirit of simple give and take is possible and is even desirable but it must be clearly understood that those alone who have enough and to spare can indulge in such civilities. Whistler made numerous paintings after the Japanese manner. He

borrowed much but was not a beggar. He knew how to receive only because his own largeness was beyond any question.

Those who are unacquainted with the history of this revival of Indian art are usually heard to complain that Indian art lack fineness and nerve, that it is still lingering in the Ajanta age with its tradition of "thin tapering fingers and elongated eyes." It is not possible for every artist to originate a new style or create ever-fresh visions of beauty. In every walk of life there are experts whose job is to lead in their own line. So among artists as well you cannot possibly get rid of all 'quacks' and mediocres. They are in every profession. The number of 'quacks' and mediocres in medical line are much more than good doctors; for that good doctors must not be blamed. All the same, responsibility lies heaviest with those of the artists who have strong foundation of their own tradition and culture as far as art in India is concerned. It requires great efforts to avoid the beaten path as we all know. The mind and soul must be maintained strong and healthy. The laziness ingrained in our bodies must be shaken down. One must learn to perceive not with the eyes alone but with all the senses and faculties. Only then shall our creations be forceful and original. To plunge thoughtlessly into the vast surging spirit of modern European art, would be nothing short of suicide.

So far as regards my observations on Indian art. I know, that there are different schools of thought in India. I do respect and listen to them and try to understand their points of view. Artists do generally

depend on art-critics but when I see many misrepresentations of facts and much dictatorial criticism of



The sculptor at work

artists appear in newspapers and journals, I can't help but take a pen instead of a brush for a change.

Dehra Dun

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A GLIMPSE OF THE DARK CONTINENT OF AFRICA

By DR. TAMONASH CH. DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE sunny continent of Africa, long known as the "Dark Continent," was given the unfortunate appellation for more reasons than one. Besides the backward condition of its dark-skinned people in matters of culture, civilization and intellectual attainments, want of adequate knowledge of a large part of the big continent still unexplored by civilized nations is mainly responsible for such a name, if the tinge of aspersion involved in it is ignored.

However, Africa is not so much unknown today as it was in the first half of the 19th century A.D. The Continent of Africa is a large mass of land which occupies an area of the globe from latitude 37 deg. north to latitude 34 deg. south and from longitude 51 deg. east to longitude 18 deg. west, the equator passing through its centre. It contains 1 crore and 17

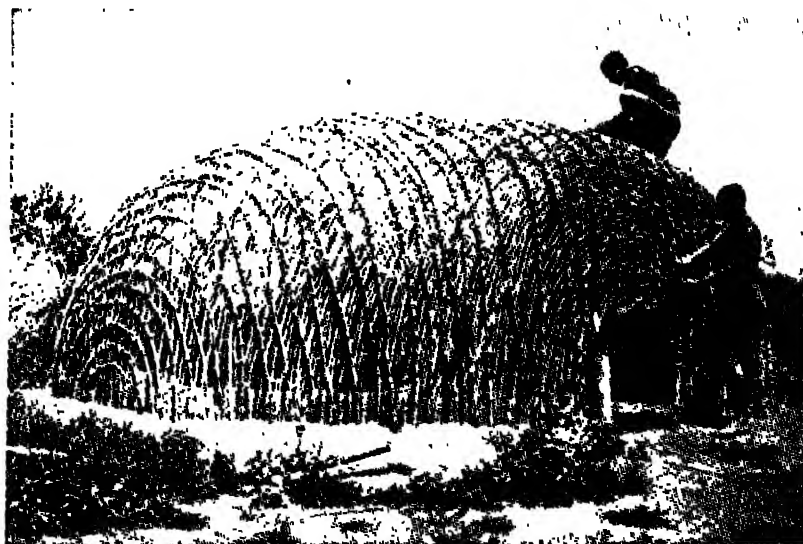
lakhs of sq. miles and is three times the size of Europe, two-third the size of Asia and six times the size of India. It is second in size among continents and is situated in the old Hemisphere of the world to the south-west of Asia and south of Europe. The Mediterranean sea lies to its north, the Red sea and the Indian Ocean (with the Arabian sea) to its east, the Indian Ocean to its south and the Atlantic Ocean to its west. The narrow strait of Gibraltar to its north-western corner separating the African port of Ceuta from the European port of Gibraltar at the nearest approach between the two continents, once did not exist. Similarly the man-made Suez canal to the north-eastern border of Africa separates it from Asia. In reality the Isthmus of Sues connects the former with the latter. Unlike any other continents the

Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn both pass through Africa.

Africa mostly is a huge table-land and triangular in shape, the northern half being broader than the southern portion but gradually lower in elevation from the sea-level. In fact, the major part of North Africa is covered by a vast desert called the Sahara which in great part is below sea-level. The Lybian

The South African rivers, such as the Orange and the Limpopo also fall into the Indian Ocean. Besides these big rivers, many of the rivers of Africa belong to the inland drainage system like the river Shari which falls into Lake Chad.

Africa possesses the greatest water-falls of the world. Victoria Falls may be compared only with the Niagara Falls of America. The Victoria Falls originate from the Zambesi and was discovered by David Livingstone. The other well-known Falls are the Livingstone Falls, the Stanley Falls and the Fram Joseph Falls. Among the Lakes, Lake Kivu in the volcanic region of Ruanda, the Victoria Nyanza, the Edward Nyanza, Rudolf Nyanza and Lake Nyasa deserve mention. To the west of Nyasa lake are the lakes Benguela, Tanganyika and Moera. The two lakes Stanley and Livingstone originate from the Congo river. Another well-known lake, viz., Lake Chad, is in western Sudan. But the greatest lake of Africa is Lake Tanganyika which is 400 miles in length (north and south) and lies to the east of the Congo country.



Hut-building in Natal

desert to its north-east and the Nubian desert to its east are nothing but continuation of the Sahara. Another great desert lies in the south-west of Africa and is known as the Kalahari.

Africa possesses some of the biggest rivers and lakes of the world. In its eastern part the river Nile (4000 miles), in Middle-Africa the Congo river (3000 miles), in the north-west the rivers Senegal, Gambia and Niger (2300 miles), in the south-east the river Zambesi (1600 miles) may be mentioned in this connection. There are other rivers also, such as the Calabar, the Imo and the Cross—all in Nigeria; and the Vaal river, the Orange river and the Limpopo river, all in South Africa, may be referred to.

The rivers of Africa are mostly inland but the bigger ones fall into the sea, but all of them are difficult of access by boats towards their mouths due to the rivers passing so many table-lands with different heights and thereby having falls and cataracts. Of these rivers, the Nile (with the Atbara and the Blue Nile) falls into the Mediterranean Sea, the rivers Congo, Senegal and Gambia fall into the Atlantic Ocean, the river Zambesi falls into the Indian Ocean.



Bushman paintings in a rock-shelter near Salisbury, South Rhodesia

Of the mountains, Mt. Atlas (North Africa), Mt. Kivu (4792 ft.), Mt. Nieuwoeld, Mt. Drakensburg, Mt. Stromburg, Mt. Kenaya, Mt. Kilimanjaro, Mt. Ravanzori (16798 ft.) and the Mt. Virungo (dead volcano) deserve notice. Of these Kilimanjaro has the greatest height of 20,000 ft.

It has been already mentioned that almost the whole of Africa is a huge table-land excepting the deserts of Sahara, Lybia, Nubia and Kalahari, some narrow coastal strips and river-plains. The table-land gradually descends towards the coast by stages, each

such stage being locally known as the "Karoo." Africa also possesses some very dense forests, specially in Congo and Nigeria and some big lakes specially in Portuguese East Africa and Tanganyika territory.

The major part of Africa lies within the Torrid

Tanganyika and the Edward are situated within this area. The important mountain-systems of Africa mainly emanate from the Ethiopian Table-land. These are mounts Kenaya, Kilimanjaro (about 20,000 ft. in elevation), Ravanzori (Revonzori), Drakensberg and the Nieuwoeld (in the south).



The 'Temple,' Zimbabwe



A Swazi witch-doctor

zone and hence over the greater part of the continent heat is intense, only the south-east and the south-west sea-boards having temperate climate. In Sahara extreme climates, extreme heat by day and extreme cold by night, are to be experienced.

Physically Africa may be divided as follows:

- (1) Atlas mountain region in the North.
- (2) The North-western plateau (elevation about 500 ft. in average).

The region includes the Sahara, the Lybian and the Nubian deserts. To its south and south-west is the Lake Chad region with the desert and hilly region of Timbaktu. The Congo river basin is also included within this area as also the Guinea-coast region with its two hills Futa Jalon and the Cameroons. The elevation of this region is gradually higher towards the south.

- (3) The south-eastern Plateau. It extends from the western coast of the Red Sea (at the middle) to the centre of the region known as South Africa. The Ethiopian Table-land forms its northern part. The biggest lakes of Africa known as the Nyasa,

The coastline of Africa is comparatively smaller with fewer indentations considering the big size of Africa and very few plains near the sea-coast to its north-west and eastern sea-boards. The dense African forests and hills as in Congo contain many big games, such as the lion, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the gorilla. There are also reptiles and crocodiles. Besides, peculiar animals like the zebra, the ostrich, the giraffe, the hippopotamus (of the river) are specially Africa's own. Africa is not only rich in flora and fauna, she is also rich in mineral wealth, such as diamond in Kimberley and in some other parts of South-Africa, tin in Nigeria, copper in Congo, and gold in Transvaal. Copper, zinc, lead, asbestos and coal are also available in the mines of Rhodesia and South-Africa.

Africa may broadly be regionally divided as follows:

- (1) North Africa composed of Atlas mountain region, Egypt and the Sahara. This area has strong affinities with Southern Europe.

- (2) The Sudan (the whole region south of the Sahara) including Ethiopia to its East.

(3) The Central Africa composed of Congo and Tanganyika regions.

(4) The South Africa including Rhodesia (North and South) and the South-west Africa.

Politically Africa contains the following zones*:



A Zulu "heaven-doctor" warding off a hailstorm

(1) The north region contains the States of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the Barbary States. To their east lies Egypt with its Suez Canal and parts of Alexandria, Said and Suez. Also the Sudan (Eastern Sudan).

(2) The North-East Africa contains the States of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), Eritrea and Somaliland (British and Italian).

(3) The Central and Eastern Africa include British East Africa with Baganda, Uganda and Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the North and South Rhodesia with Mashonaland and Bechuanaland. Some British Colonies and Protectorates and the Portuguese colony of East Africa (the Mozambique territory) are included within this area.

(4) The South Africa consists of the Union of South-Africa which includes the States of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Free State, and the South-western Africa consists of the Damara Land and the Great Namaqua Land.

(5) The Western Africa contains Belgian Congo and Portuguese West-Africa (Angola).

(6) The North-West Africa including the Guinea-coast (with many small settlements and colonies). This region includes some British, French and Portuguese Colonies and Protectorates as also the Negro State of Liberia. The great Sahara desert (French possession) and the Sudan (Western Sudan) are also included within this region.

(7) The islands of the Eastern Sea-board of Africa, viz., the Zanzibar, Madagascar, Mauritius, etc.

(8) The islands of the Western Sea-board, such as the Madeira, Canaries, St. Helena, the Cape Verde Isle, etc.

The English, the French, the Belgian, the Italian and the Portuguese have now the maximum interests in Africa, German interest being now non-existent. They have occupied under various political terminology most of the regions of this continent. The Arabs including the Berbers, the Fellahins and the Moors, the Copts and the Turks settled in large parts of North-Africa. Principally the Arabs, the Moors and the Turks now rule that region.

Of the ports on the Mediterranean coast from the west to the east, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria and Said are noteworthy. In the east from north to south, Suez, Port Sudan, Jibuti, Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, Sofala, Lorenzo Marquis, Port Natal and Durban are important. In the south, Port Elizabeth and Capetown, and in the west from north to south, Ceuta, Tangier, Agadir, St. Louis, Free-town, Accra, Bata, Loango, Loando, Benguela and Port Nolloth deserve mention. The Gulf of Guinea, the Bay of Saïfa and the Walvis Bay to the west of Africa, St. Helena Bay to the south of the Continent, Delagoa Bay to the south-east, Mossel Bay and the Gulf of Aden to the east and the Gulf of Sidra to the north—these are practically the only gulfs and bays that deserve notice.

The population of Africa is approximately 156,576,789 in number out of the total population of the world which is 2,222,014,902. Thus, over one-fourteenth of the total population of the whole human race live in this Continent. Of course, all these peoples are not of one race. The earliest inhabitants of Africa were not at all advanced in civilization. The present Bushmen, the Pygmies and the Hottentots (their own name Khoi-khoi and tribes Nama, Kora, etc.) represent these primitive peoples today. With the march of time a race now known as the "Negrito" migrated into various parts of Africa. They came from an unknown land (of the north-east of the Continent). These people, divided into innumerable tribes, were all more or less dark-skinned like their predecessors but unlike them with some rudiments of better civilization however crude these might be. Their original home might be somewhere near Suez or at best in the region of Ethiopia. The Negrito race is broadly

* See Dudley Stamp: *The World, Asia, etc.*, also Bartholomew's *World-Map*.

divided into two main divisions, e.g., Sudanic Negroes and the Bantus. It was, perhaps, due to the pressure of the race-movement from the north, the Negro tribes first left their original home and settled in West Africa and the Sudan. This pressure might have come from the Bantu tribes, who again had to move southwards due to the race-movements of the Hamitics (a branch of the Caucasians). The whole Central and South Africa are now occupied by the Bantus (or Kaffirs). Of over fifteen and a half crores of population of Africa, the number of North African Semitic and Turkish peoples including the Moors and the Berbers will be about 5 crores. The Sudanic Negroes number about three crores, the Bantus about seven crores of Africa's population and the rest (e.g., Hamitic and others) will be nearly one crore including a sprinkling of European settlers in the south and other parts of Africa. By far the largest population of Africa is Bantus or Kaffirs. The Hamitics do now occupy a portion of the north-eastern sea-board of Africa. Besides the Hamitics, the Semitics including the Coptic population of Egypt and later on the Arab people settled in North Africa. Except Egypt where the Turks have now colonised the whole sea-board countries of North Africa on the Mediterranean have now been colonised by the people of Arab extraction or their allied people and are variously known as the Arabs, Berbers and the Moors. The Moors even conquered and ruled Spain (of Europe) for a good length of time. The whole Sahara desert and West Africa has also come under the influence of the trading Arabs subject to the political control of France. A part of eastern Sudan is controlled by the Anglo-Egyptian administration. To give an idea of the Negrito people who are all still in tribal condition and form over two-thirds of the whole population of Africa, some prominent names (among innumerable tribes) and to some extent their distribution in African Continent are given here.

The Negrito tribes: (a) The Sudanic Negroes and (b) the Bantus (Kaffirs).

(a) The Sudanic Negroes: (1) The Aro tribe (Nigeria), (2) Yorubas, (3) Ibas, (4) Fairlis (5) Kikuyus, Ikoms (of the Cross River, Nigeria), etc., etc.

(b) The Bantus (who form by far the largest Negrito population of Africa): (1) Dualas (adjoining the Gulf of Cameroons and also the northern end of Lake Nyasa), (2) Pokomós (of the Tana Valley and the Tana riverside, north-east Africa), (3) Zulus (the south-east Africa), (4) Hereros (the south-west Africa), (5) Basutos (also Basutus), (6) Anyanjas, (7) Wadigo (British East Africa), (8) Bechuanas, (9) Angonis (Nyasaland), (10) Xosas, (11) Yaos (Lujenda Valley, Portuguese East Africa), (12) Wazaramos (Tanganyika territory), (13) Swahilis (coastal strip from Warsheikh to Cape Delgado), (14) Akambas (or Kambas, North Nyasaland), (15) Kintus (Uganda), (16) Bailos (Northern Rhodesia), (17) Ba-

tongas (Northern Rhodesia), (18) Makondos, (19) Irambos, (20) Leghoya (a Bechuana tribe), (21) Kingas, (22) Bankutas, (23) Bavendus, (24) Cametas, (25) Girimayas (Kenaya), (26) Barongas (Delagoa Bay), (27) Chipetas (a branch of the Thongas, west of Lake Nyasa), (28) Chagas (Kilimanjaro Mountain), (29) Bagandas (Uganda), (30) Banyarundas, (31) Luis (of the Zambesi, south-west Africa), (32) Ntungwas (a Zulu tribe), (33) Ngunis (or Abengunis; this name is preserved by the Angoni tribe of Nyasaland. From the stock of Ngunis both Zulus and



A Bakwena warrior

Xosas came, as is believed), (34) Thonga Bantus (Amatongas), (35) Batusos or Bahimas (of Uganda and Unyaro. Now non-existent except in Ankole and Ruanda), (36) Musanyas, (37) Bushangos (or Bangongo tribe), (38) Benga tribe, (39) Bakongas (on the Loanga river, a tributary of the Kasai river, Congo), (40) Bankutus, (41) Hausas, (42) Barongas (Delagoa Bay, a branch of the Thongas), (43) Rongas (Delagoa Bay), (44) Sumbaras (south of Lake Victoria), (45) Mbundus (Angola), (46) Makuas (Lower Congo), (47) Sesutos, (48) Ambundus (of Angola also known as Mbundu), (49) Nalongas (south of Angola), (50) Kwanyamas (south of Angola), (51) Baluyis (East Africa), (52) Wasus (East Africa), (53) Hapodas (a branch of the Basutos living in Transvaal), (54) Bantus, (55) Ngönde (Konde tribe, north-end of Lake Nyasa), (56) Basumbwas (of N.-W. Unyamwezi), (57) Watusi

gas, (58) Kavirondo (Nyasaland), (59) Makondes (Tanganyika territory. Makonde plateau is near the east coast, south of Lindi and to the north of the river Ruvuma), (60) Swazis, (61) Lalas, (62) Lambas (northern end, Lake Nyasa), (63) Iilas (northern end, Lake Nyasa), (64) Isubus, (65) Bondeis, (66) Bakwaris (Northern Rhodesia), (67) Ansengas (northern end of Lake Nyasa), (68) Lubas, (69) Chinyanjas, (70) Wawembas, (71) Bongos, (72) Wapokamos, (73) Mablās (a tribe of Southern Bambala), (74) Sutos.

Hamitic Somali, while their kinsmen the Galla, and other tribes, probably more or less allied to them (Samburu, Rendile, Turkana, Nandi), spread out to the north, west and south, their fringes touching on the areas of Bantu and Negro tribes—Pokomo, Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and others.

"But these areas are not completely uniform. In South-Africa we have two non-Bantu elements, though both are now almost negligible except within a very limited area. The Bushmen, who would seem to have been the oldest inhabitants, are now practically confined to the Kalahari Desert and the adjacent regions, though a few (who have quite lost all memory of their own language and traditions) are to be found scattered about the Cape Province and Orange Free State. If they are the Troglodytes alluded to by Herodotus whose speech was 'like the squeaking of bats,' they must either have at one time overspread the greater part of the continent, or migrated southward from the Sahara within historic times.

"Whether the Bushmen have anything beyond their small stature and their mode of life, in common with the Pigmies of the Congo basin (the Batusis, the Bahutis and the Batwa Pigmies) and other small races known or reported to exist in various parts of Africa remains at least doubtful; but anatomists, I believe, hold that their physical evolution has proceeded on entirely different lines.

"We have already referred to the people whom we are accustomed to call 'Hottentots'—their own name for themselves, when speaking of the whole people and not of any particular tribe (e.g., Nama, Kora), appears to be Khoi-khoi—'men,' par excellence.

"In Struck's language map, the green Bantu ground is diversified, in the Eastern Equatorial region, by a large irregular yellow patch. This denotes the Masai, a nomad, pastoral people lighter coloured than the average Bantu, though darker than the pure Galla or Somali. The most probable theory of their language is that it is Hamitic by origin (which would account for its possessing gender-inflection) but has been strongly influenced by contact with Bantu and Sudanic idioms ('angenegert' is Meinhof's expression). The contact between their legends and those of the Hottentot's is one of the most interesting facts which have come to light in recent years.

"Besides these, we have to do, in East Africa, with some curious 'helot' tribes . . . such as the



Distribution of tribes in Southern and Equatorial Africa

Among the Hamitic tribes, the Masai, the Galla (north-east Africa whence the Hottentots came), the Somali and the Ethiopians may be noted, the Samburu, Rendile, Turkana and Nandi tribes are also allied to the Hamitic Galla and Somali. The ancient Egyptians and the Copts are, of course, Semitic.

"In the main, the area we have mapped out, from the Cape of Good Hope to Lake Victoria and thence eastward to the Tana river and westward to the Cameroons, is occupied by Bantu-speaking tribes. North of these the people of Negro, Sudanic or Negritian speech extend in an irregular bend from Cape Verde to the confines of Abyssinia, even to some extent penetrating the latter. The "Eastern Horn" which ends in Cape Guardafui inhabited by the

Dorobo among the Masai, the Wasanye among the Galla, the Midgan and Yibir in Somaliland. These are commonly hunters and have, in some ways, much in common with the South African Bushmen, though their physique differs widely from that of the latter, as we now know them . . . The Wasanye and Dorobo formerly had language of their own, which a few old men still know, but the former now speak Galla and the latter Masai. The Wasanye and the Yibir and some, at any rate, of the rest, have an uncanny reputation as sorcerers, and some of these helot tribes, e.g., the Tumul and the Il-Kunono are blacksmiths. We cannot help being reminded of our own Gypsies and tinkers."—Alice Werner, *African Mythology*, pp. 112-115. See also G. W. Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*.

In the Sanskrit Puranas mention is found of the seven *Dwipas* or Continents composing the earth. Of these 'Salmali' is one. Africa may be termed as 'Salmali Dwipa' as a great part of Asia has been known as the 'Jambu Dwipa.' These geographical divisions of the ancient Indians denote the knowledge of the continent of Africa to them.

India had good knowledge of Africa in ancient times, mainly through trade and commerce and partly due to other (cultural, racial and religious) reasons. National and individual efforts or activities also caused ancient Indian influences to be felt in Africa. Of this forgotten connection some are historical facts and some are only vague surmises.

HENRICK IBSEN—THE POET

By PROF. V. PUTTAMADAPPA,
University of Mysore

MAN is the only animal, ratifies Hazlitt, that both laughs and weeps. These words are true, at least, in the case of writers such as Bernard Shaw, Charles Lamb, Jonathan Swift, Moliere, Gorky and Ibsen. Of these, the last, Henrick Ibsen, a Norwegian by birth and dramatist by profession, stands out like a beacon from the rest. The course of his life ran between the shores of tears and laughter. He laughed in his plays, and wept in his poems. The reading public hardly knows to-day that Ibsen loved to call himself a poet rather than a playwright. Unfortunately, the attention of his admirers was drawn more towards his plays than his poetry.

Ibsen did not write much poetry because he thought that "to be a poet is to see." In fact, was not a poet called "a seer" by the Greeks? He also said that "the Poet's task is to see, not to reflect."

He became a dramatist by virtue of his irrepressible impulse to recreate invisible images that moved in his mind; but he did not become a poet of eminence by virtue of his adamant notion that "songs unsung are ever the fairest." Incidentally, one might be reminded of what Keats said long ago, "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter." And the fundamental difference between Ibsen and Keats was, the verses of the former were full of experiences, and those of the latter full of innocence.

Ibsen was born in the year 1828—the same year in which Tolstoy and Meredith were born. He was very adventurous as a child. According to his own brothers and sisters, he was an odd specimen of humanity. While he was a student, he was very studious and resourceful, and his mind was extraordinarily receptive. Later, when Ibsen became a man of letters, he sketched his own boyhood in his poem "Brand," and in his play *Peer Gynt*.

As a man Ibsen was shy of people, and as he advanced in age his love of seclusion increased almost proportionately. In the early days of his manhood, Ibsen had to face poverty and adversity. His illegal and temporary contact with a certain servant-maid, and his even begetting a child from her drew him away from morals, and finding him in that state no one ever thought that he would, in the capacity of a litterateur, excel the great Norwegian writers like Holberg, Wessel and Nordahl Brun.

As in so many others, in Ibsen too, the emotion of love awakened and excited the poetic talents that lay latent in him so far. The year 1849 steered the life of Ibsen from dullness to activity. In this year he seriously fell in love with a girl named Clara Ebbell who was a poetess herself. He wrote many poems in her memory.

His first poem appeared in black and white in the year 1849, and immediately it drew the attention of literary critics. Writing poetry did no more scare him; on the contrary, it became a temptation to him, and to that temptation, without any protest, he yielded. In his earlier poems there were bitterness and touches of despondency. Rank poverty that was gnawing like a leech at his flesh did not, however, lessen his passion for poetry nor was he a pessimist to be carried away by freak circumstances. He described his pitiable state in these words:

"The wildness of the hurricane
Doth rage within my soul
Nor is there path or pilot known
Upon the sea of doubt."

In his little poem named "Resignation", he recalled explicitly the operations of his feelings and cravings of his heart. At times he would doubt his talents and ask himself, "Did I then wrongly aspire, was my writing cold and vain?" He arrived at a conclusion within him:

self that the duty of a poet was, "the poet should lead the people and solve their secret longings with his song." In his poem, "On the Falls," he represented the fight in his heart between poetry and personality and thereafter his whole attitude towards life changed, and he began to roam the streets, grew beard, and never attended to any personal cleanliness. All these conflicts in Ibsen's mind took place when he was hardly thirty-six years old. He longed for clarity of expression so much that he said once, "when he had attained the highest clarity he wished to die." In his poems, "Bird and Bird-catcher" and "The Eider Duck," Ibsen unreservedly disclosed his vain attempts at free self-expression in his poems. Sometimes he assured himself that he had the requisite talents to write good poetry—poetry which the world would not easily let go: and some other times he thought that he was incapable of writing poems of note, and that all his poems would be nothing but bald-dash. This state of his mind, he described in his poem entitled "The Miner." The interval between the years 1849 and 1856 was a sort of preparatory time in the life of the poet. During these years, he had his own hopes and fears about his talents. "Hopes sprang eternal in his breast", and "he never was but always to be blest". As days rolled on, his love of writing poetry increased by leaps and bounds, and in his poem, "In the Picture Gallery", printed in 1859, he wrote that "he seemed to hear the living stream of poetry rippling within him". With the march of time, Ibsen arrived at the conclusion that life and poetry were quite apart, and that it was impossible to represent real life in poetry. Though a facile verse-maker, he shunned writing poetry, and hence took to painting.

The year 1850 proved a turning point in the life of Ibsen. For, in that year, Ole Bull, a Norwegian enthusiast, and a great violinist himself, opened a national Norwegian theatre at Bergen and appointed Ibsen as his first "theatre poet". In the next year Ibsen was imprisoned by the Norwegian Government as he was concerned with the Norwegian working men's movement. This incident nipped Ibsen's enthusiasm for poetry, and after his release he seriously took to writing plays. "After he had once decided on the drama as his proper method, Ibsen's poems were infrequent and unimportant." The fire of his enthusiasm for writing plays was further fanned when his plays met with immediate success. In fact, it was his desire from the very early days of his life to portray in his works, "human beings, human emotions, and human destinies upon a groundwork of social conditions and principles of the present day." Ibsen first experienced his theatrical triumph through his play *The Feast at Solhug* on 2-1-1856, and his indomitable will having won its way forward he took a new grit on the ground under his feet.

During the years 1848 and 1849 Ibsen wrote many controversial poems and sonnets. In this period, he could have produced more poems, if he had only a will to do that. But there was that intellectual torpor which clouded his mind, and sapped completely the enthusiasm he had for writing poetry. He was so much afraid of his own

self that he said once, "I hid in the darkest corner—it was terrible!". In his poems up to 1850, he dwelt on "dreaming nothings, always imagining himself far from the madding crowd." If one reads in succession Ibsen's "In a Picture Gallery," "The Day Light Covered," and "With a Water Lily," one can easily trace the slow transition of the author's mind.

Between 1857 and 1863 Ibsen wrote—that is what his biographers say, any way—not less than forty poems. Then followed a collection of poems entitled *Digte*. This collection contained poems satiric, narrative, purely lyrical and mystical. In 1871, Ibsen published another collection of verses, in which many poems were included in memory of his wife Susannah Thorsen. After the year 1871, Ibsen's faith in his own talents changed. The caterpillar which was so far in the dormant stage came out suddenly as a butterfly, and began to dance with joy. To this period belongs the poem "The Spring Time of Life," one of the best poems of Ibsen, in which the poet sang the joy of life. Once he became confident of his talents he declared to the world boldly:

"Everything which I have created as a poet has had its birth in a frame of mind and in a situation of life."

What we wrote, he said on another occasion, "had not been experienced but lived."

Ibsen wrote two long narrative poems—"On the Heights" and "King Haakon's Guildhall." The latter was left unfinished in spite of the writer's sincere and serious attempts at completing it. Another narrative poem of some note Ibsen wrote was "Terje Vigen" which outbeats all his other poems in its grandeur, writer's vivid experience, and in fact, Ibsen himself said that this poem was "born of a deep inner need."

Ibsen gave up writing poetry because he found out that he could express his thoughts and ideals better in plays rather than in poems. But it must be kept in mind that Ibsen could not have become a great dramaturgist had he not been first a poet. He had the vision of a poet which enabled him to conceive of innumerable images he made use of in his plays. That he was not an intuitive poet nobody could deny. "He often had to struggle hard and long before the images took clear shape in his mind. He was driven by an inner compulsion that would not let him rest until he could see his own thoughts standing before him in clear and tangible form. The impulse to form his mental images into self-existent shapes was, in a sense, the one pole of his genius." Both in poetry and plays, Ibsen accepted no master and left no disciple. His peculiar personal and professional idiosyncrasies he never gave up. As these idiosyncrasies could never be kept suppressed by the fiery-tempered poet they found a natural vent in his poetry and plays. In this respect he was one with Dickens, Turgeniev, Hebbel, Balzac and De Coster.

It should be borne in mind that Ibsen always thought himself a poet, and that he was after all a poet first and then a dramatist.

THREE PIONEER FREE INSTITUTIONS IN CALCUTTA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I. THE ANGLO-HINDU SCHOOL

THE foremost of the free schools in Calcutta in early nineteenth century was that of Raja Rammohun Roy. Rammohun settled in Calcutta late in 1814. Distressed at the illiteracy and consequent drawbacks of his countrymen, especially of the poor, he founded for them a Bengali school at Suripara. Later, he opened an English class at his own garden-house in connection with this school. It must be sometime in 1817, for we have it on the authority of *Samachar Darpan* (October 8, 1831) that while Rammohun was refused participation in the management of the Hindu College owing to the opposition of the orthodox Hindus, he, instead of quarrelling with them, himself founded an English school in no time. This was, according to the paper, an instance of magnanimity which was found so largely in him. Instruction was given to the students free of charge, and such poor but meritorious students as Tarachand Chakravarty, took their lessons here. From the start Rammohun alone bore all the expenses of the school including the house-rent and the pay of the teachers.

As the school became popular in the locality, students flocked to it in larger number. Rammohun felt the necessity of erecting a house for his school. He procured a piece of land in Simla near Cornwallis Square, on which a new house was built. He removed his school to these premises in 1822. Henceforth it came to be known as the Anglo-Hindu School. It was from this time onward, perhaps, that he received monetary assistance from his friends and admirers in the town for the proper maintenance and efficient management of the school.

Rammohun tried hard to get the best possible men on the spot for teaching purposes, and in this he was fortunate enough. Sandfort Arnot, assistant editor of Mr. James Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, was engaged in June, 1824, as a teacher of English for his school. But as Arnot was soon found guilty under the Press Ordinance of 1823, he had to leave the country at once. Some gentlemen of the locality, headed by Gurudas Mukherjee, sent in a memorial on 13th October, 1824, to the Government for getting the order rescinded, but to no purpose. Efficient teachers like Sinclair and Turnbull served the school sometime or other between 1824 and 1830 as Head Master. Mr. William Adam, friend and disciple of Rammohun, was one of the Visitors of this school. He wrote in 1827:

"Two teachers are employed, one at a salary of Rs. 150 per month, and the other at a salary of Rs. 70 per month; and from 60 to 80 Hindu boys are instructed in the English language. The doctrines

of Christianity are not inculcated, but the duties of morality are carefully enjoined, and the facts belonging to the history of Christianity are taught to those pupils who are capable of understanding general history."¹

Though the school was especially meant for the children of the poor, yet Rammohun and his friends, Dwarkanath Tagore and others, who were also donors, ungrudgingly sent their wards to this institution. Sons of the poor and the rich were treated alike, no



distinction being made in respect of teaching or any other thing. This was noticed in newspapers, too. *The Bengal Chronicle* (January 10, 1828) in the course of an account of the annual examination and the prize distribution of the boys—and it was done at that time with some ceremony—says:

"To the intelligent observer it must also have been an additional source of gratification to notice among the scholars several of the children of the native gentlemen who contribute to the support of the school, in no respect distinguished from those who receive their education gratuitously."²

1. For the early history of this school, the reader is referred to Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee's "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June, 1930.

2. Cf. *Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movement* by Dr. J. K. Majumdar, p. 264.

Progress shown by the students at the annual examinations, pleased those present very much. Prominent Europeans and Indians attended these functions. They included David Hare, Sir Edward Ryan, Dr. R. Tytler, William Adam, and Dwarkanath Tagore. Some of them used to examine the students while others distributed the prizes to the best of them. Boys received prizes for regular attendance also. Newspapers did not grudge space in reporting these functions in some detail. The account of the annual examination of 1829 in *Bengal Hurkaru* gives us a clue as regards the course of studies followed in this school. *Bengal Hurkaru* (February 28, 1829), writes:

"A statement was put into the hands of the Examiners intimating that the pupils of the first class were competent to be examined in the first Book of Pope's *Homer's Odyssey*, in Goldsmith's *History of England*, in Joyce's *Dialogue*, in the first Book of Euclid's *Elements*, in Murray's *English Grammar*, in Goldsmith's *Geography*, in the solution of Problems on the Terrestrial Globe, in the Rules of Arithmetic as far as those which related to cases of compound proportion, and in the translation of passages from English to Bengalee and vice-versa, and in those books in which they were actually examined, they acquitted themselves to the high satisfaction of the gentlemen present. The other classes were examined according to their respective degrees of advancement and the whole was concluded by the recitation of a piece and by the presentation of the prizes consisting of several valuable and useful books provided by several gentlemen present for that purpose"³

There were altogether four classes in the school. The instruction commenced from the three R's. So the immense progress made by the students of the first class in so short a time was simply astonishing, and reflected great credit on their teachers as also on the management of the school. The *Hurkaru* also gives the names of the boys, class by class, who most distinguished themselves and who received the prizes both as rewards for proficiency and regularity of attendance:

"First Class: Gunganarain Bhose, Bissonauth Mitre, Dwarkanauth Mitre, Mothooranauth Tagore, Bunnymudhub Day, Corramam Mitre and Brijonauth Chunder.

"Second Class: Bholanauth Mitre, Nobinmudhub Day and Modoosudun Dhurr.

"Third Class: Ramapersaud Roy and Debendranauth Tagore.

"Fourth Class: Modoosoodun Chukerburtty, Raja Baboo, Hurrimohun Ghose and Jogeschunder Ghose."⁴

The editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* who was himself present and witnessed the examination of the boys, writes in the issue of above date, of the founder of the Institution in these glowing terms:

"It becomes us to state here that although the Anglo-Indian school is partly assisted by public contributions, yet the greater portion of its expenses is paid by one of the most liberal and enlightened of native gentlemen—one whose name has been long before the world, whose talents are surpassed by his worth only, and whose efforts to ameliorate the intellectual condition of his countrymen, can never be too highly appreciated. As the founder of the Institution, he takes an active interest in its proceedings, and we know that he is not more desirous of anything than of its success, as a means of effecting the moral and intellectual regeneration of the Hindoos. We were sorry to learn that indisposition prevented his witnessing that success yesterday; but whatever may be his state, he must feel the satisfaction that every benevolent mind enjoys for having been useful to mankind,—and it must always be to him a pleasing prospect, that when millions yet unborn shall hail the return of knowledge to this country, they will associate that circumstance with the name of Rammohun Roy."⁵

The students of the school who included such stalwarts as Ramaprasad Roy and Debendranath Tagore, cultivated sympathy and love for one another by concerted action. They joined their brothers of the same age, of the Hindu College and the Pataldanga School in founding a debating society so far back as 1830. They gave it the name of Anglo-Indian Hindu Association and proposed to discuss subjects pertaining to learning. Discussion of religious subjects was precluded.

Two years later, in December 1832, we find the students of the Anglo-Hindu School alone taking initiative in starting another association with the sole object of 'the perfect cultivation of the Bengali language.' Associations had already been started by the elders for this purpose. But among the students with whom mastery of English was the only thing they wished for, establishment of such a society was very much surprising. But in the Raja's school an ideal of true culture was set before the students, so much so that even from their early days they contracted a love for their people and country and strove to ameliorate them to the best of their power. This association, called Sarbatattwa Dwipica Sabha, was formed at Raja Rammohun Roy's school at Simla on the 30th December, 1832, with Ramaprasad Roy as President and Debendranath Tagore as Secretary. The account of this inaugural meeting will show the currents and cross-currents of thought in the mind of the young students of the Raja's school. Let me quote in part from *Samachar Darpan*, dated January 18, 1833:

"When the individuals present had taken their seats, Sreejoot Joygopal Bushoo observed that 'as no Society has been formed in Calcutta for the cultivation of the Bengalee language, we have proposed to establish one for that purpose, and we believe that the country will be greatly benefited by its influence.' Baboo Debendranath Thakoor

3. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

then observed that, 'It was most proper to thank those who had proposed to form this society and acknowledge their virtue; for if it be permanently established the literature of our country will be fully developed. At present we see many societies formed for the cultivation of the English language. You may therefore conclude, Gentlemen, that if this society be formed for the cultivation of pure Bengalee, its members will become perfectly versed in it.'

When Raja Rammohun Roy left for England in November 1830, he made over the charge of the school to its head teacher Purna Chandra Mittra. Since then the school was run by him and came to be known as Purna Mittra's school. In 1834, the school was renamed the Indian Academy. The celebrated Bhudeb Mukherjee was a student of this school.

The Indian Academy was in existence for several years more. We find a notice of the annual examination of the students of the Academy in the *Samachar Darpan* of 19th September, 1835. The examination was held in the upper rooms of the *Hurkaru* Library on Wednesday, the 16th September. Bengali was made a subject of regular study in July-August 1838.⁶ The Indian Academy was no longer a free school.

II. THE UNION SCHOOL

In point of time Jagomohan Bose's Union School at Bhowanipore claims priority over Raja Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School. It was founded so early as in 1793. But it came to the public view long afterwards by 1828, by virtue of its intrinsic services to the cause of modern education. Of the origin of the Union School, William Adam writes in his first Report on the State of Education in Bengal (submitted to the Government on the 1st July, 1835) thus:

"The first English School of this kind is situated at Bhowanipore, and is called the Union School, in consequence of its having been formed by the union of two such schools respectively established at Bhowanipore and Kidderpore. They were established without any communication with Europeans by Native gentlemen for the instruction of Hindoo children in English, and were at first supported by voluntary subscription." (P. 36).

It should be noted here that Adam gives Jagomohan Bose's school the credit of being the first English institution of its kind ever started by Indians in this part of the country. Students of this school made much progress in their studies, both Bengali and English. Special emphasis was given, however, on the proper study of English. It has been said that scarcely a person was found in Bhowanipore who was not some time or other instructed in this school. Respectable

Europeans and Indians paid visits to it time and on and expressed great satisfaction at the progress of the students. Like the boys of the prominent seminaries of Calcutta, they too acquired proficiency in English. Reports of examinations held here found their way to newspapers, from which we learn that, at least up to 1829 Jagomohan Bose bore all the expenses of the school himself. The *Samachar Darpan* of October 28, 1828, writes to the following effect:

"At Bhowanipore there is an English school. Many Englishmen went there to conduct the examination of its boys. On its roll are four hundred students. They one and all read English. All the expenses of this school are paid by a generous-hearted Bengali gentleman. His name has not been made public, but his generosity will evoke praise from everybody."

Another account appeared in the same paper on March 7, 1829. In this occurs:

"In the last week examination of the boys of the Bhowanipur school took place. The school was founded about thirty years ago by Srijut Jagomohan Bose We learn that he is paying all the expenses of the school as a religious duty Boys of the Hindu College, of Srijut Rammohun Roy's and of Srijut Jagomohan Bose's schools are giving sufficient proof of their efficiency in English in the examinations held before the European gentlemen." (Free rendering from Bengali).

By the middle of 1829 the Union School was re-organised and opened to pay-scholars too. Of the subsequent career of the school, Adam again writes:

"In May, 1829 they were placed upon an improved footing, and in the management of them Europeans and Natives were then first associated. They were opened to pay-scholars, and the Calcutta School Society made them a monthly grant towards their support; but that resource not proving adequate to their wants, they applied to the General Committee of Public Instruction for assistance. Their immediate wants extended only to about 500 rupees for the necessary school-furniture; but the General Committee placed 1,000 rupees at the disposal of the School Society for the use of each school considering it to be 'a great object to establish schools of this description which might in time serve as preparatory steps to the Hindoo College, and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition.' The united school is supported partly by public subscriptions and partly by the fees of the scholars, of whom there are at present (that is, in 1835) about 150. This is a day-school, instruction being given every day of the week from ten to three except on Sundays." (*First Report*, P. 36.)

Jagomohan Bose, the founder of the Union School, died some time in January, 1853. I have found, in the files of *The Hindoo Intelligencer* of the 24th January, 1853, a letter by "An Inhabitant of Bhowanipore" dated January 20, evidently sent just after Jagomohan's death. From this letter we can learn much of the man and his institution. Let me give it here *in extenso*:

⁶ *Samachar Darpan*, 27th April, 1839: Events of 1245 B.S. —Srivana

"The sudden death of Baboo Jagomohon Bose of Bhowanipore, though at an advanced age, is deeply regretted by men of all classes. The eminent merits of the deceased; his placid and calm temper, his zeal for the cause of education; and his labours for its diffusion, are universally known. Throughout his whole life and throughout his connection with this place, no single inhabitant has ever had any cause but that of being pleased with his conversation and rejoiced at the pains he took disinterestedly for their welfare. The name of David Hare deserves to be embellished in letters of gold in the hearts of many of our countrymen at large and so is the name of Baboo Jagomohon Bose in a limited sphere. More than 37 years past, before many of the metropolitan Institutions had their existence. Babu Jagomohon Bose had a school at Bhowanipore where English lessons had been daily given and prepared. Though not a professional teacher, his talents and leisure hours were devoted to the improvement of children of all classes. With the co-operation of Sir Edward Ryan and his relative Major Ryan, with the assistance of David Hare and of the Ghosal Babus of Kidderpore he made his school attain a very respectable name among the educational establishments in the country;—and though the Institution is not now in a similar condition, it was only on account of a broken constitution and the infirmities of age hastened by family losses, that he was unable to take so much pains for it as he did before, and that too for the setting up of a Missionary Institution on a very large scale in the place where to the utter shame and loss of our countrymen many send their children. One circumstance must be added which is that almost all persons now holding respectable and creditable situations under Government and the agencies resident at Bhowanipore were educated in the Union School and formed their habits of life and business under the eyes of this man before whose time none of the middling and none of the higher classes set turbans on their heads and went to work. Such a man deserves to be remembered and his admirers are thinking of something best calculated to commemorate his memory in a measure suitable to their means."

The Union School continued for a long time after the death of its founder. It was again amalgamated with another school early in 1874. I find in the *Bharat Samaskarak*, a Bengali weekly, dated 10th April, 1874 that

"The Bhowanipore Union School has been amalgamated with the Tollygunge Suburban School. A beautiful site has been selected for the erection of a building for the school." (*Translated from Bengali.*)

This amalgamated institution is the modern South Suburban School of Bhowanipore. In the *Diamond Jubilee Report, 1934*, of the school I also find:

"A large number of Middle English and Primary schools catered to the educational needs. On the 13th of February, 1874, two such small schools, one located at Bhowanipore and the other at Kalighat, were incorporated by some of the public-spirited gentlemen of the locality into a High School, which ultimately came to be known as the South Suburban School." (P. 1).

The building for the school was not, however, erected on the site, as referred to by the *Bharat Samaskarak*. It sat for the first sixteen years in different rented premises. We learn from the *Golden Jubilee Report, 1934* that

"The newly-started school was originally located near the Hazra Tank, which was subsequently converted into the Hazra Square. Later in the same year (1874), however, the school was removed further north to a house in Gobinda Ghosh Lane. On the 1st of March, 1875, the school was removed further in the heart of Bhowanipore and was housed in the big barracks belonging to Moulvi Habibulla Hossain on Russa Road, a little to the north of the premises now owned by the Empress Theatre. . . . The school continued to be located in this rented building till the 15th of June, 1890. The present site at Gopal Banerjee Street was acquired by the authorities in 1888 and the present building was constructed at a total cost of about Rs. 40,000. The major portion of the amount required for acquiring the land and for erecting the building was met by public subscriptions." (Pp. 2-3).

Among those who were instrumental in incorporating the two schools into the South Suburban School, the names of Annada Prasad Banerjee, its Founder-Secretary, Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee, the renowned physician of Bhowanipore and father of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra, Justice of the Calcutta High Court, deserve special mention. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, one of the prominent Brahmo leaders and literary men of the late nineteenth century, was the first Headmaster of this institution and served as such from February 1874 to April 1876. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the great educationist and jurist, was one of the early alumni of the United South Suburban School. The school is still flourishing as a premier educational institution in Bengal with many a feature special to its own.

III. HARE'S SCHOOL

Like the Anglo-Hindu School and the Union School, Hare's School, too, did yeoman's service to the cause of education in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Calcutta School Society almost ceased to function as such early in 1833. David Hare was forced to abolish his famous Arpuli Pathshala for want of funds. The English School attached to the Pathshala was united with the Society's model English School at Pataldanga. This school contained a Bengali Department where Bengali was taught exclusively. David Hare undertook the management of this institution, which he did but too gladly till his death. The School flourished greatly as a free academy under Hare's personal care and supervision. It served as a feeder to the top classes of the Hindu College and the newly established Medical College. Its scholars in the Hindu College, better known as

the School Society's scholars, were always among the best boys there.

The Government grant of Rs. 500 per mensem to the Calcutta School Society was originally intended to meet the expenses of the Society's indigenous schools. The diversion of the grant to the maintenance of the English School, a different purpose altogether, was not officially taken into cognizance up till late 1840, by the General Committee of Public Instruction, who were charged with the control and management of the Government education funds. Apprised of the useful purposes for which the money was being spent for these years, the General Committee favourably wrote to the Government in a letter dated 30th October, 1840 :

"With reference to the School Society, we called upon Mr. Hare for a report on its present state; including an account of its funds and expenses. This has been furnished to us up to the end of the past year. From this report we find that although the grant of Sicca Rupees five-hundred has been diverted from its original object, of improving the indigenous schools kept by private individuals, it has been most usefully employed in educating a certain number of students in the Hindoo College and in supporting a large and Preparatory School in the neighbourhood, which has been of much use to the Hindoo and Medical College. We therefore propose to continue to appropriate the assignment as at present, while Mr. Hare is connected with the School; and that he be required to furnish us with periodical reports on its state and prospects. When Mr. Hare discontinues his connection with the School the assignment may be paid directly to the Committee."

The Government intimated to the Committee on 15th December, 1840, in reply to the above letter that they had no objection in the proposed arrangements.⁷

But David Hare did not live long to act up to these arrangements. He was spared to submit only one report before his death. In November 1841, he sent an account of the school to the General Committee, a brief summary of which has been given only, in their *Report* for 1840-42 (p. 28). This speaks a good deal of the efficiency with which the school was being conducted. The summary runs as follows:

"438 boys were instructed in various branches of English and Vernacular learning under Native Teachers, (the further advanced being fit for admission into the Senior Department of the Hindoo College) for the sum of 530 Rs. of which the balance of 30 was paid by Mr. Hare. That gentleman informed us that it afforded him much pleasure to say that in his opinion the school was then in very good order; further that he was in the constant habit of visiting it daily, at irregular times, and frequently examined some of the boys

and classes in their different lessons, which enabled him to speak with confidence as to the results.

"Of the 21 scholarships awarded in 1841-42 to the Hindoo College, seven⁸ were gained by boys originally admitted from Mr. Hare's School. The School in question also furnishes numerous pupils to the Medical College."

Hare died on the 1st June, 1842. The General Committee of Public Instruction gave place to the Council of Education in January this year, with their powers somewhat circumscribed. According to previ-



David Hare

ous arrangements, the charge of Hare's school naturally fell on this Council. They found that

"The pupils of this school had hitherto been admitted entirely by Mr. Hare, that they paid nothing for Schooling, Books or Stationery, that the discipline was well maintained by Mr. Hare personally, and that he paid from his own funds any incidental expenses, in excess of the Government allowance of five-hundred rupees.

"There were on the 13th June, in this school 463 boys divided into 12 classes. Their ages are from 7 to 15 years." (*Report* for 1840-42, p. 28).

Regarding the management of the school, the Council of Education delegated their powers to its Section⁹ for the Hindu College. The Section proceeded with their business in the following way :

8. Peary Churn Sircar stood first, and was one of the seven.

9. The Section of the Council of Education for the Hindoo College was its reconstituted Managing Committee. But it had less powers than formerly. Under the arrangement sanctioned by Government on the 20th October, 1841, two members of the Council of Education were elected members of the Hindoo College Managing Committee. Henceforward the President of the Council of Education acted also as the President of the Committee.

7. Vide *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction, etc.*, for 1839-40, Appendix No. II. Both the letters of the General Committee and the Government of India have been inserted in it. I will mention the Report of the General Committee as simply *Report* hereafter.

"The Section considered it expedient to provide for the continuance of the School, making alteration in the system gradually, and with caution, so as ultimately to incorporate it with the Institutions subordinate to the Hindoo College, and recommended that a Visitor should be appointed to supply as far as possible the place of Mr. Hare in maintaining the discipline of the School. The Section proposed themselves to regulate the admissions, and to impose a rate of one rupee per month on future pupils, reserving to themselves a discretion to admit free Scholars and so regulating the admissions as to provide, that the free scholars of Mr. Hare's foundation should hereafter be reduced to, and remain at, one hundred, the total number of pupils being five hundred. They contemplated also appropriating the additional funds resulting from the introduction of the new system in providing salary for the Visitor and meeting the extra charges of the Institution. (*Ibid.* p. 28).

The Government sanctioned and approved the plan, 'subject to modification at any time by Government, whenever it might appear to be failing in maintaining the efficiency of the Institution.'

Work was commenced soon under the new system. Mr. R. Jones, Head Master of the Junior Department of the Hindu College, was appointed Visitor. The establishment, however, remained same as before. It is found that on the 28th December, 1812, there were 410 old free boys and 74 pay-scholars, the latter being the new admissions.¹⁰

Early in 1843 the school had to change its venue. It had got no building of its own. The school sat for upwards of twenty years in a house in Pataklanga owned by Raja Nrisinghachandra Roy on a monthly rental. The Section was asked in March 1843 to remove the school from there at a month's notice. They 'represented to him the impracticability of quitting it at such a short notice, and the injury to be apprehended to the institution by being turned out so abruptly from the house it had occupied for upwards of 20 years, in which his own relatives had been educated.' But these representations were of no avail. The authorities were compelled to remove the school, temporarily, to the premises of the Hindu College Pathsala and the Pathshala to the lower part of a neighbouring house,¹¹ occupied by the Principal of the Hindu College. The school was charged the same rent as it had to pay to Raja Nrisinghachandra. But this rent was earmarked by the Council of Education for building a house for the school. The grounds

attached to the Pathsala to the west of the College Street belonged to the Hindu College. The managers of the College gladly parted with them for the erection of a building for the School over there. Public subscriptions were opened for the purpose. I find the school removed to its new buildings on the above site in 1847. The buildings were erected partly from public subscriptions, but mainly with Government money to be realised from the school in monthly instalments. It should be noted that the school also paid well over one thousand rupees from its own funds in the course of the construction.

During the transition period the school continued to maintain its reputation as a premier institution in Calcutta. V. L. Rees, Professor of Mathematics in the Hindu College, examined in 1844 the boys of the top classes of the school in Mathematics and reported that 'generally speaking, the boys have acquitted themselves well.' In conclusion he stated: 'It is justice to add, the 2nd class of the Hindoo College receives annually from the school its best recruits and the greater number of my best scholars in the College were nursed in the Seminary.'¹²

In the following year Mr. R. Jones, the Visitor of the School, also reported:

"The studies pursued in the first class correspond to those of the 2nd class of the Hindoo College, and the students who are annually admitted from this school enter into the second and third classes of the Hindoo College. In some instances they have been found qualified for the first class. Seven scholarships of the Hindoo College, viz., 5 senior and 2 junior, are at present held by students of the School Society's School."¹³

Not only the Hindu College but the Calcutta Medical College, too, got their best recruits from this institution. To maintain its superior standard, the Government sanctioned in 1845 four junior scholarships for the school.

The institution could no longer be regarded as a free school, its character as such having rapidly changed. In 1844 there were only 81 new admissions, that is, pay-scholars, the remaining 369 enjoyed free studentships.¹⁴ But there were only 182 free students in the school in 1845. This number fell to 137 in 1846. In these two years the number of pay-scholars rose from 313 to 350. A connected account of the later career of this institution, which had already turned a pay-school, is not warranted here. I will, however, note below some of its salient features.

It was a rule with Mr. Hare to appoint compe-

10. Report for 1842-43, p. LXXV.

11. The Principal of the Hindoo College had his quarters in this house, for which he got a monthly allowance of Rs. 140 as house rent from the College. Dewan Ramcomul Sen was the owner of this historic building. The Calcutta Medical College was first opened in this house and held its classes here for about a year. The Albert College of Keshub Chunder Sen, the grandson of Dewan Ramcomul, was also housed in these premises. The modern Albert Buildings, College Square, stand on this site.

12. Report for 1844-45, p. 33.

13. Report for 1845-46, pp. 44-45.

14. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, p. 34.

tent Indians as teachers of his school. Because he thought that the right sort of instruction in its elementary stages could be given to the Indian boys more efficiently by their own countrymen than by foreigners. Hare used to select teachers from amongst the best students of the Hindu College. Tarachand Chakravarty, Rasik Krishna Mallik and Krishna Mohun Banerjee all of the Hindu College served as teachers of the Pataldanga school, which was but the predecessor of this school. Durga Charan Banerjee, father of the famous Surendra Nath Banerjee, himself a meritorious student of the Hindu College and later a noted physician of Calcutta, was for some time in the late thirties and early forties of the last century, the Head Master of Mr. Hare's School. Barring a few exceptions, the tradition was kept up. Peary Charan Sircar, an ex-student of Hare's school, and one of the celebrated educationists of mid-nineteenth century, was appointed Head Master of this institution in August 1854 and continued in his post till 1863. His connection with the School did not cease before 1867.

Since its foundation the school had been open to the Hindus only. It was in 1852 that the School was thrown open to all. I find in the *Report of the Council of Education* (from 30th September, 1852 to 27th January, 1855):

"School thrown open to all classes of the community. The exclusive footing on which the school had, from its foundation, been carried, has been abolished, and since November 1852, it has been thrown open to all classes of the community. Two European Christians, two Native converts and two Mussulman boys have been admitted and the Institution is conducted with as much order and harmony as it was previous to its being thrown open."

Now something should be said regarding the management of the School. We have seen that just after the death of Mr. Hare the 'Section of the Council of Education for the Hindoo College' took over its charge. Since then the school was also known as the 'Hindu College Branch School.' The Managing Committee or, to be more precise, its Indian members relinquished their charge of the Hindu College on 1st February, 1854. Henceforth, the Hindu College came directly under the Council of Education. The Branch School, too, became a full-fledged Government institution. On the 15th June, 1854, the Senior Department of the Hindu College was transformed into the Presidency College, and the Junior Department retained the name of the Hindu School. The College and the School were to be regarded as two distinct institutions. But the latter was subordinate to the former. Since then Hare's school was officially known as the Colootollah Branch School. The Council of Education again resigned on the 27th

January, 1855, in favour of the Director of Public Instruction newly created by the Government. The Colootollah Branch School, like other Government institutions, came under the direct control of the Director of Public Instruction.¹⁵

It has already been said that when the new arrangements were made in 1842, the school was divided into 12 classes, and a flat rate of rupee one was charged as monthly fee of the new entrants. I find the classes increased to fourteen in 1844; but the rate of fees had remained the same. It was in May 1846 that the fees were enhanced for the first time in the following scale:

"The students admitted before 1st May 1846, will continue to pay monthly, 1 Rupee.

Students admitted or promoted to the 1st and 2nd classes from 1st May 1846, to pay monthly 3 Rupees.

Students admitted to the lower classes from 1st May 1846, to pay monthly.....2 Rupees."¹⁶

These fees being still lower than those in many other schools of the same standard, poorer sections of the community resorted to this school in large numbers. For efficient teaching classes were increased to sixteen. By the year 1857 the number of students rose to 571. To cope with this unwieldy number, the authorities deemed it expedient to raise the fees again in 1857:

"The number of pupils at the beginning of the past session had risen so high, that it was deemed expedient in October last to reduce it by raising the schooling fees in the last 13 classes from 2 Rupees to 3 Rupees monthly at which rate the three highest classes, or what constituted the Senior Department had been paying for some years."¹⁷

Many students of this school made a mark in Society as also in the respective spheres of their life. In this connection the names of such stalwarts and pioneers as the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Peary Charan Sircar, Rajnarain Bose, Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar, Dinabandhu Mitra, Sishir Kumar Ghose, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Romesh Chunder Dutt and Sir P. C. Ray naturally came to one's mind. There were a good many others who acquired the same, if not more, repute.

The school, though always popularly known as Hare's School, had its name changed from time to time. In the official Reports, it was called the School Society's School, the Hindu College Branch School or, simply, Branch School, and the Colootollah Branch School. It was in 1867 that its name was finally changed to 'Hare School.' It was also removed to its present buildings that year. The school still exists, disseminating light and culture among our countrymen.

15. The last *Report of the Council of Education* from the 30th September, 1852 to 27th January, 1855.

16. *Report for 1846-47*, p. 34.

17. *Report for 1857-58*, Appendix A, p. 226.

INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

By GIAN PARKASH KAPUR, M.A.

CONCEPT OF NATIONAL INCOME

NATIONAL income is the money equivalent of the aggregate net output of goods and services produced in a national economy over a period of time, usually a year. As distinct from the nation's accumulated capital wealth it is a fund which meets the yearly consumption needs and productive requirements of the community. Its size and allocation patterns are, therefore, the determinants of the nation's material welfare and the potentialities of its economic system. National income can be measured at various stages of the "flow-process of economic activity": at the point of production, distribution or consumption, but measured at all the three points the totals should be identical. This triple approach reveals the three basic aspects of the economy and affords a check on the correctness of the alternative national income estimates.

National income studies concentrate on currently produced resources and their allocation. They have been carried on in most countries for the last several years. In the beginning their scope was, however, limited to gauging certain broad trends in the economy but the shift of emphasis in economic thinking from classical "equilibrium analysis" to "national aggregates" evoked a much deeper interest in this direction. National income estimates are now designed to provide useful information on the levels of the generation, distribution and consumption of income in different sectors of the economy and their constituent transactions. A memorable development in this field was the emergence of social accounting—for which a model system was first presented by Dr. Richard Stone some years ago. Social accounting approaches national income studies by setting out the economically distinct transactions among different branches of the economy and obtains national aggregates by a suitable combination of these transactions. But though the presentation of social accounts is done by several Western countries like U.K. and France, Netherlands is perhaps the only country which may claim to have a proper social accounting system. A country like India has obviously to travel a long distance before it can construct any elaborate social accounts. The preparation of reliable social accounts and other national income estimates is a constant chase towards perfection. Numerous conceptual as well as practical problems, statistical difficulties and arbitrary judgments stem out during the process. Errors and omissions are common and the results obtained prone to criticism on the score of their reliability, coverage or completeness and the validity of the underlying assumptions. In the case of India there are special difficulties and the resulting imperfections greater as compared to the countries with longer traditions of national income studies. Nevertheless, national income estimates furnish a wide view of the anatomical and structural basis of the economy. They measure how much the various sectors of the economy have produced, distributed and consumed and if they are available over a number of years it becomes possible to appraise the trends in the country's economic

growth and by dint of analysis to associate them with various factors. They yield data on such significant topics as capital formation and depreciation, personal income and expenditure, the productivity of various industries and the effect of capital investment on them—all indispensable for "testing in the light of a record of the past and the immediate present the over-changing theories of economic behaviour, diagnoses of economic problems, and pleas for economic reform." But in order to be really useful national income estimates have to be so wide in their scope as to give all the relevant breakdowns; they have to be consistent in respect of their coverage, technique and valuations computed; and they have to be carefully interpreted, the basic assumptions underlying them, the accuracy of the statistical data used and their levels, trends and short-term variations have to be scrutinised.

A HISTORICAL PROLOGUE

The pioneer attempt to assess India's national income was made by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. For the years 1867-70 he estimated the total income of British India at 340 million pounds per year and a per capita income of Rs. 20 or 40 shillings. He contended that the income available to people in India did not suffice for their bare needs and, therefore, led to the depletion of the country's capital resources. Dr. Naoroji's estimate was followed by several unofficial enquiries with reference to certain specific periods but they are of a heterogeneous character and too old and tentative for any clear-cut inferences. The most carefully worked out among these was Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao's estimate which placed the net income of British India in 1931-32 between Rs. 1600 and Rs. 1800 crores and estimated a per capita income of Rs. 65 with a margin of error of plus or minus 6 per cent.

The war-time and the post-war stresses and strains on the economies of the under-developed countries generated a feeling for a more positive approach to their economic problems and the role of the national income and related statistics in the preparation and formulation of economic policies came to be recognised more and more. Imbued with this spirit some fresh studies of India's national income were undertaken. About the year 1949 the Ministry of Commerce and *The Eastern Economist* published their estimates almost simultaneously. The former estimated the total income of British India in 1945-46 at Rs. 6234 crores. For the Indian Union Provinces a total income of Rs. 4931 and Rs. 5542 crores or a per capita income of Rs. 204 and Rs. 228 was estimated for the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 respectively. The latter enquiry covered an eleven-year period from 1939-40 to 1949-50 and its main results nearly coincided with the Commerce Ministry estimates. No less important in this connection was Mr. R. C. Desai's essay on consumer expenditure in India which put the per capita income of British Indian Provinces at Rs. 70.2 in 1939-40 and Rs. 73 in 1940-41. Late in 1950 came United Nations' *National and Per Capita Incomes of Seventy Countries, 1949*. In this list of countries India with a per capita

income of 57 dollars in 1949 ranked fifty-fifth. Compared to some other Asiatic countries like Siam, Indonesia and Pakistan she figured somewhat better but she had apparently much leeway to make considering United States' 1,453 dollars and Great Britain's 773 dollars.

1948-49 ESTIMATES

It was against this setting that in the first week of May 1951 the first complete estimate of India's national income appeared in the *First Report of the National Income Committee*. The Committee have estimated the total income of the Indian Union in 1948-49 at Rs. 8710 crores and a per capita income of Rs. 255. The substance of the report is summarised in the following table :

Items	Net output (Rs. crores)	Percentage to total	Number of per- sons en- gaged (lakhs)	Net out- put per engaged person (Rs.)
1. Agriculture (including forests & fisheries)	4150	47.6	905	450
2. Mining & Factory Establishments ..	640	7.3	38	1700
3. Small Enterprises	860	9.9	149	600
4. Railways and Communications ..	230	2.6	12	1900
5. Banking, Insurance & other Commerce & Transport ..	1470	16.9	95	1500
6. Professions and Liberal Arts ..	320	3.7	50	600
7. Govt. Services (Administration)	460	5.3	36	1300
8. Domestic Service	150	1.7	42	400
9. House Property ..	450	5.2	—	—
Net output at factor cost ..	8730	100.2	1327	660
Net earned Income from abroad ..	—20	0.2	—	—
National Income ..	8710	100.0	—	—

Thus nearly half of the national income accrues from agriculture and allied occupations, about a fifth from commerce, transport and communications, about a sixth from mining, factories and small enterprises and the remaining one-sixth from services and house-property. In the light of Dr. Rao's estimates it appears that the composition of the national income has not undergone any material change except for a small decline in the proportion of the income from agriculture and allied occupations and a slight increase in that of the income from commerce, banking and professions. The net output per engaged person is highest for railways and communications and factory establishments due to higher capital investment in these spheres while agriculture, the nation's premier industry, ranks only second from the bottom. Government share in the generation of domestic product in 1948-49 amounted to Rs. 760 crores or 8.7 per cent and in national expenditure to Rs. 830 crores of 8.1 per cent. Government draft on private income amounted to Rs. 690 crores and gross capital formation on Government account to Rs. 210 crores. Exports and imports during the year valued Rs. 500 crores and Rs. 710 crores respectively. Net earnings from abroad being negative

and donations from abroad Rs. 10 crores the deficit on current account was financed by net borrowings of the tune of Rs. 220 crores. Net national expenditure at market price is estimated at Rs. 9170 crores. One solitary figure about consumer expenditure indicating that 58 per cent or Rs. 4600 crores of the national product was spent on food is also given. In addition a frame-work for social accounts is presented for the first time but it is not of much use since symbols have been used for the missing items.

The methods employed have been, considering the circumstances, the least unsatisfactory but the gaps in information and data—which can be adequately filled only if there is a country-wide organisation to collect detailed information—have inevitably led to infirmities of an unknown magnitude. It is not possible to indicate the margin of error in the various estimates but they may be classified into some "reliability categories." Thus the estimates pertaining to mining and industry, Government Services, railways and communications and organised banking and insurance would pass on as "good estimates," those pertaining to agriculture and allied occupations as "rough estimates" and the remaining ones as "conjectures."

The findings of the National Income Committee have clarified many facts dimly realised before. They have borne out the slow rate of development in our economy, the 'shrunk' status of its secondary and tertiary sectors and the low productivity in the predominating primary factor. The Committee's estimate of the per capita income is higher than all previous estimates but in view of the rise in prices in recent years this does not reflect any more prosperity and the real income calculated by assuming constant prices for the net product would be scarcely different from pre-war standards. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of General Prices with the year ended August 1939 as the base stood at 381 in 1949. This means that the purchasing power of Rs. 3.8 equalled that of Re. 1 before the war. Assuming a similar ratio between the Committee's valuation of the net product and its value in pre-war prices the pre-war equivalent of a per capita income of Rs. 255 estimated by the Committee works out to be Rs. 67 which comes very close to Dr. Rao's estimate of Rs. 65 in 1931-32.

However, on several, other important matters the Committee's report throws no light. Of course, information on subjects like capital formation and provisions for depreciation, consumer expenditure and allocation of income was hard to collect but with regard to matters like small and corporate savings and distribution of income some ground could be covered. The available post-office and banking statistics and income-tax statistics on the size of the incomes coupled with the estimates of productivity and the standard of living offer a promising field for analysis. Moreover, breakdowns as to the regional, inter-state and urban-rural variations in national income and productivity and also about the components of income accruing to various sectors are useful guides to policy-making and will have to be attempted at an early stage.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

* Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY :

By *Wilfred Wellock*. Published by the author from 12 Victoria Avenue, Qanton, Birmingham, 32, 1950. Pp. 39. Price one shilling.

In India, when we write about Gandhi, we usually slip into a sentimental mood of adoration or of hostility. Perhaps we have been too near him to be able to escape powerful emotional influences.

It is therefore refreshing to turn to an essay of the kind which Mr. Wellock presents here. He came to India as a delegate to the World Pacifist Meeting in 1949, and was also elected as Chairman of its Committee on Basic Education and World Peace. The findings of that Committee as well as the impressions gathered at the conference and in course of visits to centres of constructive work during the following months are presented in this pamphlet.

Mr. Wellock has expressed the opinion that the root cause of the sorrows of the world lies in an idolatrous worship of material comforts to the exclusion of the higher values of life. Even Communism has not escaped infection from this vicious product of the Industrial Revolution. He feels that if man is to be rescued from the impending threat of self-annihilation, Gandhism offers a supremely practical way. It will have to begin with a re-ordering of life in the personal sphere in accordance with non-violence, but very soon, the influence will spread to the social field; where obstructions to the creation of a new life shall have to be met by the supremely moral method of Satyagraha. Of course, the execution of the programme will vary from place to place, but unless the world accepts the fundamental values for which Gandhism stands, and which it shares in common with Christianity, there is hardly any hope left for mankind.

We do hope, the pamphlet, although small in size, will set men thinking earnestly not only in the West but also in India, where his influence is fast being lost by default. Perhaps we may remind that, as early as 1925, Gandhi wrote with perhaps a tinge of sorrow that in regard to non-violence, 'what seems to me to be so natural and feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses' (*Young India*, 3-9-25, p. 304). The fact that Gandhism is gaining a more intelligent appreciation in the West, and more an emotional worship in the land of its origin may be a confirmation of Gandhiji's fears.

GLEANINGS GATHERED AT BAPU'S FEET :

By *Mira*. Pp. 26. Price six annas.

SELECTED LETTERS (First Series): By M. K.

Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 56. Price seven annas.

These two pamphlets throw an intimate light on Gandhiji's character and his relation with co-workers. They will be valuable for any life of Gandhiji.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA : By M. K. Gandhi. Revised Second Edition 1950. Ahmedabad : Published by Navajivan Publishing House. Pp. xv + 351. Price Rs. 4.

The Navajivan Trust must be thanked for having brought out a new edition of this classic in Gandhian literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MY PHILOSOPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS ON THE MORAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME : By Benedetto Croce. Selected by R. Klibansky. Translated by E. F. Carritt. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1949. Price 15s. net.

Croce's writings have been much appreciated and equally criticised. In all his writings, political and philosophical, in his discourses on morals and in his other essays he has always placed emphasis on the individual. "The man has a real life to live; the life of classes is a fiction." It is needless to point out that emphasis on the individual does not mean encouragement of selfishness. His views on liberty coincide to some extent with those of Einstein on freedom. He also pleads for humanism but unlike Einstein he sought to justify his views on metaphysical grounds. He, therefore, could not approach the masses as Einstein did. It is not possible, neither is it necessary, to discuss in details his political views. That has been elaborately done before by professed philosophers and others. He himself has violently criticised 'dialectic materialism,' and protests against his being described as a Hegelian. In the essays on the problems of Ethics and Aesthetics he has boldly challenged the so-called theory of 'pure art.' "Though art is neither the slave nor the handmaid of morality or philosophy, it is always busied with both, for its business is that of the spiritual unity which in it comes to its own as a necessary and unique manifestation."

The collection of the essays is a timely publication. The Moral "Problem of our (his) Time" is still the moral problem of our time and the essay can be read with profit. It does not appear to the reader that he is reading a translation. Carritt, himself a noted writer on Aesthetics, has accomplished his task admirably.

S. C. MITRA

FOUR CHAPTERS : By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-Bharati, 2 College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

Char Adhyay, when the original Bengali first came out in 1934, created a sensation. The then Press Officer

of the Bengal Government wanted to use it as a propaganda against popular anarchist movements. The situation now has completely changed and we can enjoy the book as a pure product of art. The translation was very ably done by the Poet's nephew, the late Surendranath Tagore and was serially published in the pages of the American magazine *Asia* in 1936-37. We are glad to get it now in a handy book form.

SHEAVES : Poems and Songs by Rabindranath Tagore. Selected and translated by Nagendranath Gupta. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4-12.

This is a reprint of the first edition and is neatly printed. We reviewed the first edition in our pages long ago, when we wrote: "Mr. Nagendranath Gupta has earned the best thanks of the lovers of Rabindranath in India and abroad for his excellent translations of the great poet's songs and lyrics... Taking the poet's own matchless renderings as a standard, Mr. Gupta's achievement does not fall far short of it and there are occasions when the translation rises to the beauty and dignity of the original, as we find in his *Urasī*." Going through the preface and the translation we can again recommend the book to the English-knowing lovers of Rabindranath's poetry.

B. N. B.

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM—HOW TO STOP IT: By R. Swarup. Read and approved by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 38, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta 1 Pp 56. Price Rs. 2.

This small book is an attempt to prick the pretension of the Soviet Union's claim that it is the upholder of peace in a world over which war-mongers and their dupes roam about. This is good work, but the experiences of the publishers with the conduct of Calcutta Presses, specifically named in their Note, demonstrate how the "vague feat of trouble" has paralysed even the professed enemies of the Soviet Union.

The key-note of the book is to be found in the philosophy of blood and iron, the use of force, which Marx had preached and which his followers have been practising. The writer should have brought these out more elaborately. And their "patriotic betrayal" of their own people should have been exposed. He does the next best thing when he quoted the Stalin thesis that "the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable..... a series of most terrible collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois State is (?) inevitable." From this follows the Soviet technique of expansion and disruption. This will require volumes to describe. We expect the publishers to do this needed work to remove the "moral indifference" to this evil to which they refer in their Note.

The price of the book is rather high.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SANKARADEVA: (A Study): By Hara Mohan Das, B.A., L.T. Published by the author from Gauhati, Assam. Pp. 145. Price Rs. 2.

In order to satisfy my heart's desire for studying the great lives of medieval Indian saints I had written last year to a brother monk in Shillong to send me an English book on Sankaradeva, the patron Saint of Assam. The Swami kindly sent me a copy of the very book which is under review. The learned author of this book, who is a retired member of the Assam School service and has about a dozen volumes to his credit on various subjects, makes in this work a short survey of the life, teachings and writings of Sankaradeva, a senior contemporary of Sri Chaitanya of Bengal. Like Sri Chaitanya in Bengal, Sankaradeva brought about a Bhakti revival in Assam, and

left his indelible impress on the art, literature and religion of the province. He was born in 1449 A.D. in Alipukhuri in the district of Nowgong and passed away in 1568 A.D. at Kakatkuta in Cooch Bihar. His father Kusumbara Bhuyian was the chief of the famous Bara Bhuyians of Assam and became powerful in the reign of king Viswa Singha. Sankaradeva married twice like Sri Chaitanya and preached Neo-Vaisnavism. Though these two Vaisnava reformers were contemporaries and appeared in adjacent provinces they never met. This view is also supported by Dr. Biman Bihari Majumdar in his monumental Bengali work on the biographical materials of Sri Chaitanya. The Neo-Vaisnavism preached by Sankaradeva is akin to Visistadvaitavada or Qualified Monism of Sri Ramanuja. It does not entertain the worship of a divine couple like Sita and Rama or Radha and Krishna. But it adores Sri Krishna alone as the supreme being and the primal cause of the Universe. It abhors animal sacrifice, idolatry and pseudo-esoteric rites, and upholds *dasyabhakti* as practised by Hanuman to Sri Ramachandra. In the temples of prayer founded by Sankaradeva no image but a sacred book especially the Bhagavata Purana is placed on a pedestal and worshipped like the Grantha Sahib in the Sikh temples. The ideal devotee according to Sankaradeva is Uddhava. The centres of religious activities established by Sankaradeva and his apostles are called Satras and the religion preached by him is known as Bhagavata Dharma or Mahapurusa Dharma. The writings of Sankaradeva are numerous and consist of original compositions and translations from Sanskrit scriptures, mostly Puranas. Most of his writings in verse are in old Kamarupi language and form the foundations of the Assamese literature. In his literary activities he was greatly assisted by his eminent disciple Madhavadeva. His main poetical works are the Uddhava Sambad, Kirtan, the Bhagavata Purana, Guna-mala, Ramayana, etc. His twenty works and those of his apostles are the popular sacred books of the province.

The handy volume under review adorned with three important illustrations is an excellent introduction to the biography, philosophy and literature of Sankaradeva and the mighty movement started by him. It is indispensable to the students of Indian religion and deserves to be rendered into provincial languages for wider circulation. It is a pity that Sankaradeva is not well known even in the adjacent province of Bengal or Bihar for want of such books.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: By K. G. Saividain, Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay. Published by Asia Publishing House, 17, Gunbow Street, Bombay 1. First Edition—1950. Pages 565. Price : Library Edition Rs. 7, Students' Edition Rs. 4-12.

Reconstruction of education has for some time past been stirring the minds of the Indians and reforms are being effected in some branches of the educational system. But these piecemeal reforms in the nature of patchworks on a rotten piece of linen cannot be expected to produce desired results unless education is viewed in a wider perspective and educational institutions are considered as an integral part of socio-economic and political structure of the community. The learned author of this book who has had a varied experience as a teacher, an administrator and a keen observer of educational machinery in some Western countries has been in intimate touch with the pedagogical and administrative sides of Indian education. He has rightly conceived that 'the school is an integral part of the total social environment and the child's individuality is not nurtured in school only but is greatly influenced by our socio-economic system and by con-

temporary ideological currents.' Education cannot be dissociated from life and the future citizens cannot be reared up in glass-houses amidst artificial environments.

The book consists of three parts under captions: (1) Building the School of the Future, (2) New Trends and Approaches and (3) The Education of Teachers, written in a perspicuous style and permeated throughout with boldness of ideals, awareness of modern trends in human values and inspired by the sincere zeal of an educator. The book is a class by itself. It provides much food for thought for drawers of educational schemes, for teachers who are to vitalize the schemes and for enlightened members of the public all of whom have to work in perfect harmony with each other for proper solution of the 'problems.' It will be a profitable and delightful study for lovers of education.

NARAYAN C. CHANDRA

ROADS FOR INDIA : By T. R. S. Kynnersley. *Being the second in the series entitled "Tata Studies in Current Affairs."* Published for Tata Sons Limited by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Illustrations by A. R. Acott. Price Rs. 1.

Communications in India are still far from being satisfactory. In the matter of roads the country very urgently needs an "efficient network of roads, particularly in rural areas." This fact was brought to light during the Bengal Famine of 1943-44 when food could hardly be properly distributed all over the province within the shortest possible time. It is unfortunate that till to-day the situation has not improved very much.

Mr. Kynnersley, who has been a well-known road-engineer and was for some time the President of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association, begins his brochure with defining "What is a road?" and closes the discussion with suggestions as to how an all-India Transport Board can solve our problem of roads.

The booklet is profusely illustrated with sketches and photographs that go to make its reading interesting and engaging as well.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJEE

CEYLON KICKS INDIA : By J. S. Bright. *Published by the Knowledge Emporium Publication, New Delhi.* Price Rs. 4-4.

If a catchy caption, a smart get-up and fine printing make a good book, J. S. Bright's *Ceylon Kicks India* is one. But if the quality of the reading matter is the criterion, it is not.

More than 400,000 of our nationals are scattered all over the world. They have played an important part in the development of many of the countries where they have gone. Yet as luck would have it, they are unwanted and treated as such in almost all these countries. Malan's South Africa, Thakin Nu's Burma, Senanayake's Ceylon, to name a few, all sail in the same bark. It was hoped in pre-independence days that Free India's nationals abroad would be shown the courtesy and consideration they deserve. The hope remains unrealised. On the contrary, the position of Indians in many cases has steadily deteriorated since independence.

Tiny Ceylon, which owes so much to India, has placed her 800,000 Indian population in an unenviable position by passing the Indian Citizenship Act which disfranchises Indians who have lived in the country for several generations, by making it difficult to remit money to India, by denying banking facilities to Indians, by attempting to Ceylonise trade and industry overnight and by introducing other discriminatory measures against Indians. Colombo hotels are unwilling to accommodate Indian guests. Visitors from India are shadowed and heckled by the police. The Ceylonese Press systematically blocks out Indian news

and carries on a regular campaign of scurrilous calumny against India.

Mr. Bright's book fails to give a clear and comprehensive picture of Indians in Ceylon. The book is scrappy. Use of expressions such as "the mad rulers of Ceylon.....embellished with Ravana's donkey-head," "the frogs of Colombo" and the like are in bad literary taste. Mistakes—factual and linguistic—tip the scales definitely against the book under review.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJEE

BENGALI

PURANA-PRAVESA : By Dr. Girindra Sekhar Basu. *Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.* 1358 B.S. Pp. 306. Price Rs. 6.

It is with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of this revised edition of a work which, we think, is one of the most important contributions made in recent years to the study of the historical material in the *Puranas*, and which involves in particular the first attempt to introduce order and consistency into the tangled maze of Puranic chronology. In the preliminary chapters the author deals with such important topics as the age, authenticity and methodology of the *Puranas*. These points are dealt with more fully in the concluding chapters. The most valuable part of this work, however, is concerned with the exposition, as original as it is profound, of the difficult and complicated Puranic chronological scheme. Here the author explains with remarkable care and thoroughness the different methods of time-reckoning in the *Puranas* such as the cycles (*yuga*) of different kinds ('divine,' 'ancestral' and 'human'), Manu-cycles (*manvantara* of 71 *yugas* or 355 years each), and Kalpa-cycles (of 14 Manu-cycles each). In so far as the ancient dynastic lists are concerned, the Puranic chronological scheme consists, as the author shows (pp. 34f and chart p. 195), by a brilliant combination of direct evidence and of inference, of a direct Kalpa-cycle of 5,000 years starting from Svayambhuva Manu. Into this is fitted the division into 14 Manu-cycles, since the time-reckonings from Svayambhuva to Vaivasvata in the first instance are made in these works in terms of *manvantaras*. As 5,000 years divided by 14 *manvantaras* of 355 years each would leave a margin of 30 years to be accounted for, the *Purana* authors postulated 15 junction-periods (*sandhi*) one at the beginning, one at the end and thirteen in the middle with two years for each *sandhi*. Accordingly $355+2+2=359$ years are assigned to Svayambhuva Manu and $355+2=357$ years to each of the rest. Into the same chronological scheme the *Purana* authors fit four time-divisions (*krita*, *treta*, *dvapara* and *kali*) and 30 'ancestral' or historical *yugas*, since these are used for the later time-reckoning from Vaivasvata to Yudhisthira. The result is a somewhat complicated time-scale comprising 5000 years divided into (a) one 359 and thirteen 357 time-periods (*manvantara*), (b) four time-divisions (*krita*, *treta*, *dvapara* and *kali*) in the proportion of 4:3:2:1, and (c) 30 time-divisions (ancestral *yugas*) of 2000 months or $166\frac{2}{3}$ years each. Following a sound method of reasoning, the author further shows (pp. 45f) how the independent statements in the *Puranas* about the chronological positions of a number of sages and kings wonderfully support the above scheme of chronology. Another and equally scientific method of testing the above scheme used by the author in this context is the probability or otherwise of average generation- and reign-periods deducible from the Puranic data. Applying the data from a known series

of generations as well as of royal reigns, the author concludes that (a) the only safe basis of calculation of the average is the age at which the first child is born, (b) for a long series of generations in lineal succession the average duration is about 28 years, and (c) that where the royal succession is uninterrupted from father to son, the average reign-period approximates to this figure, but it is likely to be less when the succession is broken. Arguing from these premises the author maintains against Vincent Smith and Pargiter that (a) there is nothing incredible in the Puranic averages of reign-periods of the ancient kings and (b) it is wrong to apply a hypothetical average to their reigns. The author drives his conclusions home by showing that the average reign-period of English sovereigns from John to Edward III (35.6 years) is almost the same as the corresponding Puranic figures for the Saisunaka kings (33.2 years). It is not without interest to observe that the figure for the average duration of a generation in a long series given above, (*viz.*, 28 years) was arrived at independently by another Indian scholar of recent times (Dr. S. N. Pradhan in *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 174-75).

With the relative chronology of ancient kings thus placed on a secure basis, the author turns next to the chronology of recent (the so-called 'future') dynasties down to the Andhras. With characteristic thoroughness the author sums up the Puranic data for fixing the chronology of the recent kings under five heads. Two of these comprise the methods of 'time-reckoning in terms of regnal years and of the Saptarshi cycle of 1000 years. To another category belongs the Puranic statement about the chronological interval separating Nanda's accession on the one hand from the accession of Parikshit (1015 years) and on the other hand from the end of the Andhra dynasty (836 years). From this the author quite plausibly argues in favour of an era starting from Nanda's accession (p. 88). As to the exact chronology of Nanda the author, by a brilliant hypothesis, conjectures (pp. 88-89) that (Mahapadma) Nanda, though living in the second *krita*-cycle according to the ancient Puranic reckoning, was held by later authors because of his Sudra birth and his extermination of Kshatriyas to have really belonged to a prolongation of the Kali-cycle. As the Nanda era was thus taken to be synonymous with the era of the Kali age, the Purana authors were led to push back the beginning of the creation-cycle by 2,700 years (the traditional antecedent period of 27 *yugas* reckoned according to the newly-accepted Saptarshi-cycle). Still later this initial date was taken to mark the beginning of the Kali age. Relying on these data the author has no difficulty in tracing the exact date of Nanda's accession by counting backwards from a fixed recent reckoning, say 1934 A.D.=5035 Kali era. The date would thus be 5035-2700-1934=401 B.C.

The results of these studies are summarised in a very valuable series of chronological and synchronistic tables (p. 96 f.). The author begins with the genealogy of the Ikshvakus, the longest and the most complete of royal genealogies in the *Puranas*. The list comprises 127 names arranged in order of generations from Vaivasvata Manu downwards. By calculating the average figure for each generation and by checking this up with other Puranic data, the author assigns dates in the Christian era to the whole series of kings of this dynasty. This is followed up by similar tables relating to the dynasties of the Purus and the Barhadrasas as well as those of the later dynasties (*viz.*, of Pradyota, Sisunaka, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanva and Andhra). Finally, we have a number of synchro-

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nistic tables of ancient as well as recent dynasties.

We propose to make a few remarks.

Pp. 3-5 and 154 f: *Composition and Historical Value of the Puranas*. The author thinks that the connotation of *Purana* as indicated by the well-known category of its five characteristics (*panchalakshana*) is just the same as that of history in the modern sense of the term. The addition of other features in the later works of this class so as to make them a complex of ten categories, he says, adds to their historical value. This importance, the author thinks, is not impaired by the language or even the slightly conflicting accounts and readings in the *Puranas*. The evidence of inscriptions, coins and monuments, he further observes, is incomplete, while by contrast the authenticity of the *Puranas* is proved by the internal evidence and is in agreement with the external evidence. With this last claim we shall have to deal presently. But meanwhile it is permissible to point out that modern history is something more than a "historical and geographical account together with the description of the manners, customs, traditions, governments, arts and sciences of the people." It further involves a careful sifting of the evidence, analysis of human motives and characters, and especially and above all, reconstruction of the past culture and civilisation with the aid of historical imagination. Again, though the earlier *Puranas* known to the Vedic literature doubtless contained legends of origin, there is nothing to show that they had any of the other characteristics indicated by the category of *panchalakshana* (Cf. *Beginnings of Indian Historiography*, etc., by the present writer, pp. 18-21). The author thinks that the *Puranas* had their original source in the truthful accounts of the *sutas* who, in their turn, drew their material from the *magadhas* ("State historians"). But in the Vedic age, *magadha* is not a professional title at all, while the functions of *sutas* are unknown except in so far as they are characterised as *arajano rajakritah* in two Brahmana texts and made to function in the rituals of the *Rajasuya* and the *Asvamedha* (see references in *Hindu Public Life*, Part I, by the present writer, pp. 104-6). Even in the later Epic and Puranic tradition, the *sutas* and *magadhas* are some times identified with each other (References in Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 17).

Chronology of Royal Dynasties: No praise is too high for the industry, ingenuity and the scientific thoroughness with which the author has tried to build up his great chronological tables relating to the Puranic dynasties. And yet there are very serious difficulties in the way of acceptance of his conclusions. Thus, how are we to reconcile his account with the well-attested early Buddhist tradition making out *Suddhodana* and *Prasenajit* to have belonged to parallel dynasties and not to a single Ikshvaku line, as also with the evidence of the Sinhalese chronicles testifying to two successive dynasties (those of *Bimbisara* and *Susunaga*) instead of one single *Magadha* "Sisunaka" ruling house? Equally difficult it is to understand how *Sakya*, *Suddhodana*, *Rahula* and *Prasenajit* are to be regarded with the *Puranas* as kings of *Kosala* in this order of lineal succession. Again, while the *Pradyotas* and the *Andhras*, according to the author, were ruling dynasties of *Magadha* in two successive periods, they are shown by authentic evidence to have belonged to *Avanti* and

the *Deccan* respectively. In so far as chronology is concerned, the author's dating of *Pradyota* (871 B.C.), *Bimbisara* (612 B.C.) and *Prasenajit* (753 B.C.) is in conflict with the early Buddhist tradition showing them to have been contemporaries. In the same way the author's dates for *Gautamiputra* (340-361 A.D.) and (*Vasisthiputra*) *Pulumayi* (361-389 A.D.) are in conflict with the epigraphic or numismatic evidence or both which makes out the former to have been the conqueror of the *Kshaharata Nahapana* (119-24 A.D. according to most scholars) and the latter to have been the son-in-law of *Rudradaman* (c. 150 A.D.).

Though we have far exceeded the limits of space in this Review, we cannot conclude without a word of praise for the high degree of scholarship shown by the author in this volume of which the value is enhanced by a complete analytical table of contents and a good Index.

U. N. GHOSHIAL

RAMMOHUN-GRANTHABALI (Brahman Sebadi, Padri-Sisya Sambad): Edited by *Brajendranath Banerjee and Sajanikanta Das*. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.

This is the third part of *Raja Rammohun Roy's* works to be completed in seven volumes. The works are carefully edited. Books published, as far as available, in *Rammohun's* life-time have been consulted. It is to be noted that the works are characterised by the publication also of those writings in answer to which *Rammohun's* books or pamphlets were often written, so that the reader may follow the controversies in all their aspects.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

GUJARATI

RANCHHODLAL ANE BIJAN NATAKO: By *Yashodhar Narmadashankar Mehta*, Bar-at-Law. Published by the *Gujarat Sahitya Sabha*, Ahmedabad, 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2-8.

The writer of these plays is the son of a father, *Dewan Bahadur Narmadashankar Mehta*, who was a noted writer and thinker and was possessed of high literary qualities. The first of these plays *Ranchhodlal*, has secured a prize of Rs. 500 in a competitive presentation by the All-India Radio and a Gold Medal from a well-known literary magazine. It depicts the life and prominent incidents in the life of the maker of modern Ahmedabad, in more senses than one, i.e., by the foundation of Cotton Mills, Weaving and Spinning, by cleansing the city of unhealthy and unhygienic elements, as its Municipal Head. Amongst the city's three makers, *Ahmedshah*, *Ranchhodlal* and *Gandhiji*, *Ranchhodlal* holds the middle place. The author has woven romance round his life, by making him the political heir of *Ahmedshah*, who founded Ahmedabad. The other four plays, (1) *The Traveller from Denmark*, (2) *Bernier*, (3) *Sidi Ali* and (4) *Huven Sang*, have a historical background, and depict certain aspects of India's history and philosophy in a highly artistic manner. The one relating to the famous Chinese traveller is very human, and shows him at his best. A scholarly Introduction by *Dewan Bahadur Prof. B. K. Thakore*, adds to the value of the book. We are sure that Mr. *Yashodhar* will not rest on his oars but continue his valuable literary work.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Freedom and Culture

Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in the *Aryan Path* :

The time is now indeed out of joint, and what is needed to set it right is sense and sincerity and not mere scholarship and debating skill. Is civilization dying? Has humanity become powerless to give the right response to the challenge of the hour? Culture is one side of the arch of human achievement; civilization is the other. These words are often loosely used; it will be convenient here to restrict 'civilization' to the glittering material aspects of human achievement and 'culture' to its intellectual, moral, æsthetic and spiritual aspects. The 'glory' that was Greece: the 'grandeur' that was Rome—here we have the two in vivid contrast.

Of course, from matter to spirit is after all a single gamut. To use another metaphor, invisible arteries link the two and when the circulation is impeded serious consequences are inevitable. Modern civilization is an imposing facade, but our splendourous humanistic culture is its life, its soul. Are the fountains of this life slowly drying up? Is the life-giving spark being extinguished? We anxiously ask these questions, and are half-afraid to answer them.

The malady of our times is the failure of the conscience of mankind to keep in effective check the powers for destruction which the phenomenal scientific and technological advances of recent decades have unleashed.

Civilization is forging ahead; culture is limping behind.

The cords linking them threaten to snap, and the abyss yawns to devour them both. Material progress is ever faster outpacing moral regeneration, and our control over the outer world of Nature's processes is already far in excess of our control over the inner world of frenzy, fanaticism and unbridled lusts. Science is marching ahead with a deafening blare of trumpets, but the chords of authentic humanism are, alas, unheard, and attempts are not wanting to silence them altogether.

The scientific and technological revolution has doubtless achieved much. The landscape has been altered in many places almost beyond recognition. Our habits too have suffered a singular change. The abnormal has become normal, and artificiality has acquired an easy naturalness of its own. Horror and fascination now-a-days keep close company. How wonderful that one should be able to fly like the birds of the air—indeed, faster, faster—and how amazing that one could hear the music and news of the world from one's snug room in an obscure village! The marvels of modern medicine and surgery need no recapitulation. Civilization is a going concern; yet we know all the time that horror lurks just round the corner. Large-scale sabotage is easy; global destruction would be quick and the human material is cheap.

With the arts of life, the arts of death too have perfected themselves.

How has this Death-in-Life phenomenon come to be? Why are we gripped by the fear of darkness at the very

moment of the noon-bright glory of the sun? May it be because the whole current of civilization is canalized along wrong lines? Is not *waste* the key-word of the atomic age? Is not industry pampering the weak, the vicious, the vainglorious? Are we not living on the capital accumulated by the earth in the course of ages? Are we not suicidally using up coal, oil and the mineral and forest wealth with no thought for the morrow? Are we not even criminally wasting our resources, producing either vain toys or instruments of destruction? Improvident, pugnacious, intoxicated with a false sense of power and security, mankind would appear to be racing down the steep path to Annihilation.

The technological revolution, if it is not to prove a Frankenstein consuming its creator, has to be followed by another, a revolution in the mind and soul of man. Reason should return to our life-ways, and our present notions about the 'standard' of living should give place to healthy ideas regarding the meaning and method of life. We need not, of course, like the Erewhonians, repudiate science and its achievements altogether; but the real benefits of science can be rationally distributed, wastefulness eschewed and the emphasis laid everywhere on life rather than on death.

Civilization can be saved if man can be saved.

And man can save himself by undergoing a spiritual revolution and releasing its energies for the remaking of the world.

Food, clothing, a roof over our heads, order and good behaviour—these we need, no doubt; but no less do we need beauty and love, right aspiration and golden hours of enchantment and of ecstasy. Music and the dance, poetry and the drama, philosophy and religion, sport and healthy disputation, these are the roses of life, finely scented, beautifully tinted. Life is for living; and for man life is for living well, fruitfully, purposefully. To give the individual freedom to create values is to ensure the conditions under which the Good Life can achieve a natural and full efflorescence. To strait-jacket the individual is to seal up the fountains of the spirit.

Liberty and freedom, like civilization and culture, are terms often loosely used, but here again it would be wise to differentiate between intellectual and spiritual freedom on the one hand and political and economic liberty on the other. A nation may have gained political liberty and may have achieved independence in the economic sphere; and yet, as in Russia today, the people may enjoy little freedom in the personal, spiritual sense. Freedom is the source of all good, and, where freedom is valued and exercised, political slavery and economic inequality cannot long prevail. On the other hand, mere national independence without individual freedom is sure at last to bring about an armour-plated, police-run, totalitarian state sans light, sans hope, sans all that makes life worth living.

Today governments of whatever description—some with greater success, others with less, some aggressively, others apologetically—are trying to secure and exercise wide powers. This is, of course, especially true of the Soviet Leviathan today, as it was terribly true of Nazi Germany and of Mussolini's Italy. But, indeed, it is difficult for

any modern state to resist the temptation to play Leviathan, with or without disguise. Planning and controls are the order of the day. Men are to be rendered wise and moral and studious and temperate through legislation and bureaucratic omniscience.

The individual and society—are basic; the state is but an offshoot, properly a helper and a servant, not a tyrannical master.

"The end of the state's compulsion," says Lord Lindsay, "is to give room for the kind of freedom and liberty which are possible only in social life." A state has the broad duty to ensure that law and order are maintained, and that goods are produced adequately and distributed equitably. But the hierarchies of power and labour need to be reared on the foundations of justice and good-fellowship.

Again and again, when night has seemed unending, when the caicer of Evil Triumphant has seemed incapable of arrest, when the human race's power of revival seemed near extinction, great individuals—poets, mystics, philosophers, apostles, messiahs—have arisen, felt the failing pulse of civilization, withdrawn for a while into themselves to discover the key to regeneration, and, presently returning to the world, have taught the way to a new life of hope and aspiration and fresh achievement.

Bergson refers to those "privileged souls who have felt themselves related to all souls and... have addressed themselves to humanity in general in an *elan* of love. The apparition of each of these souls has been like the creation of a new species composed of one unique individual."

These privileged souls are the salt of the earth, and no human agency can foretell where or when they will

make their appearance. Poetry and music, philosophy and prophecy cannot be made to order. A Christ, a Buddha, a Sankara, an Aurobindo, cannot be discovered by Public Service Commissions, and Working Parties cannot concoct the *Agamemnon* or *Sakuntala*, or *Hamlet*.

The bureaucrat may be efficient in his way, but the heights are not for him, he cannot see or reach them and it is but natural that in his blindness he should deny their very existence.

Christ said: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." The exhortation is pertinent in the present context. The average politician's pretensions are boundless, and the politician in power is only too ready to demand both the things which are Cæsar's and those that are God's. Monopolist tyranny—as in the totalitarian countries—however it may have come into existence, soon degenerates into a monopoly of wrong, greed, cruelty and oppression. Both ends and means suffer a violent twist. Education becomes a means of perverting the human personality. Culture becomes a Department of State. The arts are mass-produced, and genius is regimented. The nightmare Death-in-Life commences in dead earnest.

Lest such a fate overtake mankind—and this is by no means a chimerical fear—we shall do well to watch the portents and firmly refuse to acquiesce in the suppression of intellectual and spiritual freedom. The individual holds the key to our future destiny. He has carried the torch of culture down the ages, and in his hands it still burns with a steady glow. Nay, more, by achieving, in the fullness of time, individual transformation, he may open wide the doors of Possibility to the race as a whole. "The creative personality," says Toynbee, "is impelled to transfigure his fellow-men into fellow creators by recreating them in his own image."

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The Ideal of Liberty

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

Every individual facing life is gifted with certain powers of body and mind. It is of vital importance to himself and the community that he be given full facility to develop his powers and to advance towards a consummation which he considers to be the goal of life. Freedom is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Man wants freedom to act, think, and express himself in order to achieve something he considers necessary and valuable for his progress which he undoubtedly desires. When man is under subjection he suffers materially, morally, and spiritually. Liberty rightly conceived and expressed in the individual's life makes for the security and happiness of all. Armies may fail, governments may collapse, but the Eternal Spirit of Freedom inherent in man's soul is unassailable. To the man who has attained to that state of supreme spiritual freedom where no honour or riches tempt him where no success elates him and no failure depresses him, develops a spirit of equanimity, sagacity, and fearlessness which express the true ideal of liberty. 'He obtains self-rule' (*apnoti svarajyam*) (*Taittiriya Upanisad*, I. vi. 2).

In India we have the great heritage of the Sanatana Dharma which has given our national life its indomitable spiritual power and vitality. Dharma expresses the ideal of liberty, both for the individual citizen and the State. nay, it expresses much more. It suggests law duty, righteousness, and religion. A truer understanding and practice of Dharma is the great need of the present day. That alone can set at naught the constant clash that is seen to occur between the sense of rights and privileges and the sense of duties and responsibilities. The *Bhagavad Gita*, the greatest epitome of liberty and freedom for Man says that it is better to pursue one's own duty, however imperfect, than to imitate another's, however perfect it may appear lest there should be conflict and competition, consequently delaying the progress of all. Sri Krishna, who gave to humanity the greatest charter of liberty, says that the faithful performance of individual duty paves the way for the realization of the highest universal Dharma, which is the realization of complete freedom.

Oil Dilemma—Iranian Crisis

P. N. Kaul observes in *Careers and Courses* :

In order to understand the oil dispute, it is imperative one does not ignore the very history of Persia's Oil Industry. It was at the turn of the century, an Englishman named, William K. D'Arcy, who had made a fortune in Australia, got convinced that there was oil in the barren hills and plains of Iran. Accordingly, in 1901 he obtained a 50-year concession in return of \$20,000 and a profit of 16 per cent, and formed a concern which later came to be known as Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. It was not until 1908, when, D'Arcy had nearly run out of money, that his company brought in the first gusher in the great oil-field of Masjid-i-Sulaiman. Last year's production of 35,556,000 tons of crude oil (all figures in net tons) was carried in 1718 miles of pipe-line to Abadan—the largest refinery in the world. In 1950 the output of the refinery was 27,000,000 tons. The Company owns 142 tankers plus 38 under construction, and markets the oil through its own distribution organisation. Anglo-Iranian Company holds a 23½ per cent share in the Iraq Petroleum Company and a 50 per cent share in the Kuwait Oil Company—located below Iran on the Persian Gulf. The Anglo-Iranian Company has refineries in Britain, France, Germany, Israel and Australia.

The Company's value is now variously estimated at \$6,00,000,000 to \$1,00,000,000. In 1932 the Iranians tried to cancel the concession, complaining that they were not receiving big enough royalties. In 1933 Iran gave the Oil Company another 60-year concession, under which it got a greatly increased and regular share of the profits. This share was further upped by 1949 supplementary agreement which Iran refused to ratify, although it has taken the first instalment of the \$80,000,000 it would receive in 1951 under this new arrangement.

Iran with a population of 65 lakhs spread over an area of 6,28,000 square miles (1 lakh square miles being under A.I.O.C. control), like other Asian countries is a very backward country; only 5 per cent of so vast an area is under cultivation. Oil is the only main source of national income. It is estimated Iran possesses 85½ crore tons of oil of which three crore tons are produced every year, meaning thereby that the present oil wealth will last for thirty years. Another estimate puts it at 128,440 lakh barrels, out of which 2420 lakh barrels are produced every year, meaning thereby that the present stocks will go on till 53 years. The living standard of Iranians is disappointingly low. According to the findings of the United Nations the figures are :

Country	Income per head in '49 in American Dollars
1. Iran	.. 85
2. Saudi Arabia	.. 40
3. Iraq	.. 85
4. Egypt and Syria	.. 100
5. U.S.A.	.. 1453
6. U.K.	.. 773

NAKED EXPLOITATION

Iran presents yet another instance of imperialist's naked exploitation. Although the Anglo-Iranian Company



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has put forward the claim that they have, side by side, been trying their best to raise the living standard of Iranians and that in 1950, they spent 96.6 per cent of the total yield by way of customs, excise, royalties, capital expenditure, stores and materials, salaries, medical and public health, in Iran itself, yet the fact remains that the Iranians are the worst victims of their unabashed and criminal exploitation. It will not mean an exaggeration to say that the Company have from the very start tried to extract every drop of blood from Iran's national wealth. They have all along been aiming—and successfully too—to strengthen their hold on Iran. Accordingly, in 1914 Winston Churchill, as the First Lord of Admiralty, started taking interest in the Company. In order that British Imperialism got its position deep-rooted in the Middle East, he advised the British Government to purchase as many shares of the Company as could achieve for her a dominating position. With the passing of years the production of oil also increased, thus adding to the profits of the share holders of the Company. In 1913, the Company produced 81,000 tons of the oil, in 1938, it went up to 1,000,000 tons and in 1950 to 30,000,000 tons. But the much exploited Iran got a nominal profit of 4 shillings per ton. For the past three years the Company earned a net profit of £1,42,000,000. It will be interesting to note that the Company have been paying many times more the income-tax to the British Government than the royalties paid to the Persian Government. This evident humiliating exploitation is aptly borne out by *Daily Compass*. "The cost of oil produced every year by the Britishers," writes the paper, "is hundred times more than Iran's present national income and ten thousand times more than the total income of Iranian labour." The most disappointing thing, in the words of the paper is that "around the very oil fields of Iran live lakhs of naked poverty-stricken, starving and diseased Iranian labourers." Only recently a member of the *Iranian Majlis* (Parliament) after his tour of Khuzistan which is directly under the jurisdiction of the Company revealed: "Not very long ago the population of Dashtistan—which is a part of the province—was 20,000 which is now reduced to 8,000. Owing to difficult living conditions the population of this part has come down to 50 per cent. Ninety five per cent of the population is suffering from eye diseases. Electricity, water taps, telephones are nowhere visible. . . . There is a network of Company's secret service agents and the poor Iranians have yet to know what freedom means."

CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

With this background it should not be difficult to determine the justification of Iran's decision to nationalize the Oil Industry. Of late, the British Government too have recognized the principle of Iran's right to nationalizing the Oil Industry. But the crux of the problem is: Has Iran the right to nationalize the oil plant together with the nationalization of the Industry? The British Government as also the A.I.O.C. hold that Iran has no right, whatsoever, to break the 1933 agreement unless the

International Court of Justice permits her to do so. They also hold that under article 21 of the agreement, the Persian Government cannot cancel the agreement through any legislation of her own. On the other hand Persian Government hold that they have every right to nationalize the Industry. That is why she has outright rejected the decision of the Hague Court. Iranians also hold that 1933 agreement was, to some extent, the direct result of the pressure the British Government and A.I.O.C. brought upon them.

Whatever the legal position and whether it will be economically feasible, the nationalization of the A.I.O.C. is a foregone conclusion. Iran is adamant on her decision and knows full well that only through a military action can Britain make her retrace the step. And we know that Britain cannot afford any military action. If she does she will be provoking the Russians to cross into Iran according to Russo-Iranian agreement of 1921. Not only that, military intervention on the part of Britain, or any other country for that matter, means the beginning of world-wide conflagration, which will provoke all the Arab countries resulting in the total stoppage of oil production and supplies from Middle East.

THE SOLUTION

At the same time talking too much in terms of legal validity of the problem also will not deliver goods. This has clearly been demonstrated by Iran's outright rejection of the Hague Court's decision. This has incidentally, done an irreparable loss to her authority. The only solution that presents itself to every sane thinking person is moderation and peaceful surrender on the part of the Britishers.

Even now it is not too late to make amends and offer such an agreement to the Iranians which would satisfy them, their economic conditions and over and above all, their national feelings and honour.

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Men and Machines

The following is a summary of the opening address, as published in *Science and Culture*, by Sir Ben Lockspeiser, Secretary of the D.S.I.R., Great Britain, to the Ergonomics Research Society Symposium held on April 18, 1951 at the University of Birmingham :

We can no longer afford to leave the human operator to get along with his machine as best he can. Scientists want the help of the men and women who use machines, such as lathe operators, mill hands, lorry drivers, and aircraft pilots or signalmen, for there is an intimate connection between the machine and the person who uses it. The study of this relationship between man and his working environment is Ergonomics.

Take our machines from us and most of us would starve, whilst the rest would eke out an existence on a level of comfort and amenity that few would willingly accept. Civilisation, on its material side, is thus largely a matter of tools and machines. This dependence on machines has given man a large measure of dominance over his environment but not without cost. In mind and body he has been subjected to the stresses and strains deriving inevitably from the way he has chosen to live. These consequences were perhaps unforeseeable and were for a long time either unrecognised or dismissed as of little account. But we are becoming increasingly concerned with them, and very properly so, because there is so much lee-way to make up. Relatively speaking, we know so much about how machines work and so little about how the mind and body work. This is not surprising, for we design the machines ourselves, and they are more amenable to measurement in operation than are the characteristics and behaviour of human beings. Yet there is an intimate connection between the machine and the person who uses it. "The machines of the engineer are becoming more and more complicated, with a corresponding tendency to become more difficult to control."

Gathered here we have scientists from a wide range of disciplines—*anatomists, physiologists and psychologists* from the biological field, together with engineers, physicists, architects and those interested in production and management. All have a common interest in the study and avoidance of those strains to which the human organism is exposed in mind and body in the environment created by the engineer.

It is one of the misfortunes of science that it becomes burdened with so much jargon.

Necessary though it may be for scientists to understand each other, it has the unfortunate effect of frightening the layman. This is always a pity, but the more so in our case because we want to enlist the help of large numbers of people who are not scientists. It would be much better off if more were known about the business of doing more work with less effort. These problems come within our everyday experience whether it is the design of a door-handle to make it easy to open, whether our hands are empty or full, or the marking of the dials on an electricity meter to make it easy to read and to reduce the number of mistakes made in reading it. I note that one of your distinguished Honorary members is Professor Le Gros Clark of Oxford University, and it may well be that if he looked into the ergonomics of rowing we might look forward to an Oxford Boat Race victory in the near future.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to give the impression that, by giving the name of ergonomics to the study of the relation between man and his work environment, a

new science has been invented. Rather it is, that approach to the practical problems in this field has, until quite recently, been largely of an empirical character. Of the many problems thrown up during the war by the Fighting Services, one with which I was personally in touch arose in the course of design of the gyrogunsight for aircraft. This was designed and developed by a small group of engineers at Farnborough, who between them met and overcame a range of problems, most of them purely mechanical. One, however, was particularly linked with the human characteristics of the person using the gunsight, and was a problem of stability. The designers found that if the aircraft suffered a sudden disturbance, such as a bump, which threw the gunsight graticule off the target, the bump also disturbed the person using the gunsight causing him to over-correct for the disturbance. This led to "hunting" and was overcome by arranging that if the gunsight were "thrown off" the target by a sudden movement, the graticule was moved through a third of the angle of the sudden movement, to follow the target. This solution was found by trial and error.

No doubt empiricism will be with us for some time yet, but the more basic knowledge we have at our disposal, that is to say, the more informed our empiricism, the better.

This is not to say, however, that progress in the design of machinery is haphazard or without proper direction. Indeed it is much to the credit of the design engineer that he has, in the past, achieved so much with so little guidance from the biologist and with so little basic training himself in human anatomy, physiology and psychology. This brings us to the heart of our problem. What are the criteria by which a successful machine design is to be judged? It would appear that the engineer in the past has tended to rely too much on measures of engineering efficiency expressed as a ratio of work output to input. This has led to too exclusive an attention being paid to the reduction of the physical effort necessary by the operative. It is too readily believed that any equipment which reduces the physical effort of the operative, inevitably increases output and reduces fatigue. But in these matters of human activity at work, regard must be had to the whole man and particularly to the integrated action of the sensorimotor system. The reduction of the load placed on the motor system (*i.e.*, the reduction of muscular effort) has very often involved an increase in the load imposed on the sensory side. The operative is required to pay increasing attention to dials, indicators and controls, to an extent that is liable to overload the sensory

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side of the nervous system or call for excessively intricate co-ordination of sensory and motor functions. Such a state of affairs, quite as much as sheer muscular effort, induces what is commonly called fatigue—a condition of which there is little scientific understanding but which must clearly involve both psychological and physiological components.

One type of approach, through time and motion study, and the layout and management of factories, is made with the object of making the best use of such machines as we have. Ergonomics looks farther. It seeks to influence machine design and, although our knowledge of the fundamental biological problems involved is far from complete, enough is known to justify the introduction of biological considerations as a distinctive contribution to machine design. It is not much use, however, to bring the biologist into the problem when machinery and equipment have reached the stages of production and use. At the best he can then only reach a compromise by suggesting minor alterations in layout or operational routine. At the worst he may recommend scrapping it and re-designing. Clearly, the time when his advice should be sought is at the earliest stages of preliminary design, prototyping and field trial, when, if necessary, radical changes of design are economically possible.

Although the original interest in the field of ergonomics arose chiefly in relation to Service needs the Ergonomics Research Society has

been quick to realise its applications to the needs of civilian life.

There are obvious features in common between the task of the operator watching a wartime radar display for "breaks" in the trace and the task of the operative in a cotton spinning-shed watching for breaks in the thread. This emphasis is the more welcome because of the special concern which the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research holds for scientific research and its application to civilian ends, both through the Department's own Research Stations and through the Industrial Research Associations which come under the aegis of the Department. We have recently been reviewing the extent to which the Research Stations and Research Associations are at present concerned with research within the "human factor" field; and it has been interesting to see the degree to which some of the Research Stations and the Research Associations, in providing a scientific service for their respective industries have been led by the needs of the day into the "human factor" field. I have noted, too, that these interests are best developed in that section of the field which lies within the scope of ergonomics. Concluding, Sir Ben said: "I look forward to the Ergonomics Research Society playing, in the years to come, an important part in industrial research aimed, primarily, at the comfort and well-being of people engaged in their daily work."



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

American Literature

The following article on American Literature written by Henry Seidal Canby, appearing in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, is reproduced from an issue of the United States Information Service "Feature":

The literary history of the United States began when the first settler from abroad of sensitive mind paused in his adventure long enough to feel that he was under a different sky, breathing new air, and that a New World was all before him with only his strength and Providence for guides. With him began a new emphasis upon an old theme in literature, the theme of cutting loose and faring forth, renewed, under the powerful influence of a fresh continent for civilized man. It has provided, ever since those first days, a strong current in American native literature, whose other flow has come from a nostalgia for the rich culture of Europe which was left behind. Writers in the first three centuries of New World history were more often purveyors of this nostalgia than recorders of the new warmth of the American imagination knndling in novel scenes. They believed that their mission was to be importers and middle-men for America of this European culture. The first historians of American literature wrote of it as if they were describing English flowers and trees transplanted into a new environment. It was the approach of teachers, critics, and historians in general until the 1920's. From the academic point of view, American literature was simply a hoped-for extension of the great literature of the English-speaking peoples. A history of American literature exclusively in terms of democracy or the frontier is as false as is a history of American writing as a colonial extension. There is an inevitable blending of elements in American culture whether it be in a newspaper editorial or in a poem of Whitman's.

Obviously, American literature is a *transported* European culture, bringing with it the richness of its sources in the classic world, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. Its roots reach down into British literature which itself has absorbed so long and so much. Yet American literature is a *transformed* literary culture. . . . Slowly, yet inevitably, it has found its own accent, as has American speech. The divergence has been much greater than between American and British habits in the use of the English language, because literature is speech made expressive of values. The values, the expectations, the experience of life in America have been different from the beginning.

Whether we call it progress or change or development, increasing power and vitality are extraordinarily characteristic of the American 19th century. Never in history has nature been so rapidly and so extensively altered by the efforts of man in so brief a time. Never has conquest resulted in a more vigorous development of initiative, individualism, self-reliance, and demands for freedom. Never have the defects which preceded and accompanied this conquest of nature led to more surprising frustration, decadence, sterility, and dull standardization.

All this is in American literature, and the causes of both the successes and the failures are implicit, and often explicit, in early American books. James Fenimore Cooper, for Americans, is more significant than Sir Walter Scott, although it is only rarely that he equals him as a novelist. Herman Melville and Walt Whitman mean more to the American and are more revealing than the English writers, Thackeray and Wordsworth, although the English writers may have more often mastered their themes.

The objective of a history of American literature must be to record and explain the great men and women who have made this culture speak to the imagination. Literature can be used, and has been magnificently used by Americans, in the service of history, of science, of religion, or of political propaganda. . . . A history must focus within the margins of art, but the historian must cross them to follow the writers into the actualities of American life.

Inside these margins are so many notable writers that the emphasis must inevitably fall upon men rather than upon movements and institutions although these must not be neglected. There is available for discussion the enlightened common sense of Benjamin Franklin, the first to make a modernizing Europe feel that there was a still more modern America. There are the astonishing intellects of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson arguing great causes in letters and documents, which became the political classics of their times. We have the communicable fire of Thomas Paine, the most effective propagandist of modern times. In the youth of the nation, the art of style was mastered by Washington Irving, suave in a tumultuous Commonwealth. In the same decades, the equally great art of story-telling was enriched by James Fenimore Cooper who added to the sagas of the world the heroic myth of Red Indian and pioneer. . . . There is the somber beauty of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the moral romancer of Puritanism; the fierce humor of Henry Thoreau's individualism; the shrewd saintliness of Ralph Waldo Emerson who spiritualized expansion; the soul-plunging adventures of Herman Melville's imagination; the prophetic Walt Whitman, seeking and finding new rhythms in which to sing democracy and the future of

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the Common Man. There are historians who were also men of letters, and statesmen like Abraham Lincoln who could say the word which makes aspiration articulate. There was Henry James, looking both ways across the sea from an 'Atlantis' of his own creating; and Emily Dickinson, who saw eternity through the windows of Amherst; and Mark Twain tasting the bitterness of uncharted freedom while he told tall tales of an expanding America. There was Henry Adams, one of the great mind-searchers of our age.....

After the Revolutionary War, and the establishing of independence, itself a modifying influence of tremendous force, the wall of the mountains was breached in a dozen places, and waves from the seaboard pool, and new waves from across the sea, swept into the Mississippi Valley and on toward the Western mountains and the Pacific. Here, in this vast frontier, the Colonial culture of the East and, later, the powerful literatures of what was now an old New England and a mature East and South, were fertilized by pioneer experience dynamized and transformed by the needs and new imagination of a people no longer European. Sectional literature became national literature. And while new ideas from abroad were continually absorbed, currents typically American in their influences began to roll back toward Europe and the rest of the world, a process of reversal that had begun with Cooper and Emerson in the early 19th century. By the 20th century and especially after its first World War, the United States was no longer a New World. Culture was now not immigrant except on a basis of equal exchange.

Thus American literature differs from all the modern literatures of Europe in that it is consistently dual in the sources of its inspiration and its themes. It has a quality which will presumably be characteristic of the literature of the future in a world more mobile and yet more integrated.

Sweeping the Cobwebs out of Our Museums

Georges Fradier writes in *Unesco Courier* :

A town I know is proud of its schools, colleges and teachers' training institutions. Yet in its museum, which should be such an important part of the educational system, it takes little pride. Housed in a dark and unattractive-looking building, the museum is open to the public twice a week, yet most people use it as a means of passing dull Sunday afternoons in winter.

The museum does not lack exhibits; on the contrary, it overflows with masterpieces representing three centuries of craftsmanship, a fine natural history collection bequeathed by an old scholar, African and Chinese art treasures brought back by an explorer of former times, and canvases and drawings by 17th and 18th century masters—all mixed up in dusty rooms, inaccessible and useless.

Meanwhile, in the schools and colleges, teachers wish they could show their pupils real works of art, masks, vases and authentic ivories; they would like to have samples of rock for the geology lectures, stone tools for history lessons. All these things are to be found in the local museum—along with many other treasures—but the teachers will perhaps never know this.

Thousands of towns, although provided with museums, are yet deprived of them in this way, for those which aim to attract the public are still rare, except possibly in the United States.

It is true that hardly a hundred years ago even the most famous museums were content simply to amass and then jealously guard treasures from all lands, but they have since made enormous progress as science in general has come to realize its social responsibilities.

Only the most modern, in certain large cities have,

however, managed to adapt themselves to perform a truly educational mission among people of all ages and cultures.

ALL CAN HELP

A Paris professor has declared that he would not know how "to give his pupils a satisfactory cultural background with an insight into the lessons of the past supplemented by a proper technical education," without taking them on carefully-prepared visits to art, science and history museums.

"Let us hope for an increase in the number of museums like the Palais de la Decouverte, the Musée de l'Homme and the Musée des Colonies," he says. "These, in my opinion, represent the prototype of the modern museums."

All museums, no matter what their origins or specialties, can serve education and collaborate more and more actively with schools. Those who run them are no longer simply "curators" and they would undoubtedly agree with one of their predecessors, Sir Henry Cole, who wrote what in 1874 was then a bold statement :

"If you wish your schools of science and art to be effective, your health, the air, and your food to be wholesome, your life to be long, your manufactures to improve, and your people to be civilized, you must have museums of science and art to illustrate the principles of life, health, nature, science, art and beauty." Such museums must indeed be set up, and luckily the models exist.

The Paris professor referred to above picked out as his preference among the "prototypes" the Palais de la Decouverte. This was founded in 1937, and has become one of the world's finest examples in scientific museology.

All who visit the Palais do not come out with a bent for astronomy or medicine. But in the words of the well-known scientist Louis de Broglie: "School-children and students find magnificently real and living illustrations of what they have learned in their books and lessons."

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He adds: "It may be that when a young man comes to realize the beauty of science and its role in the future of man, he will decide to concentrate his efforts and perhaps his whole life to it." Numerous school-teachers have declared that apparently mediocre classes are amazingly transformed after a few visits to the Palais de la Decouverte.

AN INTERNATIONAL PLAN

It was in the Palais—or at least in the office of M. Andre Leveille, its director—that the "Museums Crusade" was started. A preliminary meeting of teachers had recognized that the ideas and methods used in his museum should be made available to all France's schools and colleges and that a plan to enable all museums to participate actively in educational programmes be drawn up.

But this is not meant only for France. From the beginning, the leaders of the Crusade conceived it as an international one; and, with this aim in mind, they approached Unesco.

As a result the American Museums Association is undertaking the same programme as the Paris museums. Its leaders are soon to meet some of their European colleagues to study the best ways to reach their common goal—the widest collaboration between museums and schools.

In the Netherlands, the Ministry of Education has ordered a special commission to study how museum resources can be put more fully at the disposal of youth and the people generally. These meetings, inquiries and studies are being followed closely by Unesco.

Meanwhile, the Crusade is gathering momentum. Unesco hopes soon to bring together at an international seminar, museum experts, educators, artists and scientists who can help extend this scheme to many other countries.

It is thanks to such a crusade that the most humble museums, as well as the richest, can render the service they owe to the community.

No longer will there be museums whose collections of useless brick-a-brac slowly waste away in deserted show cases. Instead, students, teachers and apprentices will go freely there at any hour of the day, alone or in groups, to find the indispensable concrete examples and tangible proofs.

Soviet Kazakhstan

N. Undasynov, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*:

In the friendly family of Soviet nations, the Kazakh people, regenerated by the Great October Revolution,

achieved unprecedented political, economic and cultural progress.

In Soviet years, Kazakhstan has developed from a backward borderland of Tsarist Russia into a republic with a powerful industry and a well-mechanized, collectivized agriculture based on large-scale farming. The share of industrial production in national economy has grown from 6.3 per cent in 1920 to 60 per cent under the pre-war Stalin Five-Year Plans.

During the Great Patriotic War, the national economy of Kazakhstan, and of the entire Soviet Union for that matter, was completely subordinated to the efforts to win victory over the German-Fascist invaders. Kazakhstan became one of the important arsenals of the U.S.S.R.

Through their selfless labours in the postwar years, the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of Soviet Kazakhstan have considerably advanced the progress of national economy in their republic.

Industrial output has nearly doubled as compared with the prewar year of 1940. Outstanding success has been achieved by the coal-mining and metallurgical workers of the republic who exceeded the Five-Year Plan provisions for the production of coal, steel and copper. Good work was also done by the electrical workers who fulfilled the five-year programme for electric power production in three years.

The five-year production plans were also completed ahead of schedule by many enterprises of the light and food industries. There has been a considerable increase in the production of general consumer goods in the republic. At the end of 1950 the production of woollen fabrics increased to 2.5 times the 1915 volume, the production of shoes was doubled, there was a fivefold increase in the production of hosiery, a 3.3fold increase in the output of confectionary products, a 3.2-fold increase in the output of vegetable oil and a threefold increase in the sugar production.

Soviet Kazakhstan is a republic with an advanced Socialist agriculture. Thanks to the solicitude of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government the collective and state farms of the republic attained noteworthy success under the postwar Five-Year Plan. The cultivated areas and the yields of the principal crops have increased far in excess of the corresponding Five-Year Plan provisions.

The efficiency of agriculture has been raised during the postwar Five-Year Plan period and the organization of labour has been improved in the collective farms. A bumper crop was harvested by the collective and state farms of Kazakhstan in 1950. The republic fulfilled the state grain deliveries ahead of the scheduled date and supplied the state with 45 million goods more cereals

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than in the prewar year of 1940. The collective farmers have been generously rewarded for their selfless labour. Many collective farms distributed as much as 5-10 kg. of cereals, large quantities of vegetables and potatoes per workday unit, apart from cash payments.

Kazakhstan's agriculture is well provided with up-to-date machinery and fertilizers. Thousands of specialists with a high school and college training are employed in the state and collective farms. The achievements of the Michurin Agrobiology and advanced practical experience are applied in farming. The extent to which field work has been mechanized on the farms may be illustrated by the following figures: in 1950 the machine and tractor stations performed 70 per cent of the sowing, 84 per cent of the grain harvesting and 94 of the fallow ploughing in the collective farm fields.

The amalgamation of the small collective farms opens still greater prospects for the advancement of collectivized agriculture. By January 1, 1951 more than 4,500 small agricultural artels pooled their resources, uniting into 1,670 big collective farms. These are truly powerful farms which have great prospects before them.

The realization of the Stalin plan for remaking nature will bring still greater progress to agriculture in Kazakhstan. Work is now under way in Western-Kazakhstan and Guryev regions on the Ura river, on the creation of a more than 1,000 km. long state shelter zone extending from Mt. Vishnevaya to the Caspian shore. New canals are being built in the Kzyl-Orda and South-Kazakhstan regions. Great changes will be brought about by the Main Stalingrad Canal whose route lies largely through the steppes of Kazakhstan. 10-12 million

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Kazakhstan is rightfully considered the most important livestock breeding centre in the East of the U.S.S.R. Livestock farming is now based on scientific methods and advanced practice, and extensive use of machinery. The first livestock farming machine stations have been set up in the republic and their number is constantly growing. As compared with 1945, the collective farms of the republic increased their common herds of dairy cattle by 47 per cent, the number of horses by 91 per cent, the flocks of sheep and goats have been doubled, and the number of pigs has grown fourfold. The state farms of the Ministry of State Farms of the Kazakh SSR, have achieved a 47 per cent increase in dairy stock, a 77 per cent increase in the sheep and goat flocks, a 94 per cent increase in the number of horses and a three-fold increase in the number of pigs.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government have taken all the necessary steps to promote the uninterrupted development of livestock farming in Kazakhstan. The great task set to the republic is that of achieving within the next five years a double increase in stock and a 3-4 fold rise in its marketable production.

Steps have been taken to effect a considerable increase in the number of scientific research institutions, and of the schools for training animal husbandry specialists. There will be an additional number of experimental research stations, a second animal husbandry and veterinary institute and a number of animal husbandry schools, hydro-technical and mechanization schools. The extensive use of up-to-date machinery and the creation of a stable fodder base in all the districts will make it possible to solve in a new way the pasture problem, and to transfer the cattle to a ranch and semi-ranch system.

The postwar Stalin Five-Year Plan period witnessed new remarkable achievements in science and culture. There were no more than two literate people per 100 inhabitants in Kazakhstan before the Great October Revolution. Only children of the Bais, Kulaks and merchants attended school, and there was not a single school where the native language was used, nor were there any colleges. In Soviet years Kazakhstan has developed into a republic with total literacy. About 1.5 million children are now attending the 9,000 Kazakh and Russian schools. There are 26 institutions of higher learning, 108 specialized secondary schools and thousands of young men and women of Kazakhstan are attending college in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other cities of the U.S.S.R.

The Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. was founded in 1946 and many scientific research institutes were organized. Institutes for the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture, fodder and pasture research, forestry and irrigation have been founded in the past three years under the auspices of the Kazakh branch of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Science of the U.S.S.R. alone.

Kazakh letters and arts are advancing along the highroad of progress. Fulfilling the historic decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) on questions of literature and art, the writers and art workers of Kazakhstan achieved noteworthy success. Themes showing the leading and guiding role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the characters of the Soviet leaders, the characters of ordinary people, their heroic Socialist labour, their ardent Soviet patriotism, their love of and devotion to the Motherland, to the Bolshevik Party, to J. V. Stalin, have become the principal theme in the arts.

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The success of Socialist industry, agriculture and culture brought about a great improvement in the living and cultural standards of the working people. The Soviet Government allocates tremendous funds for financing social and economic undertakings. This may be seen from the fact that the budget of the Kazakh S.S.R. alone allocated for education, health protection and other social and cultural purposes in 1950 more than 2.5 times the 1940 appropriations for the same purpose.

The most gratifying result of the postwar Five-Year Plan is the progress of the people, the advancement of their Communist consciousness and culture. The new Communist features are becoming increasingly conspicuous in the psychology of the Soviet citizens. The nationwide Socialist emulation movement, the wide initiative of the working people intended to raise labour productivity—all this characterizes the Soviet people as masters of their Socialist State concerned over its might and progress. Just as in all other parts of the U.S.S.R., the postwar Five-Year Plan period has brought to light in Kazakhstan thousands upon thousands of Stakhanovites, innovators in production and agriculture. There are in the republic more than 800 heroes of Socialist labour, innovators in production, experts in boosting the crop yields and Socialist livestock farming.

The Stalin Prize Winner Mukhtar Kaptagayev, a locomotive engineer, the distinguished miner Sakon Shakenov, the steel maker Altynbek Daribayev; the copper smelter Ulyan Koshik; the distinguished rice-grower Ibrai Zhakhbayev, a Stalin Prize Winner; the distinguished collective farmers Olga Gonazhenko, Darikha Uzhantokhova and Bitai Tatenova, all Heroes of Socialist Labour who raised world record crops of sugar beet; Heroes of Socialist Labour, Zhamal Manapbayeva and Moldakym Musraliev, expert livestock specialists, and many others have won countrywide renown by dint of their selfless labour.

The workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of Soviet Kazakhstan are successfully advancing economy and culture, helping through their peaceful constructive labour to strengthen the might of their Socialist Motherland which is advancing towards Communism. *Tass News Agency of the U.S.S.R.*

Royal Society Plans Memorial Scholarships for Lord Rutherford

Britain's famed Royal Society is seeking to establish memorial scholarships in honour of Lord Rutherford, the pioneer of nuclear physics. An appeal has been issued for subscriptions to a memorial fund which, it is hoped, will reach a total of £100,000.

The money will be used to set up Rutherford Scholarships tenable for three years, to be awarded to postgraduate students within the British Commonwealth, and a Rutherford Memorial Lecture to be delivered in New Zealand—where the great scientist was born in 1871—and elsewhere in the Commonwealth overseas. It is also proposed to arrange for the publication of his collected papers and for the collection, arrangement and binding of copies of his correspondence.

Rutherford's inspired interpretation of his observations and his genius for experiment, led to practically all we know about the structure of atoms. He developed the theory of the atom in Montreal; the final convincing proof he provided at Manchester, where he showed conclusively that an atom contains

a central nucleus which is the seat of intense electric forces.

Through his investigations of the structure of the nucleus itself, he founded in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, the modern science of nuclear physics. He always worked on problems at the limits of human knowledge, inventing and developing the methods used for observation in these new fields. His uncanny judgement and his sheer energy made him the greatest physical scientist of his age. The practical results of his work—atomic energy and its by-products—followed a lifetime of devotion to the pursuit of knowledge.

It is probable that Rutherford will be remembered equally for his great powers of inspiring others. By his personality and forceful leadership his colleagues and students were stimulated to reach heights of achievement which they could not have reached alone.

From his laboratories came many of the world's leaders of physical science to-day: all countries have felt the impact of his inspiration through the influence of scientific men trained by him. Moreover he did not confine his interest to purely academic science. For many years, as Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, he gave wise guidance to the Government in the encouragement and extension of the use of the scientific method in industry.—*Unesco Courier*

"EVERYBODY TALKS ABOUT THE WEATHER BUT NOBODY DOES ANYTHING ABOUT IT..."

This remark could be paraphrased about the subject of sex. Everybody thinks about it. Everybody realises its importance in human life and happiness, and yet so few do anything about it. But now something is being done and that in India! Dr. A. Pillay of Bombay is editing *THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SEXOLOGY* with the help of a team of editors from 21 countries. It is the only Journal of its kind in the world devoted to the study of human relations in sex and marriage. It is scientific, instructive, interesting to read.

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UNESCO's 6th General Conference

"It is for tomorrow that we are working, but tomorrow begins today." Under this emblem of urgency, the official government representatives of 59 nations will gather together in Paris from June 18 to July 12 to decide on Unesco's course of action for the months to come.

This is the sixth time that delegates will be meeting at a Unesco General Conference. But 1951 is a critical year in which threats of war call more than ever before for co-operative international effort to help construct and guard intact the living fabric of world peace.

Conscious of these pressing requirements, the Executive Board of Unesco has drawn up a new draft programme for submission to the General Conference. It is a programme conceived not in terms of Unesco's theoretical potentialities but in the light of the practical experience of trial and searching gained in recent years. It is a programme that has been scaled down to permit concentration on a number of major practical problems facing the peoples of the world today in education, science and culture. (The 1951 programme contained 294 resolutions; the new draft programme has reduced these by 50 per cent.)

Ignorance is one of the deep-lying causes of conflict and war. Lack of fundamental knowledge for living breeds poverty, disease, under-nourishment and with these despair and violence. Perhaps the boldest and most far-reaching new proposal to be placed before delegates at the 6th General Conference will be a special \$20-million 12-year project for launching a world-wide campaign against ignorance and low stan-

dards of living. It has been called "the great campaign of men against their common enemy."

Enemies of the fundamental rights of men and women must resort to oppression which ultimately results in friction and conflict. The widest of the central themes running through the proposed 1952 programme is therefore action in the service of Human Rights. Thus, for example, the conference will be asked to approve new plans first for making these rights more widely known and understood by the peoples of the world. Specific projects, too, will be considered for studying methods of reducing racial discrimination; for an agreement to lift barriers to the free movement between countries of persons travelling for educational, scientific and cultural purposes; and for promoting the effective application of free and compulsory education as set forth in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Three groups of peoples have a special claim to attention in the modern world. They are the workers, women and young people; and special efforts on their behalf dominate the proposed Unesco programme for 1952.

To take one example, the many problems of men, and women workers are the focal point of the new adult education programme. One project calls for the establishment in 1952 of an international centre for improving workers' educational methods and for training specialists in this field. The proposed centre which is to be set up in co-operation with international trade unions, will also organize courses for workers, laying special stress on understanding among peoples of the world and the necessity of international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.



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In addition, Unesco has been working on a broad programme for extending fellowship and travel opportunities for workers. In 1952 individual and group travel grants for them to study abroad are to be arranged through workers' organizations in different countries.

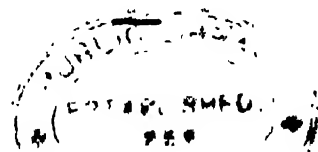
In the same way as for workers, the 1952 programme includes fellowship projects specially designed for young persons, and programmes in every department of Unesco for practical work to be done by young people, outside of school, through youth movements, voluntary work camps, science clubs, etc.

Working for the improvement of the status of women, Unesco will accentuate in 1952 ways of providing them with greater access to education and practical suggestions for the education of women everywhere for world citizenship.

The above examples are intended to convey only an idea of some of the practical themes which Unesco proposes to develop in 1952. There are of course others

which are equally important and urgent. No mention, for example, has been made of the technical assistance for economic development in which Unesco is already engaged and will continue to provide practical help to remedy inequalities of opportunity and means in education, science and culture, which today hamper under-developed countries. Mention should be made, too, of projects proposed for 1952 for increasing Unesco's campaign to teach and explain the principles of collective security and the contribution of the United Nations to peace.

In general, it can be said that in the 1952 programme to be submitted this month for approval by the General Conference, projects of academic interest have been sacrificed to those which have a direct or indirect effect upon present-day world problems and the programme has been given more practical direction throughout.—*Unesco Courier*, June 1951.



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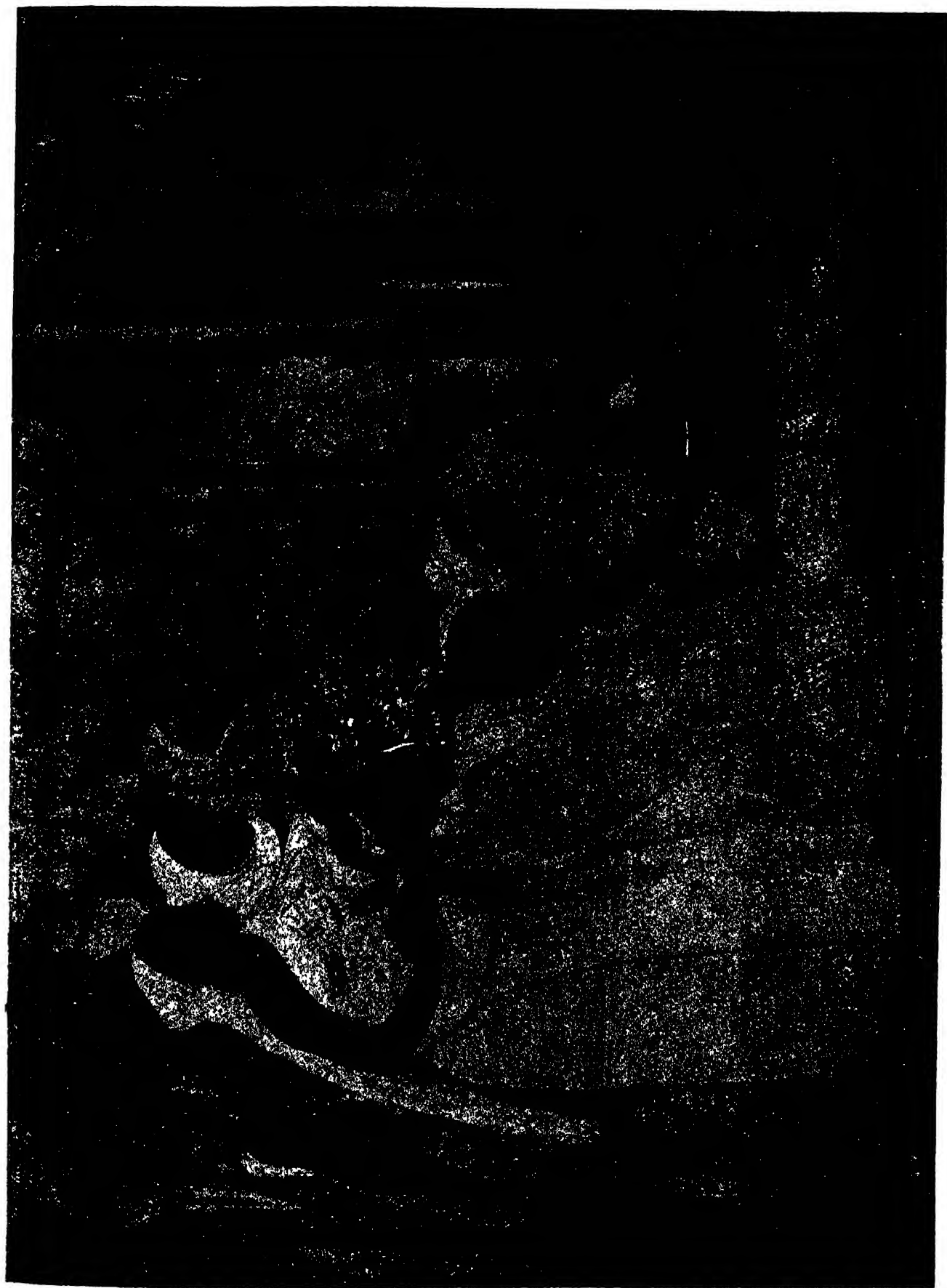
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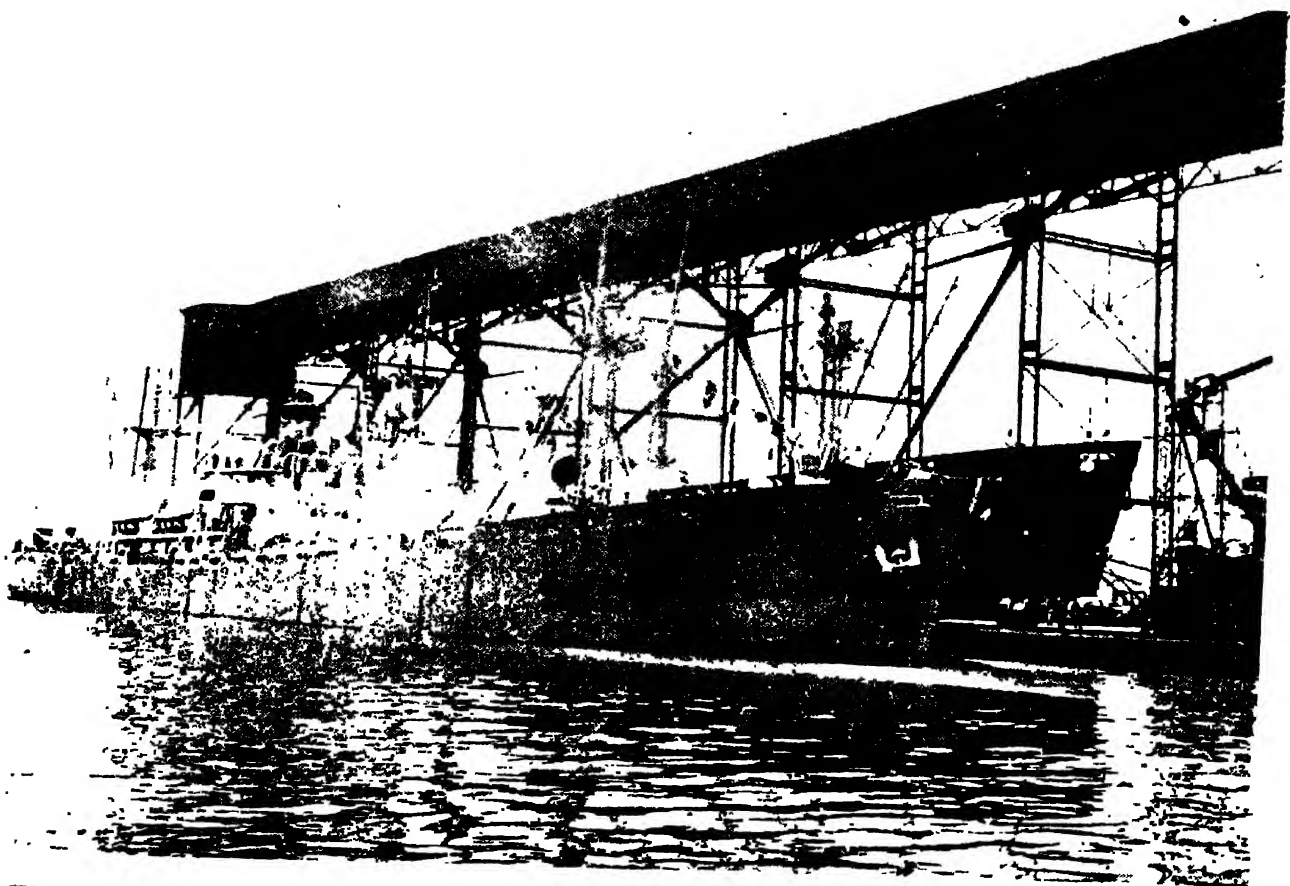
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FESTIVAL

By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at the Philadelphia dockside ceremony marking the first Emergency Food Aid to India Act shipment of American grain



The John Chester Kendall with the first shipment of 335,000 bushels of grain for India under the new American loan

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1951

Vol. LXXXX, No. 4



Whole No. 538

NOTES

Change in Congress Policy

The forthcoming elections are the main headache of the Congress High Command. How Pandit Nehru views the situation is well explained in the following news-items that are culled from the daily press:

"Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a speech at Lucknow after his election as Congress President, enunciated the change that would necessarily come in the Congress policy. His effort to bring the seceders back to the Congress-fold and to revitalise the organisation by selecting for the coming elections men of action and integrity who could fight for economic changes and a new social order marked a new and comprehensive change in policy pursued by the Congress for the past few years. It seems that the new President believes more in bringing in and increasing the number of new active and good men into the organisation rather than in a policy of purge. The new President insisted on unity inside the Congress and creating conditions for those who left the Congress to return. He said, 'that would be equal to half the victory at the polls.'

The Congress President, Pandit Nehru, asked members of the U. P. State Congress committee to select men of integrity and ability for the State legislatures and Parliament. He said that the legislators should be men of ability because they were expected to do some work and not merely to raise their hands according to the Party whip. But he declared, amidst thunderous applause from the thousands of visitors present in the hall, above everything else honesty should be the criterion of their selection. He opined

that public servants should not only be honest but they should have the reputation of being honest.

Continuing, the Congress President said that the other criterion for the selection of Congress candidates should be their acceptance of the economic programme of the Congress and its approach to the communal question. He warned them that with the Congress coming to power, some opportunists who were formerly opposed to the Congress and even some anti-social elements were trying to join it. They should take into consideration the past of the candidates they selected.

Pandit Nehru said that for him election was not the main issue: It was only a side issue. He wanted to revitalise the Congress and restore the confidence of the people in the Congress. The selection of good candidates would restore the confidence of the people in the Congress and give the Congressmen self-confidence, the lack of which was one of the reasons of the state of affairs that now prevailed in the organisation.

The Congress President said that he was keen on strengthening the Congress, because the Congress had still a role to play in the country, and a vital role. Had there been no Congress today it would have become necessary to build an organisation like that to solve the problems that faced the country at the moment.

He was pained to see that the Congress was becoming an organisation where people did not act, did not even believe, in the resolutions that they passed. In this connection he referred to the case of Sri D. P. Mishra. He added that whatever happened to the Congress was going to affect the destiny of the country as a whole.

Referring once again to the seceders from the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that some of them wanted to come back while others were indecisive. But they should always keep their doors open and be prepared to welcome them warmly, so that they could come back with honour."

As we gather from the above, Pandit Nehru has confused the issues. It is one thing to bring in "new active and good men," and another matter altogether to bring back those who left the Congress. He has declared "above everything else *honesty should be the criterion of their selection.*" We would ask as to how the honest men could be persuaded to join the ranks of the Congress unless they were sure that a distinction will be made as between them and the dishonest ones who crowd the ranks of the Congress, and who are actively trying to keep them out? Secondly, this affair of the "Prodigal Sons" who left the Congress and are now being welcomed back with open arms. We know and the public knows—indeed Pandit Nehru seems to be the only one that does not know—that a large number of unscrupulous political adventurers, who are adept weather-cocks, are now hurrying to make terms with the Congress for nominations, making that a condition precedent of their return to the fold. We know of notorious political adventurers who are now being backed by Pandit Nehru on that count alone. Unless Pandit Nehru shows discrimination in this matter all his efforts, and all his promises to the country, will end in futility.

The new Congress Executive nominated by him brings in a small infusion of fresh blood as is given in the following news-item:

"Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, has nominated the following members to the Working Committee: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sri Purushottam Das Tandon, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Sri Morarji Desai, Sri Kamraj Nadar, Sri Shankarrao Deo, Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddi, Sri Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, Sri Pratap Singh Kairon, Sri B. S. Hiray, Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Sri Manikyalal Varma, Sri V. I. Muniswami Pillay, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri U. Srinivasa Mallayya.

Sri Morarji Desai will be the Treasurer.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri U. Srinivasa Mallayya will be the General Secretaries.

There are still five vacancies in the Committee which will be filled later."

There is nothing in this new committee to show that a new chapter has begun. Perhaps the five places, as yet vacant, are for the new stalwarts. The inclusion of Tandonji is good but it means little in the present set-up.

How the seceders view Pandit Nehru's move is clearly indicated in the following extracts from the editorial of the *Vigil* of September 22:

"It appears that the main task of the new Congress President will be, at least until the coming general elections, to create and sustain an illusion in the country, namely, that the Congress by accepting his stewardship and its concomitants has undergone a basic, qualitative change. In politics, an illusion at times can be a very potent weapon, and in this case, the effectiveness of Pandit Nehru as a vote-getter for the Congress will depend a great deal on how well he succeeds in sustaining the illusion mentioned above. He has set about this task with characteristic energy, employing all his great gifts and the various means at his disposal to create the impression that under his presidentship the Congress is going to be, in moral and ideological overtones, something very different from what it was under Sri Tandon's. He has reshuffled the Congress Working Committee and is endeavouring to secure some changes in the Congress organisation further down at the State level also.

But what can these personnel changes amount to in terms of a real new orientation of the Congress? At the moment Pandit Nehru's mind seems concentrated on the idea that if he can bring back a notable few among those who left the Congress and formed the Praja Party he will have persuaded the country that the Congress has reformed itself. He is trying to achieve this by putting pressure on the Pradesh Congress bosses to receive a few of the more prominent dissidents back in their old places. This strategy, however, is not likely to succeed except to a very limited extent. . . . It seems the majority groups in all the States, after having bowed low to Pandit Nehru in Delhi, have on their return to their own territories stiffened their backs. This reaction was inevitable."

Without subscribing to the general tenor of the editorial, we are inclined to agree that at present the change in the Congress is illusory. A man cannot be said to have reformed by merely turning his coat twice. The contract getting, permit selling and corruption inducing factors will remain unless the corrupt men are purged. In this matter the following extracts from the resolutions passed by the Kerala Round Table Group, as published in the *Harijan* of September 22, are of considerable import, if good men are to come in. A man who would earn lakhs by illicit means through his position in the Parliament or the Legislature will more readily spend thousands for his own election than he whose sole motive is service to the nation. And the same applies to political groups:

Resolution No. 4.—"A declaration and practical demonstration should be made by right-thinking people that a life based on Truth in every department of life can be a practical, workable proposition on this earth."

"The practice of collecting political funds needs more vigilant watching. Political propaganda in the form of newspapers, pamphlets, etc., are highly commendable. The provision for public speeches before

elections and the supply of agents at election booths have nothing wrong in them. But the candidates providing transport and paying money to influence voting is unmitigated corruption. Success at such a cost is not worth having. Because there is not sufficient public opinion against such corrupt practices, political funds are built up by questionable channels. A political party with Gandhiji as the ideal has no justification to tolerate, not even connive at, such practices. Public opinion is to be created that we shall not have candidates elected under such conditions."

"Newspaper propaganda has considerably deteriorated in the country. Exaggerations and misrepresentations and indecent personal attacks have to be eradicated."

"Controls have often become similarly items of disruption and corruption. In any case, permit-holders and contractors to Government should not be nominated as candidates and if they stand should not be supported by the electorate."

Resolution No. 11.—"If the public are to support any nominees in the next election, the parties or local bodies are to insist on a written undertaking by the candidate--

(i) that he would spend at least 5 days in a month in the constituency, addressing the public bodies in the area and meeting them during weeks when the Assembly or its Committee, of which he is a member, is not in session; and

(ii)* that he would resign within a week in case three-fourths of the elected *Panchayat* or Municipal members of the constituency in a meeting, after offering him a chance to explain any alleged misconduct or neglect, calls on him to resign. Notice may be given also for the above meeting to any party on whose ticket the candidate was elected.

"It is also stipulated that preference will be given to candidates who undertake to maintain truthfully in detail their election expenses and earnings as Assembly members or Ministers, including daily or travelling allowances, remunerations got for representations before Ministers and the Government on behalf of others, and place them before the public."

Kashmir Consembly

The National Conference Election Board has announced the names of 45 candidates who will contest the Constituent Assembly Elections on behalf of the National Conference from Kashmir Province. The Conference is contesting all the 45 seats allotted to the province by the Delimitation Committee. Applications from the Jammu Province are being considered. Kaushak Bakula, head Lama of Ladakh, will contest from Leh as a National Conference Candidate.

* The foreign reaction to this election is mixed. On one hand we have forced disregard and on the other

a garbled presentation as in the *Newsweek* of New York of September 17:

"The State Department is worried over India's apparent determination to force the Kashmir issue. An *India-sponsored Kashmir leader* now is calling for immediate election of what he calls a Kashmir constituent assembly which would determine the fate of the territory, claimed by both India and Pakistan. Since this election would permit only a single slate of candidates and would be held in an area dominated by the Indian army, there isn't much doubt about how the voting would turn out."

We do not know what is the source from which the *Newsweek* got this curiously twisted information. It shows total ignorance about the election conditions, both in Kashmir and in India, where the Congress is facing an extremely difficult and uphill task. As for terming Sheikh Abdullah "an India-sponsored Kashmir leader," we would only say that if the *Newsweek's* presentation of European and Asiatic news is on the same level, then it should caption all such news as fiction. Evidently such comments are made—rather manufactured—within the four walls of the office without the least effort at securing or looking up background material.

Meanwhile Pakistan has turned on heat again. Perhaps that is because of the dilemma in which Liaquat Ali and others of the same ilk have been placed in, with regard to the rebellious Pakhtoons and discontented refugees. With regard to the latter Sri Ramani gives the following figures in the *Vigil* of September 22:

Unit	Muslim Refugees	Evacuees.	Increase or Decrease
Punjab	48.82,000	39,40,000	plus 9,42,000
NWF Province	51,000	2,69,000	—2,18,000
Sind	5,61,000	9,00,000	—3,39,000
Baluchistan	29,000	31,000	-- 2,100
Khairpur	11,000	46,000	-- 35,100
Karachi	5,43,000	1,72,000	plus 3,71,000

Europe and the Cold War

The situation in Europe is well summed up, by the *World Interpreter* of August 10. Little has changed since then. We give the relevant extracts:

"Washington's desperate outcries over a possible let-down in the arms effort are directed less to the American people than to the peoples and governments of West Europe. Despite General Eisenhower's personal persuasiveness and ability, the military assistance program has fostered jealousy instead of unity, is running behind schedule, and is still widely unpopular.

"The truth is hard to estimate because of optimistic propaganda and numerous contradictions. *Life* magazine says, 'Ike revives Western Europe's will power and makes real progress toward restoring her fighting

strength.' *Newsweek*, more accurately, asserts U. S. defense officials are heavy-hearted, having assessed the situation with unwarranted optimism from the first.

"A measure of unification has been obtained, and five countries—Italy, France, Belgium, Luxemburg and West Germany—have signed a statement calling for an eventual pooling of arms. But even this limited plan, which leaves out other North Atlantic Pact nations, had to list under "disagreements" the vital questions of how many troops each country would supply, and how much of the cost each would bear.

"Although Eisenhower has made a few blunders, such as holding one important press conference entirely in English without an interpreter, he has been well liked and has met the many problems with vigor. Off the record, however, European leaders are already stating that their worst fears have been proved well grounded. No one has yet found a way by which the European countries, even with American help, can maintain the arms drive and keep a standard of living high enough to retain support for several of the most deeply involved governments. It was to stiffen these functionaries that Secretary Acheson told Congress no less than 25 billion dollars in arms help would be required during the next three years.

"Admission of Greece and Turkey to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) continues to divide Pact countries. The Americans see this step as one which would bring added strength; other NATO countries believe it would result in weakness."

Regarding the wooing of Franco's Spain we get the following from the same source :

"More than bases for possible wartime use was involved in the discussions and arrangements between the Spanish Fascist regime and the late Admiral Forrest Sherman. Spain, ostensibly a pure anti-Communist country, had been shipping substantial quantities of copper, and probably mercury, to Russia. The sales were made through secret channels, but were known to Washington, which wanted to get the precious minerals for the West."

We also get the following information regarding the armed forces of the Soviet satellites in the same issue:

"Although precise information on the extent of the armed forces in the Russian satellite countries is difficult to get, the authoritative Royal Institute of International Affairs at London has published new figures. These coincide with those obtained by *Worldover Press* correspondents, and are a bit more conservative than estimates recently made public by Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. The figures run as follows : Polish army, 450,000 plus 200,000 armed police; Czechoslovak army, 250,000 plus 150,000 armed police; Hungarian army, 180,000 plus 120,000 armed police; Bulgarian army, 180,000 plus 100,000 armed police; Albanian army, 60,000 plus 20,000 armed police; Romanian army, 280,000 plus 150,000 armed police. These units total more than 2,000,000."

Korea

The position in Korea is well summed up in the following extracts from the *Newsweek* of New York in its September 17 issue :

A new unknown soldier, identified only as "GI-X," was killed somewhere in Korea last week. He was the 1,000,000th American fighting man to fall in battle since the first Minute Man died at Lexington on April 19, 1775. He would not be the last. The end of the Korean war, which had already cost 81,766 American casualties (including 13,707 dead and 10,632 missing) seemed farther away than at any time since the Kaesong truce talks began July 10.

Already Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway's GHQ was charging: "Kaesong is a prime example of how a 'peace' conference can be dragged out ad infinitum when the Reds have no intention of doing more than play politics with human lives." On September 6 Ridgway himself told the Red high command that their "baseless and intentionally false" accusations of United Nations violations of Kaesong's neutrality made it "plainly evident" that any further use of Kaesong was foredoomed. He proposed "the selection of a new site" as soon as the Reds, who broke off the talks August 23, were ready to resume.

Pending genuine truce talks, the battle, not the green baize table, was again the payoff. In Korea's mountainous spine, the U.S. Second Infantry Division climaxed a limited U.N. offensive, involving also the First Marine, Seventh Infantry, and three ROK divisions and the Ethiopian Battalion, by grabbing the mile-long hog-back "Bloody Ridge," north of Yanggu, on which one-third of a million shells had rained. In the Western flatlands, the Chinese broke an unofficial, two-month-long cease-fire. Buttressed by Russian-made tanks for the first time since winter, they threw sudden, savage assaults against U.N. outposts. Ominously, a T-34 tank regiment was reported rumbling into the Kaesong neutral zone itself.

Whatever weakness American intelligence may have shown in the past, there is not the slightest disposition today to discount the evidence—presumably based on information from Allied agents behind enemy lines, prisoner-of-war interrogation, aerial reconnaissance, intricate G-2 formulas applied to truck traffic, etc.—that the Communists have made use of the truce-talk lull to carry out their biggest build-up to date.

Manpower : The once battered North Korean and Chinese divisions had been fleshed out, refitted, and reinforced from replacement depots stretching all the way to Mukden in Manchuria. Also, the Reds now have what General Ridgway's GHQ calls "large numbers of Caucasian Soviet puppet troops." Although their number is secret, Tokyo censorship has cleared a perhaps conservative guess that they total 5,000. They come from the European satellites.

Whereas they used to be able to keep going for only a week, they might now sustain a big push for three

or four times as long. Ammo dumps have been piled up in forward areas as if to beef up a renewed assault. Of the 500 Red tanks, 50 to 100, which possibly are operated by Caucasians, have been massed near the Imjin River's big bend close to the invasion corridors leading to the South Korean capital of Séoul.

Ack-Ack: Caucasians are believed to be manning the anti-aircraft batteries now protecting three key urban areas, especially Pyongyang, the North Korean capital. Although only 4 per cent of U.N. aircraft losses are due to Red planes, 30 per cent are caused by ground fire.

Aircraft: To obtain longer range for the 1,000 aircraft (a rock-bottom estimate) in Manchuria, the Reds are using some Caucasian engineers to help keep ten Korean airbases, plus ten small strips, operational in the face of almost clockwork plastering from the air.

Press Laws Bill

The Press Laws Bill has been introduced in the Parliament. Prime Minister Nehru has assured Press men that he would consider the question of appointing a Press Commission as early as possible. He said that he had given up thinking about it because the representatives of the Press did not show any enthusiasm about it. But as the working journalists had pressed for it, he would consider it again. But he said that the Commission could not be set up before bringing the proposed Press Laws Bill before the Parliament, as it would then involve some delay in the consideration of the Bill. The Prime Minister said that if a Commission was appointed it would take six months or more to submit its report. But the government thought that without waiting for its appointment or report, they should introduce the Press Laws Bill and repeal certain out-of-date laws, etc.

Meanwhile, Press reports indicate that the Press Laws Bill drafted by the Home Ministry is not confined to repeal of existing obnoxious Press Laws. Demand and forfeiture of security deposits has been provided for in the Bill, the only reassuring feature being that this will be done under a process of law and appeal will lie to High Court against the decisions. Security deposit could be demanded under the following objectionable matters: (a) Indecent scurrilous writings, (b) To overthrow the government by violent means, (c) To undermine the administration of law, i.e., Law Courts and law and order of the states and the centre, (d) Creating hatred and enmity among classes of citizens, (e) Not to tamper with procurement of foodstuffs, (f) Not to tamper with the duty and services of the police, army and government servants.

If it be the desire of the government as expressed by the Prime Minister, to introduce the Press Laws Bill for the purpose of repealing obnoxious Press Laws, there should be no two opinion about it. But when the Bill contains positive and penal provisions, it will be wise and worthy of the Government to wait for the report of the proposed Press Commission. Six months' delay will be much less harmful than the imposition of unpopular Press Laws.

Press Bill in Select Committee

The Home Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, on September 7, moved reference of the Press Bill to a Select Committee. He proposed a Committee of 34 members. Sri Deshbandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference declined to serve on the Select Committee because he did not agree with the very principle of the Bill. He said that it was a discriminating Bill. It discriminated between the freedom of expression allowed to the individual and the freedom allowed to a newspaper. That was a very dangerous principle.

In the concluding portion of his speech, Sri Gupta said, Sri Rajagopalachari said that members of the Press had asked for special privileges but when Government brought forward special legislation, the Press took a different stand.

"I want to make it clear," said Sri Gupta, "that the Press of India has never demanded any special privileges. All that they demanded at the time of Constitution-making, when the Fundamental Rights were being considered by the Constituent Assembly, was that there should be a specific provision guaranteeing the freedom of the Press."

"There was nothing special about it. When it was explained by the Law Minister that freedom of expression included freedom of the Press the representatives of the Press in the House and the Press in general in the country were satisfied."

As a matter of fact, Sri Gupta continued, "The stand that the Press of India, the Commonwealth and other democratically governed countries have taken is that the same amount of freedom which is guaranteed to an individual citizen should also be guaranteed to the Press. We want neither special privileges nor special penalties. We want neither any special treatment by way of concessions nor any special laws to fetter our freedom."

Government, he said, should consider whether, after having made "so many assertions here and outside the House that the Press of India is a free Press and no disability attaches to it," there was any need for any special legislation to deal with the Press.

Sri Gupta said that sufficient time had not been given to the House, to the Press and to the country to consider this very important Bill. The measure was not textually brought before the Standing Committee attached to the Home Ministry. He was indebted to the Home Minister for having agreed to meet the members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference but there also the text was not available. That was why he had tabled a motion for circulation.

Obviously, the main object of bringing forward the Bill was to allay the fears or apprehensions of the Press, which it entertained at the time of the amendment of the Constitution if that was so, what objec-

tion could Government have to give time to the Press and to the country to express their views on the measure?

The impression created by the speech of the Minister, said Sri Gupta, was that the bill was a very liberal one and that some fundamental changes had been made in the Press Laws of India in favour of the Press.

To meet that argument, he added, it was necessary to go into the history of Press Laws in India. It was in 1857, after India's first War of Independence, that the British Government, for the first time, introduced a measure which imposed absolute control on newspapers. That measure was just for one year and no more. In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was passed, confined to the language papers. That law was limited to three years.

Except for that brief interval, the Press of India was governed by the ordinary law of the land until 1908. In 1908, the first important Press Act, called the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed. That Act introduced for the first time the principle of imposing previous restraints on newspapers in the form of demanding securities. It was followed by the hated Press Act of 1910, which gave much wider power to Government. Those two Acts held the field for about twelve years until 1921.

In 1921, a committee was appointed by Government to consider the question of repealing these two Acts. On the recommendations of that Committee, the two Acts were repealed in 1922 on the ground that they were emergency measures and that the political situation had undergone great changes since 1910.

From 1922 to 1930, the Press of India was again governed by the ordinary law of the land. That was a fact which had, perhaps, escaped the attention of the Home Minister.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, again the British Government issued an ordinance to deal with the Press. That ordinance was followed in 1931 by the Emergency Powers Act. That was the Act on which the Home Minister had based his bill.

Sri Gupta said it was noteworthy that that Act was to remain in force for one year only, though it could be extended from time to time and later made part of the permanent law. The Legislature, which passed the original Act, conceived that a measure like that could not be on the Statute permanently.

In the original Act, he continued, there were only two clauses. Other clauses were added later. "Objectionable matter" was defined and Government were empowered to require the keeper of a press and the publisher of a newspaper respectively to deposit security up to Rs. 1,000 which might be increased to Rs. 3,000 if any previous keeper or publisher had been required to deposit security. It was provided further that the security should be refunded

if no offence was committed within a period of three months.

Sri Gupta said, he did not have the figures, but he was sure that securities were forfeited in very few cases during that three-month period.

Another measure affecting the Press, which replaced the Ordinance of 1931, was the Foreign Relations Act of 1932, he added. In 1934, the Indian States Protection Act was passed. Then came the Second World War and the Defence of India Rules were promulgated. Those rules, of course, gave wide powers to Government for controlling the Press. On September 30, 1946, the Defence of India Rules came to an end. During the course of 1946 and 1947, most of the Provincial Governments enacted ordinances to deal with the situation. Those ordinances were in due course replaced by temporary emergency legislation--the Public Safety Acts--by the State Legislatures.

Sri Gupta stated the provisions of those emergency enactments, in so far as they related to the Press, referred to the imposition of pre-censorship, control of publication, etc. The Home Minister seemed to think that pre-censorship had been part of the Press Law for all time in the country.

"It has never been so," said Sri Gupta, "pre-censorship was no part of the Emergency Powers Act of 1931. It was no part of the Press Act of 1910. It was no part of the Act of 1908. Of course, during the war, the Defence Rules were there but they were an emergency measure and we have already got ample emergency powers to deal with such a situation."

"It was only in 1946 and 1947 that the Provincial Governments, probably in order to deal with the after-effects of the war introduced this element of pre-censorship in the Statute. Is it contended seriously that these emergency measures, which for the first time provided for pre-censorship, are to last for ever? Is it really a concession if that pre-censorship is withdrawn? On the other hand, Government should not have waited for so long to withdraw this previous restraint which is so undemocratic and which interferes with the Press."

When the Defence of India Rules ceased to operate, Sri Gupta added, Press of India renewed its demand for removal of the objectionable features of the Press Law. The late Sardar Patel was kind enough to agree to the appointment of a Press Law Enquiry Committee which reported in May, 1948. The recommendations of the Committee had been before Government since May, 1948. But when he, Sri Gupta, asked the Prime Minister during the debate on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill what had happened to the recommendations of the Committee, the Prime Minister replied that he had not seen them. The Home Minister, however, had said earlier that since the Constitution had given full freedom to the Press, most of the recommendations of the Committee

had become unnecessary. That was the position before the Constitution was amended.

Sri Gupta moved for incubation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. He warned that if the Bill was passed "the little reputation we have built upon the eyes of the world will be tarnished." In his second day's speech he pointed out that out of the 34 clauses of the Bill as many as 16 had been bodily lifted from the Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 without caring for the effect they would create.

He added Clause 3 relating to "objectionable matters" was "not only most important but also most objectionable." It was very wide and extensive and if it was passed in this form "it will amount to perpetual injunction on the Press not to publish anything which may be covered by this Clause." Impression had been given to the House that Government was repealing the Act of 1931 and the other repressive laws, but "I find in these eight sub-clauses there is nothing which will not cover the existing repressive measures."

In fact the sub-clauses were "much wider than they are to be found anywhere in the existing law. They would be able to gag any criticism of the Government." "Any agitation against continuation of control or that control which breeds corruption can be brought within the purview of the sub-clause of Clause 3. Sub-clause 6 dealt with 153A of the Penal Code which had been declared unconstitutional by the Punjab High Court. But it had not only been reviewed but significant change had been made in the wording widening the scope of the offence. Sub-clause 7 corresponded to section 363 of the Indian Penal Code. This sub-clause was not to be found in the Press Emergency Powers Act, this was a new clause which gave wide power to the Government to take action against newspapers. It would thus be found that not only Clause 3 included substantially all the repressive provisions of the existing law but new clauses had been added to widen its scope. It is for the House to decide whether the Minister is right in claiming that the Emergency Powers Act of 1931 has been repealed and the recommendations of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee in this regard have been carried out."

Sri Gupta quoted the *Hindu* of Madras which said that Clause 3 was provided out of "suspicion and distrust of the Press which was the characteristic feature of the British rule." The *Hindu* said that the present law was sufficient to meet the situation.

Rajaji: But *Hindu* has said that the present law is bad. The Hon'ble Member's argument was better.

Sri Gupta: All imaginable things which a paper can comment have been brought within the purview of the "objectionable matters."

Referring to clauses 4 and 5 he asked, "Is it the intention of the Government not to make it possible

for a newspaper to reappear if it has committed an offence? Is it also the intention of the Government that the Press, which was used to print that paper should be closed for printing all other matters?"

"That shows," he added, "the disregard from the practical point of view which Government has for printing press proprietors. The Section said if a publication printed an objectionable matter, the editor and the keeper of the Press be asked to deposit securities and if securities were not deposited the press be prevented from doing any work. I wonder if the Minister has pictured in his mind the working of small papers which are printed in small press. It is not expected that the keeper of the press is to act as censor on what is printed in them."

Sri Gupta said that the whole conception of the Bill was based on vicarious liability. He added that Clause 32 was the most objectionable feature of the Bill. It provided for the editor or the keeper of the press being prosecuted and punished twice for the same offence which was obviously contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

On September 12 the debate on the Press Bill took a new turn when Congress Party members came out in support of the measure. The only opposition that day came from Dr. S. P. Mookerjee who, in a powerful speech, described the Bill as a "revised version of the notorious Press Act of 1931." The mailed fist might be covered with a little velvet, he said, but the mailed fist was there nonetheless.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru supported the motion for circulation and said that the Government had failed to make out any case in favour of the Bill.

In his reply the Home Minister said that the ordinary law was inadequate to deal with the Press. He said that reference had been made to the proposed Press Commission. The Press Commission, referred to by the Prime Minister, was intended for certain purposes which had nothing to do with the matter of this Bill. The aims and objects of such a Commission had been explained by the Prime Minister. It has to go round, take evidence and see things as to how newspapers are produced and managed and things of that kind and not much to do with the content of newspapers.

Hindu Code Bill

The Indian Parliament resumed consideration of Clause 2 of the Hindu Code Bill which had been carried forward from the last Session. 32 amendments to the clause were moved, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee strongly supported the demand for making the application of the Code optional. He raised a very pertinent question when he said that it was nobody's case that monogamy was good for the Hindus or Buddhists or Sikhs alone. Why not have a separate Bill dealing only with monogamy and make it applicable to all citizens. The real reason was that the Government dared not touch the Muslim

Community. Let the Law Minister declare that at least the portion of this Bill dealing with monogamy will be made applicable to all.

A piquant situation has arisen over the Bill. It is understood that President Rajendra Prasad recently discussed the Bill with the Prime Minister. His views appear to be that the present Parliament has no mandate to pass the Bill which would be almost a revolutionary measure and deeply affect the structure of the Hindu society. The President is understood to have requested the Prime Minister to drop the Bill. But Sri Nehru is determined to go ahead with it in the current session. Probably this was the background when Dr. Ambedkar stated in the Parliament that as soon as the end of Chapter 2 of the Bill dealing with monogamy, marriage and divorce was reached it was his intention to move certain suitable amendments to make that chapter self-contained and get that part of the Code passed. The intention of the government, he said, was to make that chapter an independent Code.

With regard to the other sections of the Code, he added, under the Rules, two courses were open. One was at the end of Chapter 2 a closure might be moved and the rest of the Code be negatived, so that Government might withdraw the rest of the portion and take their own time to bring in another self-contained code later on other subjects such as inheritance, adoption, etc.

The second course, Dr. Ambedkar explained, which was also permissible under the existing rules of procedure would be to take up the whole Code part by part and pass them by stages. That procedure, if adopted, would mean that when they reached the end of Chapter 2, they could have that Chapter adopted and leave the rest of the Code for the future Parliament to pass.

This clarification was given by the Law Minister when the Chair requested him to make it clear as to whether the scope of Clause 2 of the Bill, which related to the applicability of the Code would be restricted only to provisions relating to marriage and divorce or would also apply to other sections of the Code dealing inheritance and property. It was necessitated when Sardar Bhopinder Singh Mann in his remarks on Clause 2 began to deal with the general principles and sought to exclude the Sikhs from the purview of the Code.

The Deputy Speaker said that if the scope of Clause 2 would apply to other provisions of the code also other than to the clauses relating to marriage and divorce, he could not preclude members from referring to the general principles. Then passage of even the limited provisions of the Bill during the current session would become difficult for want of time.

The Prime Minister also intervened and said that so far as Government was concerned, they stood by the whole of the Bill. But due to difficulty of time and other difficulties, they had decided to adopt Part 2 of the Bill in the current session and leave the other parts to be considered on a subsequent date. That did not mean that they had decided to leave the other parts of the Code. But speaking from provided

practical experience as there was no chance they should adopt the said procedure.

We consider that it would have been much better to extend the scope of this portion of the Code, make it an all-embracing Marriage, Divorce and Monogamy Bill applicable to all sections of the citizens irrespective of religion. This would have gone a great way to lay the foundation of a unified citizenship in this country.

India and Japan

India has refused to sign the American Draft of the Japanese Peace Treaty placed at the San Francisco Conference. Prior to this Conference, the Prime Minister of India announced that India would not claim any war reparations from Japan. India chose her own line of action in respect of the Jap Peace Treaty and announced that the State of War with Japan would end as soon as the Peace Treaty signed at San Francisco came into force.

Meanwhile ludicrous comments—displaying the magnitude of American ignorance about Asia and the Asiatics—are appearing in the U.S.A. press. For example, the following appears in the *Newsweek* of September 17 :

The gap left by India and Burma is something for them to worry about. Nehru's claim to speak for the free peoples of Asia has been repudiated as sharply as Gromyko's.

The following is the text of the correspondence between India and Japan :

Letter dated 8th September, 1951, to the Japanese Acting Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Matsuani, from Sri K. K. Chettur :

"In accordance with the statements made by the Prime Minister of India in regard to the Japanese Peace Treaty and the declared intention of the Government of India to terminate the State of War between India and Japan at the earliest possible date and to establish full diplomatic relations between the two countries, I have the honour to enclose herewith a draft notification which the Government of India propose to issue simultaneously with the coming into force of the peace treaty which is scheduled for signature at the conference now in session at San Francisco.

"In expressing the hope that the above proposal will be acceptable to the Government of Japan, the Government of India would be grateful for an early reply."

Letter dated September 10, 1951 from Mr. Matsuani to Sri Chettur :

"I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated September 8, 1951, with which you enclosed a draft notification which the Government of India propose to issue simultaneously with the coming into force of the Japanese Peace Treaty which has just been signed at San Francisco.

"On behalf of the Japanese Government I have the honour to state that the Japanese Government heartily welcomes the intention of the Government of India to

terminate the state of war between Japan and India and to establish full diplomatic relations between the two countries."

Following is the text of the draft notification which India proposes to make :

"It is hereby notified for general information that the Government of India, bearing in mind that active hostilities with Japan were ended by Japan's signature of the instrument of surrender nearly six years ago and that a Treaty of Peace with Japan has been concluded and signed at San Francisco on the 8th September, 1951, by a large number of the Allied Powers, have determined that the State of War between India and Japan shall cease to exist as soon as the said Treaty of Peace comes into force for any State in accordance with the provisions contained in Article 23 thereof.

The Government of India propose to conclude at the earliest practicable date a separate bilateral Treaty of Peace with Japan whereby the relations between themselves and the Government of Japan could be brought into conformity with the amity which existed between them before the declaration of war with Japan.

In that treaty the Government of India intend to stipulate provisions which will secure to themselves and the nationals of India all the rights, privileges, indemnities and advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, which under the Treaty of San Francisco have been stipulated in favour of the Allied Powers and their nationals."

The following is Article 23 of the Japanese Peace Treaty which is referred to in India's notification terminating the State of War between India and Japan :

(a) "The present treaty shall be ratified by the States which sign it, including Japan, and will come into force for all the States which have then ratified it, when instruments of ratification have been deposited by Japan and by a majority, including the United States of America as the principal occupying Power, or for the following States, namely, Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, France, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. The present treaty shall come into force for each State which subsequently ratifies it, on the date of the deposit of the instrument or ratification.

(c) If the treaty has not come into force within nine months after the date of the deposit of Japan's ratification, any State which has ratified it may bring the treaty into force between itself and Japan by a notification to that effect given to the Government of Japan and of the United States of America not later than three years after the date of deposit of Japan's ratification."

Education of "Our Masters"

We do not know whether or not the British Conservative Party's Education Minister was serious when he used these words where the 'masses' in Britain

were first restored votes in 1867. But the words have taken root; and modern science has put in the hands of States instruments to 'educate' the voters and mould their opinion. Our Information Minister, Shree R. R. Diwaker, is fully conscious of this new opportunity. In course of a recent broadcast he referred to 'documentaries' as a means of mass education.

"I do not think we have any other medium by which we can approach the rural masses who live in the villages. Today the documentaries that we produce and our news-reels are shown in 3000 cinemas, 900 of them being rural mobile cinemas which go from place to place. In addition 250 Publicity vans of the different States also take advantage of these films and on a modest calculation it is computed that about 50 crores see these films and news-reels every year. If the value and importance of documentaries and newsreels are realised by the India Government, they should also try to raise their tone and expand their scope. For documentaries there is a vast field as indicated above. If we really feel proud of our getting the Venice prize on 'Rajasthan,' let us take a pledge to make more documentaries like that in the vast field before us."

A Politician's Plight

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra, Madhya Pradesh's ex-Home Minister, has brought down some amount of unpopularity on himself. If he had resigned, as dictated to by his political conscience, made the customary statement explaining his desire to retire from the Congress, people would have been only sorry. But his Press interview on the eve of resignation, and the statement made to the Assembly, has resulted in the Nagpuriens burning his effigy after a procession. He wanted his statements to administer a few 'shocks' to India's Prime Minister as would 'knock off dictatorship out of his mind.'

But, he need not despair. If he can keep silent only for a few years, we have no doubt that his present detractors will welcome him as the prodigal son returned with Pandit Govindas at their head. But the silence must be sincere. And our recipe is a course of constructive work. It will make a new man of him. :

Estimates Committee Recommendations

Action has been taken by the Central Government on a number of recommendations made by the Estimates Committee. Detailed information about the actions taken has been placed in the Parliament by Sri Mahabir Tyagi, Minister of State for Finance :

"In pursuance of an important recommendation, the External Affairs Ministry has closed down a number of commercial establishments abroad including those in Baghdad, Prague, Toronto (Canada), and Brussels. Reduction in the commercial staff was effected in Tokyo, Kabul, Teheran and Rio-de-Janeiro."

"As a result of these measures the national exchequer would be saved from an expenditure of Rs. 12,10,000 annually.

"The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power has accepted the recommendation that private enterprise should be encouraged to take up the work of discovering and developing the sources of wealth in addition to the work done by the Geological Department.

"Another suggestion of the Committee that a special mining cess should be imposed for the development of the Geological Survey of India has, however, been turned down by the Government.

"The recommendation made regarding a thorough overhaul of the C.P.W.D. with a number of retrenchments was still under examination.

"The Hydro-Electric Branch of the Central Water, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (C.W.I.N.C.) has been abolished in accordance with another recommendation of the Committee.

"Enquiries have also been instituted into the working of the stores purchase machinery and that of the uneconomic salt factories of the Government.

"An economy of Rs. 25,000 a year has been brought about by reorganising the Estate Office on the lines suggested by the Committee.

"A number of journals published by the Commerce Ministry have been wound up and 'only the important and necessary ones' had been retained, as recommended by the Committee.

"Recommendations regarding the reduction of staff in various branches of the Commerce Ministry have been partially implemented.

"A recommendation regarding the Import-Export Directorate which has not been accepted, was that the names of the firms black-listed by the Department should be published in the Official Gazette. It is pointed out in the statement that there is no statutory provision for black-listing firms. Such an action is taken on the basis of executive authority and therefore publishing the names of such firms in the Gazette without adequate legal sanction might lead the Government to litigation and difficulties.

"The former Jute Commissioner was replaced by an 'experienced person', according to another recommendation.

"Steps have been taken to concentrate the statistical sections of the Ministry in one branch with the ultimate object of merging them with the Central statistical organisation under the Cabinet Secretariat as stipulated by the Estimates Committee.

"The Government had also accepted the recommendation of the Estimates Committee for greater efforts to increase India's trade with Asian countries.

"A directory was under preparation, as recommended by the Committee which would contain a list of names of all importers of Indian goods in foreign countries and all the exporters in the countries.

"Other recommendations of the Committee accepted by the Government were: *Tea broking*: Three Indians would be selected by each of the four non-Indian tea-broking firms in Calcutta, for training in tea-broking by next year.

"*Import Licences*: It had been decided that the minimum value of a license to a new-comer should be Rs. 10,000, unless a license happens to be for items which were received in small consignments such as razor blades. In these cases, the minimum would be Rs. 5,000.

"It had also been prescribed that the qualification for an applicant to receive consideration as a new-comer would be that he had dealt within the country in the particular commodity, which he wished to import, for at least two years.

"Following the recommendations of the Mehta Committee, the maximum value of a new-comer's license had been fixed at Rs. 25,000."

India's Note to Pakistan

The Government of India in a Note handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi has taken strong exception to the baseless insinuations and statements appearing frequently in the Pakistan Press, the sole object of which is to "embroil the relation of India with her friendly neighbours."

The Note, which also answers allegations made by the Pakistan Government against the Indian Press and All-India Radio on the subject of Pakhtoonistan dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan states:

"The Government of India are unable to accept the contention of the Government of Pakistan that the Press in India has been other than impartial and neutral with regard to the dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The differences between Pakistan and Afghanistan on this subject have received wide publicity through the radio and the newspapers both of Pakistan and of Afghanistan and in other countries, and it is not surprising therefore that they should have attracted interest in India.

"The Government of India have again carefully examined the material published in the Indian Press and are satisfied that the Indian Press has on the whole maintained and continue to maintain an attitude of objective and impartial presentation of news regarding Pakhtoonistan movement. All important statements in regard to this subject made by the Government of Pakistan or by persons in authority in Pakistan have been carefully and faithfully reported in the Indian Press. As already pointed out by the Government of India the Press in India is, within the limit set by the Constitution and the laws of India perfectly free to express opinions or comments, including those which are hostile to the Government of India themselves. The Government of India cannot compel or coerce the Press or the public in India to hold any particular opinion."

The Note also rejects Pakistan's allegations that the All-India Radio had shown any partiality in favour of

Afghanistan in this dispute or broadcast "fabricated news." The All-India Radio, the Note points out, makes use of news-items available from the Bakhtar News Agency or the Kabul Radio in the same way as it uses news-items emanating from the Pakistan Radio. All-India Radio, for example, on January 24, 1951, January 22, 1951, and April 10, 1951, broadcast statements and contradictions issued respectively by the N.-W.F.P. Government, by the Pakistan Prime Minister and the Pakistan Minister of frontier regions regarding clashes between Pakhtoons and Pakistan forces. "These examples could be multiplied and they will show," the Note points out, "that the All-India Radio puts forward the Pakistan views on these questions with equal impartiality. The sole criterion for putting out any item is its intrinsic news value."

"The Government of India have also carefully examined the commentaries, news-items and other items forming the enclosure to the Pakistan High Commissioner's Note under reply. They would point out that in regard to several of these items the translations as given in the enclosure to the Pakistan High Commissioner's Note under reply are incorrect. Apart from this, the material given in the enclosure shows conclusively that the broadcasts of the All-India Radio on this subject have been restricted mainly to factual news. In so far as any comments have been made with regard to the issues in this dispute, these merely point out that while the Government of Pakistan talk of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, they take an entirely different attitude towards the demand for self-determination by Pakhtoons."

The Note, continuing, states that the question of breach of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 14, 1948, can hardly arise. In the view of the Government of India that agreement is intended to ensure that the Press of either country does not support demand in one country for an acquisition of territory included in the other country. The agreement does not cover any questions regarding relations between either of these two countries and a third country. No question of international law arises in this context and the Government of India entirely dissents from the proposition that the publication within India of news and views regarding a dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan, with both of whom they have friendly relations, amounts to a violation of international law or usage.

"The Government of India take this opportunity of drawing attention to the fact that both the Pakistan Press and the Pakistan Radio have frequently indulged in insinuation and in some cases explicit statements to the effect that the support of the Government of Afghanistan to the claim of the Pakhtoons that they be given the right of self-determination with regard to their future, originates from inspiration from India. The Government of India strongly protest, against such baseless insinuations and statements which are extremely detrimental to the friendly relations between India and Pakistan on the one hand and India and Afghanistan on the other. The

Government of India are also unable to accept the contention that the Pakistan Press has been sober and objective in regard to its coverage of events relating to India's relations with Nepal, Tibet and China. The actual facts of past events are by now well established and the Government of India are no longer exercised in regard to several completely false and fabricated items of news which appeared in the Pakistan Press at that time. They would, however, point out that the sole object of these insinuations and allegations was to embroil the relations of India with her friendly neighbours and that such efforts reveal anything but a friendly attitude towards India."

Within a fortnight of this Note, the Pakistan Government have banned the entry of two of the leading Calcutta newspapers the Ananda Badar Patrika and Hindustan Standard into Pakistan. The Pakistan Government are incessantly complaining about Press propaganda in India in spite of the fact that the governments here are doing their best to prevent any breach of the joint Press Code. When Pakistan persistently refuses to follow the joint Code, we believe India can now rightfully consider herself relieved of any obligation to follow the joint Press Agreement.

Minorities in Pakistan

Two news appeared in the Press towards the end of August last which demonstrate the falsity of the claim that the minorities in Pakistan are fairly and honourably treated. We use the word "minorities" advisedly. The Muslim League's congenital animus to Hindus and Sikhs is fairly known to the world. Not so the conditions under which Indian Christians have been living there

The first news referred to the release by the Barisal Magistrate of the Muslims charged during the riots of February, 1950, with murder, rape and loot in the village Madhabpasa, well-known all over Bengal since the Swadeshi days. They, six Muslims, Seraj Maulana, and his helpers, Majir Meah, Gafur Meah, Kanchan Mollah, Nawab Ali Mena, Syed Ali, Palan Sardar were charged under Sections 148, 302-34 of the Penal Code. The Magistrate was helped by three assessors; two were for acquittal; one was in doubt; and the Additional District Judge, H. Ullah, accepted the verdict of trying Magistrate Huda.

The case started on July 23rd last. A fact that should be known in connection with the Madhabpasa tragedy, relieving it of its bestiality, was that a neighbouring zaminder, Janab Altaf Ali, lost his life at the hands of his co-religionists in his vain attempt to save the Hindus. All honour to his memory!

The other news was sent out on August 30 last from Lahore, and we do not propose to make any comment on it.

"Mr. Joshua Fazal, Christian member of the

Punjab (Pak.) Assembly, said here on Wednesday, 29th August, that the reasons for the recent attack by Muslims on Christian residents of village Matta in Lahore district were 'primarily economic.'

"While I have deep appreciation for the manner in which the Government and the people, both Muslims and Christians, have behaved, I cannot help saying that to secure complete goodwill and understanding between Muslims and Christians in Pakistan for all times, the Muslim League must give a lead and try to develop the national platform where Muslims and Christians could meet to discuss matters of common interest to the state and its people.

"True, Pakistan is an Islamic State, but Muslims and Christians have lived together for the last 1,300 years and more, and I see no reason why the traditions of common nationality of other Muslim countries, where Muslims and Christians live as one people, would not be revived in Pakistan also."

A Memorandum

The Press of the world has been forced to recognize the significance of the Memorandum that 14 Muslim leaders of thought, administrators, leaders of public opinion, and leaders of trade, commerce and industries, submitted to Dr. Frank Graham, U.N.O. representative on the Kashmir dispute on the 14th of August last—the anniversary of day on which Pakistan was born. There is a hint of historic revenge on the choice of this particular day for two reasons. One is that the Memorandum questions the validity of the reasoning on which the Pakistan theory was built up. It attacked the "two-nation" theory that has resulted in murder, rape, destruction of property to more than two millions of men, women and children of Indian birth. The other reason is that many of the signatories to the Memorandum were in sympathy, open or implicit, with the Muslim League's pretensions; some of them supplied money to Muslim League propagandists and otherwise helped to finance the agitation.

We hope that the world will realize even at this late hour that Pakistan or the theory that upheld it is a distortion of India's traditions, of the joint life that Hindu and Muslim, men and women, had built up in our continental country. We also hope that Pakistanis will yet realize that the disruption of India's unity and integrity has weakened Hindus and Muslims alike and would keep them weak.

On more than one occasions we have emphasized the point that without consultation with President Truman, the Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Attlee, could not have announced on February 15, 1947, that British power would be withdrawn from India at a date which was earlier by 12 months than what had been fixed when the declaration of the Cabinet Mission was made on March 15, 1946. The then

Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic Lawrence, indicated much later in various speeches made specially in the House of Lords after the June 3rd, 1947 decision that an unreconciled India would require more British military formations to defend and control, the enlistment of more troops from the "martial" races of India. And as an act of faith his Government believed that as a Dominion or even as a Republic in the British Commonwealth, India would be a better proposition to handle.

But British policy had publicly mortgaged itself to the Muslim League in October 1, 1906, when the Aga Khan Deputation had waited on the then Governor-General Lord Minto. And since 1939 the Muslim League had been demanding the pound of flesh for helping to betray Indian Nationalism and its natural culmination. This is only history today, and would have been forgotten if the Pakistanis had not started their Kashmir adventure. Today they have received on their face the cruellest slap in the form of a 1600-word Memorandum. That they have been feeling the sting of it is proved by the apologetic tone in which Janab Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, has tried to off-set its reasoning. At the annual dinner of the Karachi Institute, held on the 17th August last, he could not but refer to it. He is reported to have said that the Memorandum proved that "but for Pakistan a hundred million Muslims would have been living in that state of inward terror in which 35 or 40 million Muslims are now living there (India)."

"The memorandum amounts to this that if you and I had been in India today we would have been compelled to say what they (fourteen Muslims) are saying and that constitutes before man and God a complete justification for Pakistan which they have condemned in harsh words." Further he felt in "all seriousness" that "it is an extremely painful move not on account of what it says," but because "these gentlemen, who have occupied higher positions and rendered services, who have been eminent in their respective walks of life should have been reduced to the necessity of putting their signatures to a document of that character." He tried to assume a mock attitude of sympathy for the signatories to this Memorandum, and assured them that he proposed "to say nothing that should cause them pain. I feel for them. I feel for them the deepest sympathy. People like them, unless placed in the most painful position of a dilemma, would not have subscribed to a document like that. They need, deserve, our sympathy. Our sympathy goes out to them. I still hold them in the highest esteem."

"I can, therefore, in some small measure gauge the feeling of frustration, the feeling of being on the horns of a dilemma, through which they must be

suffering. This document shows they are continually suffering."

In this 120-minute speech, the "Qadiani" dupe of Pakistan has excelled his previous performances. But those who know about the feelings of the majority of Muslim masses against his sect with its "Holy of Holies" in India, will not fail to notice that in referring to the "frustration" of Indian Muslims, Pakistan's Foreign Minister was giving voice to his own feelings. If there be any substance in this argument of his, it applies with equal logic to the position of his sect in Pakistan.

We have been tempted to devote more space to Janab Zafarulla Khan's crude attempts at distortion that it deserves. We now have to return to the Memorandum. It is as follows.

"It is a remarkable fact that while the Security Council and its various agencies have devoted so much time to the study of the Kashmir dispute, and made various suggestions for its resolution, none of them has tried to ascertain the views of Indian Muslims nor the possible effect of any hasty step in Kashmir, however well-intentioned, on the interests and well-being of the Indian Muslims. We are convinced that no lasting solution of the problem can be found unless the position of Muslims in Indian society is clearly understood.

"Supporters of the idea of Pakistan, before this sub-continent was partitioned, discouraged any attempt to define Pakistan clearly and did little to anticipate the conflicting problems which were bound to arise as a result of the advocacy of the 'two-nation' theory. The concept of Pakistan, therefore, became an emotional slogan with little rational content. It never occurred to the Muslim League or its leaders that if a minority was not prepared to live with a majority on the sub-continent, how could the majority be expected to tolerate the minority.

"It is, therefore, small wonder that the result of partition has been disastrous to Muslims. In undivided India their strength lay about ten million. Partition split up the Muslim people, confining them to three isolated regions. Thus, Muslims number two and half crores in West Pakistan, three and half to four crores in India and the rest in Eastern Pakistan. A single undivided community has been broken into three fragments, each faced with its own problems.

"Pakistan was not created on a religious basis. If it had been, our fate as well as the fate of other minorities would have been settled at that time. Nor would the division of the sub-continent for reasons of religion, have left large minorities in India or Pakistan. This merely illustrates what we have said above that the concept of Pakistan was vague, obscure and never clearly defined, or its likely consequences foreseen by the Muslim League, even when some of these should have been obvious.

"When the partition took place, Muslims in India were left in the lurch by the Muslim League and its leaders. Most of them departed to Pakistan and a few, who stayed behind, stayed long enough to wind up their affairs and dispose of their property. Those who went over to Pakistan left a large number of their co-religionists behind. Having brought about a division of the country Pakistan leaders proclaimed that they would convert Pakistan into a land where people would live a life according to the tenets of Islam. This created nervousness and alarm among the minorities living in Pakistan. Not satisfied with this, Pakistan leaders went further and announced again and again their determination to protect and safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. This naturally aroused suspicion amongst the Hindus against us, and our loyalty to India was questioned.

"Pakistan has made our position weaker by driving out Hindus from Western Pakistan in utter disregard of the consequences of such a policy to us and our welfare. A similar process is in operation in Eastern Pakistan from which Hindus are coming over to India in a large and larger number.

"If Hindus are not welcome in Pakistan, how can we, in all fairness, expect Muslims to be welcome in India? Such a policy must inevitably, as the past has already shown, result in the uprooting of Muslims in this country, and their migration to Pakistan, where, as it became clear last year, they are no longer welcome, lest their influx should destroy Pakistan's economy.

"Neither some of those Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan after the partition and following the widespread bloodshed and conflict on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border in the north-west, have been able to find a happy asylum in what they had been told would be their homeland. Consequently some of them have had to return to India, e.g., the Meos who are now being rehabilitated in their former areas.

"If we are living honourably in India today it is, therefore, certainly not due to Pakistan which, if anything, had by her policy and action weakened our position. The credit goes to the broad-minded leadership of India--to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to the traditions of tolerance in this country and to the Constitution which ensures equal rights to all citizens of India irrespective of their religion, caste, creed, colour or sex.

"We, therefore, feel that tragically as Muslims were misled by the Muslim League and subsequently by Pakistan causing unnecessary suffering to us and Hindu brethren in Pakistan and in India since partition, we must be given an opportunity to settle down to a life of tolerance and understanding to the mutual benefit of Hindus and Muslims in our country, if only Pakistan would let us do it.

"To us it is a matter of no small consequence. Despite continuous provocation, first from the Muslim League and since then from Pakistan, the Hindu majority in India has not thrown us or members of other minorities out of civil services, armed forces, the judiciary, trade, commerce, business and industry. There are Muslim Ministers in the Union and States Cabinets, Muslim Governors, Muslim Ambassadors representing India in foreign countries, fully enjoying the confidence of the Indian Nation, Muslim Members in Parliament and State Legislatures, Muslim Judges serving on the Supreme Court and High Courts, high ranking officers in the armed forces and Civil Services, including the Police.

"Muslims have large landed estates, run big business and commercial houses in various parts of the country, notably in Bombay and Calcutta have their share in industrial production and enterprise, in export and import trade. Our famous sacred shrines and places of cultural interest are mostly in India.

"Not that our lot is entirely happy. We wish some of the State Governments showed a little greater sympathy to us in the field of education and employment. Nevertheless, we feel we have an honourable place in India.

"Under the law of the land our religious and cultural life is protected and we shall share in the opportunities open to all citizens to ensure progress for the people of this country.

"It is, therefore, clear that our interests and welfare do not coincide with Pakistan's conception of the welfare and interests of Muslims in Pakistan. This is clear from Pakistan's attitude towards Kashmir. Pakistan claims Kashmir first on the ground of the majority of the State's people being Muslims, and secondly on the ground of the State being essential to its economy and defence. To achieve her object she has been threatening to launch *Jehad* against Kashmir and India.

"It is a strange commentary on political beliefs that the same Muslims of Pakistan, who would like the Muslims of Kashmir to join them, invaded the State in October 1947, killing and plundering Muslims in the State and dishonouring Muslim women, all in the interests of what they described as the liberation of Muslims of the State. In her oft-proclaimed anxiety to rescue the three million Muslims from what she describes as the tyranny of a handful of Hindus in the

Of, Pakistan evidently is prepared to sacrifice the the pests of forty million Muslims in India.

Trumana strange exhibition of concern for the welfare could now-Muslims: Our misguided brothers in Pakistani-British do not realise that if Muslims in Pakistan can date which war against Hindus in Kashmir, why should been fixed us, sooner or later, retaliate against Muslims Mission was

"Does Pakistan seriously think that she could give us any help if such an emergency arose or that we would deserve any help, thanks to her own follies? She is incapable of providing room and livelihood to the forty million Muslims of India, should they migrate to Pakistan. Yet her policy and action, if not changed soon, may well produce the result which she dreads.

"We are convinced that India will never attack our interests. First of all, it would be contrary to the spirit animating the political movement in this country. Secondly, it would be opposed to the Constitution and to the sincere leadership of the Prime Minister. Thirdly, India by committing such a folly would be playing straight into the hands of Pakistan. We wish we were equally convinced of the soundness of Pakistan's policy.

"So completely oblivious are they of our present problems and of our future that they are willing to sell us into slavery if only they can secure Kashmir. They ignore the fact that Muslims in Kashmir may also have a point of view of their own, that there is a democratic movement with a democratic leadership in the State, both inspired by the progress of a broad-minded, secularly democratic movement in India and both naturally being in sympathy with India. Otherwise, the Muslim raiders should have been welcome with open arms by the Muslims of the State when the invasion took place in 1947.

"Persistent propaganda about *Jehad* is intended, among other things, to inflame religious passions in this country. For, it would, of course, be in Pakistan's interests to promote communal rioting in India to show to Kashmir Muslims how they can find security only in Pakistan. Such a policy, however, can only bring untold misery and suffering to India and Pakistan generally, and to Indian Muslims particularly.

"Pakistan never tires of asserting that she is determined to protect the interests of Muslims in Kashmir and India. Why does not Pakistan express the same concern for Pathans who are fighting for Pakhtoonistan, an independent homeland of their own? The freedom-loving Pathans under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, both nurtured in the traditions of democratic tolerance of the Indian National Congress, are being subjected to political repression of the worst possible kind by their Muslim brethren in power in Pakistan and in the North-West-Frontier Province. Contradictory as Pakistan's policy generally is, it is no surprise to us that while she insists on a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir, she denies a fair and impartial plebiscite to the Pathans.

"Pakistan's policy in general and her attitude towards Kashmir in particular thus tend to create conditions in this country which in the long run can

only bring to us Muslims widespread suffering and destruction. Her policy prevents us from settling down, from being honourable citizens of a State, free from the suspicion of our fellow-countrymen and adapting ourselves to changing conditions to promote the interests and welfare of India.

"Her sabre-rattling interferes with her own economy and ours. She expects us to be loyal to her despite her impotence to give us any protection, believing at the same time that we can still claim all the rights of citizenship in a secular democracy. In the event of a war, it is extremely doubtful whether she will be able to protect the Muslims of East Bengal who are completely cut off from Western Pakistan. Are the Muslims of India and Eastern Pakistan to sacrifice themselves completely to enable the 25 million Muslims in Western Pakistan to embark upon mad self-destructive adventures?

"We should, therefore, like to impress upon you with all the emphasis at our command that Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir is fraught with the gravest peril to the forty million Muslims of India. If the Security Council is really interested in peace, human brotherhood and international understanding it should heed this warning while there is still time."

The signatories to the Memorandum are: Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh; Sir Sultan Ahmed, formerly Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council; Ahmed Said Khan, Nawab of Chattari, formerly Acting Governor of the United Provinces, and Prime Minister of Hyderabad; Sir Mohammad Osman, formerly Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Acting Governor of Madras, and Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras; Sir Iqbal Ahmed, formerly Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court; Sir Fazal Rahimtoola, formerly Sheriff of Bombay; Maulana Hifz-ur-Rehman, Member of Parliament, General Secretary, Anjuman-i-Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind; Nawab Zain Yar Jang, Minister for Public Works Department, Government of Hyderabad; A. M. Khwaja, Barrister-at-Law, ex-President, Muslim Majlis; T. M. Zarif, General Secretary, Daudi Bohra Muslim Community, West Bengal; H. Qamar Faruqi, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Hyderabad; M. A. Kazmi, Advocate; M. L. Hashim Premji, ex-Sheriff of Bombay; Col. B. H. Zaidi, Member of Parliament, and formerly Prime Minister of Rampur State.

"Mission with Mountbatten"

Articles entitled as above have been appearing in the *Hindu* of Madras and the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi, since September 2 last. As we write eight or nine articles have already appeared, and we propose to summarize or make small quotations therefrom for the benefit of our readers. These throw very valuable light on developments that happened during the days

—24th March, 1947 to June 3, 1947—the period of Mountbatten negotiations consummating in the partition of India, the birth of Pakistan, and finally in the invasion of Kashmir. It has been announced that the articles will appear in book-form from London.

The writer, Mr. Alan Campbell-Johnson, landed at Palan with Lord Ismay, Chief of Staff of the New Viceroy, after a temporary visit to Britain, and the first letter is dated October 28, 1947. He was, not given opportunity to rest, but was called in by the Viceroy to be briefed "at once on the latest Kashmir developments." This appears to suggest that Alan was in a position of the utmost trust, though we are not told for whom he was being briefed. Figures of men like V. P. Menon, State Ministry's Secretary, of Major-General Rees, Commander, Punjab Boundary Force (July to September 1947) and Commander of the Governor-General's Military Emergency Staff (September to December), flit through these letters, not to mention Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel. Campbell-Johnson gives facts in place of the rumours and speculations which fed the public during those dangerous days.

The new emergency in relation to Kashmir has made the publication quite timely. At his first briefing Mountbatten gave the information that it was at his suggestion and under pressure from him that the Nehru Cabinet agreed to accept "accession" of Kashmir when the request came from Maharaja Hari Singh for it, as it was a condition precedent to the sending of India's military formations to the help of the State. Without this accession India would have been as much an invader as Pakistan has been. "The legality of the accession is beyond doubt," says Campbell-Johnson, and continues that on this particular issue Jinnah has been 'hoist with his own petard,' as it was he who chose, over Junagad, to take his stand on "the over-riding validity of the ruler's personal decision." Before the 'transfer of power,' the ruler's choice became the people's, but after it the position changed—the people's voice was determining. It was Maharaja Hari Singh's "chronic indecision" that must be "accounted a big factor" in the Kashmir crisis.

Campbell-Johnson has showered flowers of praise on Mountbatten's "canniness" and "extraordinary vitality" while Nehru is shown as wasted by worry, and "collapsed" on October 28 on reaching his own house. Gandhiji had blessed the Kashmir accession; and Mountbatten's "90-minute" interview helped to tide over all difficulties. And he struck a "Churchillian note" in referring to the fight of the Indian "regiment of infantry" flown to Kashmir and compared it to "Thermopylae."

Jinnah had ordered on October 27, that Pakistan troops "be moved in to Kashmir;" only Auchinleck's persuasion and pressure could move him

to cancel the order. It had reached 'General Gracey, the Acting Pakistan Commander-in-Chief, in the temporary absence of General Mescey, through the Military Secretary of the Governor of West Punjab with whom Jinnah had been staying. Gracey replied that he was not prepared to issue any such order without the approval of the Supreme Commander. At Gracey's urgent request Auchinleck flew to Lahore this morning and explained to Jinnah that as Kashmir had acceded to India, the Government of India had a perfect right to send in troops in response to the Maharaja's request."

Mountbatten's Public Relations Officer thus describes the "Ian Stephen episode":

Mountbatten is disturbed by the editorial attitude of the *Statesman* which in its anxiety over the decline in Indo-Pakistan relations has denounced the injection of Indian troops into Kashmir, and he asked me to arrange for Ian Stephen, the editor, to come and see him. About an hour later Stephen was with us, and Mountbatten began by saying: 'You can't build a nation on tricks.'

We do not propose to bring out the significance of this angry exclamation. Was Ian helping in this trickery by his articles? Or, was it expected that the words would be conveyed to the Pakistani bosses. This is, however, mere guess-work. But the *Statesman's* attitude has not changed during these four years. Its Pakistani slant is unmistakable. It cannot be otherwise in a paper owned by British shareholders. As long as their country feels that her interests will be served by Pakistan, she will pamper her pretensions.

Working of Indo-Pak Trade Pact

India's Commerce and Industry Minister laid on the table of the Parliament figures relating to certain items of imports from and exports to Pakistan under the Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact of February last. According to these figures, Pakistan supplied 5,35,163 bales of raw jute up to the end of June 1951 and 7,10,633 bales up to the end of July.

The Government of Pakistan has since come out with a different set of figures. It states that the actual export of Pakistani jute to India up to the end of July was 8,79,953 bales. The Karachi Press Note claims that Pakistan had done its best to honour the commitments to India and that it was India which had not given its contracted quantities of goods. It says that goods valued at Rs. 4.06 crores were exported by India to Pakistan during March-June 1951, while Pakistan exported goods worth Rs. 27.64 crores. The Press Note also says that its Government delivered 1,09,544 tons of rice against 1,18,800 tons contracted for and arrangements for the remaining 9000 tons had also been made. Meanwhile, when the Pakistan rice began to come it was reported that most of them were weevil-eaten and therefore worthless. With regard to the export of Indian Coal, the Press Note states that India's exports of coal by sea

amounted to only 2,74,350 tons up to the end of June and 3,46,788 tons up to the end of July and not 4,16,801 and 4,98,871 tons as claimed by India's Industry Minister. Exports from all routes up to the end of June amounted 3,39,421 tons against 6,09,000 tons agreed to be supplied by that date. The total quantity of Indian Coal supplied to Pakistan up to the end of July was 4,28,031 tons.

With these conflicting statements before us it is difficult to make any correct assessment of the Indo-Pak trade position. The political pact in respect of minorities has not been successful as is evident from the White Papers issued by the Government of India and the public statements and counter statements made on both sides of the Radcliffe Line. A correct assessment of the trade figures may be considered essential for a lasting solution of the Indo-Pak problem.

Books in Essential Goods List

Various representations from Chambers of Commerce, individuals and associations have reached the Ministry of Finance of the Government of India in regard to the inclusion of certain items in the list of commodities to be declared as essential for the life of the community under the essential goods (Declaration and Regulation of Tax on Sales or Purchase) Bill 1951, introduced in the last session of the Parliament. While these suggestions are receiving the attention of the Government, official circles point out that it is not possible to incorporate any of the suggested items on the list because the Bill has already been placed before the Parliament. We fail to understand why it will not be possible to add a few more items on the list when the Bill is on the Legislative anvil. This can certainly be done on a Government motion. Nothing prevented the government from amending the Fundamental Right clauses of the constitution in clear disregard of popular opinion when the government considered it necessary to do so.

The following goods have been listed as essential under the Bill :

1. Cereals and pulses in all forms, including bread and flour including atta, maida, suji and bran (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers).
2. Green or dried vegetables and flower seeds, bulbs and plants and fresh and dried fruits, other than medicinal preparations (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers).
3. Fresh milk, whole or separate, and milk products.
4. Salt.
5. Coarse and medium, handloom and mill-made, cotton cloth and handloom woollen cloth.
6. Fertilizers and agricultural machinery and implements.
7. Raw cotton, including ginned and un-ginned cotton or kapas or cotton thread, cotton seed, raw jute and sugarcane.
8. Coal, including coke and other derivatives, petroleum and petroleum products, including motor spirit and electrical energy, except energy intended for domestic use.
9. Iron and Steel.

When the Bill becomes law, imposition of Sale or Purchase tax on any of these commodities has to be reserved for consideration of the President and will be legal only when the President's consent has been received.

The Bill, according to our opinion, has two vital defects. Firstly, omission of books from the list is a glaring one. Even in most of advanced democratic countries books have been excluded from the scope of Sales or Purchase Tax. India has just started building up a democratic tradition. Exclusion of books from the Sales Tax list, reduction in postal rates on books and special concessional rate on the air freight of books are three things that the government can immediately do. The second defect of the Bill is that it will not have any retrospective effect and therefore the existing taxes will not be affected. This will frustrate the purpose of the Bill for a very long time to come. The exclusion ought to be given an immediate effect on the present taxes as soon as it becomes law. If Rs. 40 crores of revenue could be lost on the prohibition schemes which are of doubtful utility and success, there is no reason why the government should not forego a little more revenue by placing books on the essential list.

India Government Plane Misused

We have got so used to the misuse of Government property by its officers and even by the Ministers that the people register mere disgust. That we are not far wrong in our estimate is borne out in the remarks of a Nagpur contemporary appearing in one of its articles of a recent date. The names of Ministers are not mentioned—an editorial practice which leads nowhere, as the Minister or Ministers concerned are saved from a public exposure. We share these comments with our readers so that they may be enabled to understand the sorry state of things.

"Defects in Government accounting and subnusion of supplementary demands before Parliament have been found by the Auditing officers of Government. They have found that in eleven cases supplementary demands presented to Parliament proved to be unnecessary. They have also brought to light misuse of Government planes by some of the Ministers. They say that while travelling on duty by planes chartered by Government, certain Cabinet Ministers allowed some non-entitled persons to travel along with them. Under the rules, a Minister while making journey by air in a Government machine has to pay first class full or half railway fare as the case may be. In some cases recovery of small sums due from two Ministers on the above account was waived by Government. But another Minister has incurred an expenditure of Rs. 51,462 by such use of Government planes. Some confusion has arisen in this regard and it is not possible to assess the exact amount. Some attempts were made early this session to raise the matter on the floor of the House but Rajaji cleverly evaded questions."

Leprosy Relief at Gorakhpur

From September 1 to September 9, the Leprosy Association of India had a "Leprosy Week." Rich and poor co-operated in making it a success. From Gorakhpur in the Uttar Pradesh comes the news that a sum of Rs. 55,000 was sanctioned for leprosy relief by the executive committee of the provincial Gandhi Smarak Nidhi at its meeting held on August 18 under the presidentship of Baba Raghav Das, its convener, at Lucknow, and Shri Dharm Deo Shastri was requested to start leprosy relief work at Hrishikesh. The Gandhi Memorial Fund has taken this work up as a special charge. In other States also grants from this Fund for Leprosy Relief must have been made. We wait their reports.

"Problem" Province of Assam

Administrators and newspaper-men have developed a habit of dubbing a particular area as a "problem" if it had any particular set of grievances that confuse them. The following news sent from Gauhati on September 2 last explains the difference between political and natural problems :

"Most of rivers in the north-east Frontier are now forming new courses due to the heavy and rapid silting up and consequent elevation of their beds as a result of the great earthquake of August 1950 and the later floods.

Reports of air survey and land reconnaissance parties show that the Dibang, Lohit, Deopani, Digaru, Kundil and scores of smaller rivers that flow down the Mishmi hills (which was battered by the earthquake killing 900 people) are running in a wayward manner and at places are spreading like spider webs on account of big landslips blocking their original routes. Old rivers' courses are now untraceable in many areas as they have given place to a network of turbulent and wild running streams. Because of the changes in their beds, these once-deep rivers are not able to hold the volume of rain and floodwater discharged into them by hundreds of streams and rivulets and they are therefore forcing their way through places heretofore high and dry.

This has brought in its wake serious problems of flood and erosion resulting in considerable loss to property and life."

Hindi "Sammelan Politics"

The use of the words within quotation marks in the issue of the Allahabad *Leader* dated August 29 last has an ominous ring to people who have the cause of general literature in India at heart. To those who aspire to make Hindi the State Language in fact the introduction of "politics" must be extremely painful.

We do not understand why Shree Jaychandra Vidyalankar, the President of the Sammelan, should have his little quarrel with the General Secretary, Shree Ram Charan Agarwal. The two are thus centres of factions which are engaged in unending quibbles and insinuations not often within the bounds of decency. The *Leader* publishes statements made by a member of the Sammelan's Constitution Committee, followed by statements by the General Secretary and the President. The High Court being called to decide, has issued a restraint order !

The inevitable "fast unto death" has been undertaken by Shree Suman Vatsayan in far-off Wardha; he demands an "impartial enquiry" into the workings of the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti. These are signs of disintegration in the spirit of Sammelan workers. And we have no doubts that the present controversy will not spread the Rashtra Bhasha. It may enrich the vocabulary of the controversialists.

"Indian Problem" in Fiji

We do not know why the *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter's* correspondent in Fiji should have featured their news with these words:

"An 'Indian problem' is raising its head in Fiji, the Sugarcane Islands, which owe their prosperity to indentured Indian labour.

"Indians constitute the majority community on the Islands, exceeding the combined Fijian and European population. According to the British Administration in Fiji, the Indian birth-rate has increased steadily, 'threatening the standard of living of other races on the Islands.'

"Fiji's population figures are: Fijians 130,000; Europeans 6,500; Indians 140,000.

"The Administration has reported that Fiji's important social services, including health and education, 'are bursting at the seams,' as the Islands' population had increased by 8,000 in the last 12 months.

"There is little racial conflict in Fiji today, but sources close to the Administration believe a testing time will come when the pressure of increasing numbers leads to a steady Indian demand for more land. This claim for land, they think, will overshadow the issue of increased Indian political representation, probably at the expense of the Europeans.

"According to the Administration's policy, Fijian interests will remain paramount and land reservations are being made to cater to the immediate and future needs of the Islands' native population.

"The Administration is also reported to be concerned over the political feelings of Fiji's large Indian population. Though the majority of Fiji Indians have little interest in their homeland, they look to India for political inspiration and guidance. The Administration, therefore, is likely to be confronted with an embarrassing situation in the event of India adopting a policy different from that of Britain or the Commonwealth on any major issue."

The correspondent has gathered his news from 'sources close to the Administration' which being European, have the initial anti-Indian bias. In the ultimate analysis, Indians who had made their homes during the last 125 years, are as good as native Fijians; they must sink or swim with the latter. It is only the 'Malan spirit' that can set and keep the peoples apart.

In Malan's Realm

South Africa is geographically far-off. But it is not allowing us to forget it. The Boer-Briton combination has reduced this sun-kissed land to a hell for its native peoples and the men and women of other lands whose labour has made what it is today.

The 3rd August issue of the *Indian Opinion*, founded by Gandhiji nearly 50 years ago, and now edited by Shree Manilal Gandhi enables us to realise something of the spirit of that rule and of the revolt in reaction.

"The National Executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress decided at a joint meeting in Johannesburg last 20th July to set up a Planning Council for a mass campaign by Natives, Indians and Coloured people against oppressive measures that have been recently passed by the present Government.

Dr. J. S. Moroka, president-general of the African National Congress, in welcoming the delegates said: "It is my contention that no matter where a man comes from, if he has made South Africa his home, then he is a South African. We want to live in co-operation with all in this country. We have come together to find ways and means of how we can fight this great fight which is before us....."

The Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

This joint Conference of the Executive Committees of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the representatives of the Franchise Action Council, convened at the invitation of the African National Congress, meeting in Johannesburg on the 29th July, 1951, having carefully considered the report of the African National Congress on the present political situation and its plan of action; and in particular realising:

(a) That the rising tide of Nationalist oppression against the people of South Africa has reached unbearable limits especially among the Union's non-White people;

(b) That the brutal enforcement of the inhuman and enslaving Pass Law and the further impoverishment of the African people by the policy of Stock Limitation and the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme and the recent legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Voters Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act, have caused untold misery and bitter resentment among the non-white people of South Africa;

(c) That the Nationalist Government in its mad desire to enforce 'Apartheid' has at every opportunity incited the people to racial strife and has attempted to crush their legitimate protests by ruthless Police Action.

This Conference declares its firm conviction that all people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed have the inalienable and fundamental right to participate directly, and equally in the Governing Councils of the State and in pursuance of this objective, this Conference welcomes the decision of the African National Congress and resolves:

(1) To declare war on the Pass Laws and Stock Limitation, the Group Areas Act, the Voters Representation Act, the Suppression of Commission Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act;

(2) To embark upon an immediate mass campaign for the repeal of these oppressive measures, and

(3) To establish a Joint Planning Council to co-ordinate the efforts of the National Organisations of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples in this mass campaign."

Federal Plans for Africa

There have for sometime past been many plans propagated by Europeans to federalize the various countries of the African continent. In themselves these may be desirable. But the European purpose is so crudely manifest that even a foreigner is struck by it. Therefore, we are not surprised that the plan for the federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, sponsored by the British Government, has received no welcome from the native peoples. News sent out on September 7 last gives us some information about it:

The Memorandum presented to the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. James Griffiths, was issued on behalf of the Ndola Africa Advisory Council by the Council's Working Committee.

It said the proposals suggested a form of Federation which would give Europeans all effective political power and the natives only token representation.

The natives numbering over six million, compared with 169,080 Europeans, would have only four out of 35 Federal Parliament members.

The proposed protective measures were 'undemocratic' and similar measures had proved worthless in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

If the settlers had all the political power, the Federation was bound to result in discrimination against Africans. The natives would only agree to Federation if certain conditions were fulfilled.

These included: native representations in the Legislative and Executive Councils in proportion to population; native members of the Legislative Council to be given portfolios; immediate introduction of universal adult suffrage without changing the status of British subjects; nationalisation of all major industries; the 'Africanisation' of public services; and the out-lawing of all forms of colour bar.

European businessmen, on the other hand, told Mr. Griffiths that Federation would bring great economic advantages to Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Griffiths had met the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Northern Rhodesia and the Northern Rhodesian Master Builders' Association here on 29th August.

Mr. S. A. Hyatt, President of the Associated Chambers, told him that Federation would greatly increase the three territories' bargaining power—particularly in negotiating for an outlet to the sea.

It would also offer a much more attractive field for over-seas investors than at present and would stimulate European immigration.

Mr. Griffiths said Africans insisted very strongly that land settlement questions should remain under the control of territorial Governments.

Immigration was closely linked with land settlement and there might have to be further consideration of whether the Federal or territorial Governments should control immigration.

Burma's Demand for the Andamans

A Burman businessman has started a stunt for the return of the Andamans to the possession of the Union of Burma. A labour leader before the last world war, a businessman after it, U Ba Hlaing has been a rather severe critic of the Burma Government's import policy. In an article in the *Burman*, entitled, "Whose Islands—the Andamans?"—he gave certain reasons why these islands should be part of Burma. "Burma has contributed a great deal to the development of the islands because a number of Burman convicts had been transported to these islands and even a civil servant of Burma acted as the Chief Commissioner for some time. These islands have all along been geologically and otherwise a part of Burma, although they were occupied and administered by the British as an administrative unit as part of India."

And on these plausibilities he bases his brief, and expects that "the powers that be" both in India and Burma would be able to give shape to U Ba Hlaing's brain child. Stranger things have been happening in modern power-politics, and the Burman businessman must pray for another world war before the thing he desires so much can fall into his lap. The Kuriles are an example in point.

Relations between Israel and Egypt

Egypt has been waging almost a lone battle with Britain. Her Arab League colleagues have been proving themselves to be weak reeds. And the only State that can help her is Israel against which Egypt along with other Arab States have been fighting an inconclusive war. It appears, however, that better spirit has been attempting to sweeten relations between Israel and Egypt. The following news sent from Cairo on August 10 last gives point to this hope:

"Ahmed Khashaba Pasha, who was Egypt's Foreign Minister during the Palestine war, said today that he favoured a peace treaty with Israel 'taking into account the existing situation and in order to avoid further misfortunes.'

"Despite Foreign Minister Salah el Din Pasha's recent speech declaring that the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, had closed the door on Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, observers here linked Khashaba Pasha's peace offer with a possible change in the Egyptian attitude concerning Suez Canal restrictions.

"Khashaba Pasha, Vice-President of the Liberal Constitutional Party, said that a peace treaty with

Israel should be signed on two conditions. 'First, every Arab citizen who was driven from his country should be allowed to return, should be given back what had been taken from him, should be compensated for losses in property or money, and should be able to enjoy all civil and political rights on an equal footing with other citizens. Second, that a treaty of peace should guarantee Egypt well-defined and stable frontiers which will protect her against aggressive expansionist tendencies of Israel.'

"Khashaba Pasha added that the first condition was just and humanitarian; the second was necessary considering that Israel, 'in making her aggressions, took shelter behind the protection of great powers'."

The talk about Israel's "aggressions" should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. To the world outside the cap lay rather on Khashaba Pasha's group of the Arab States which have not shown to any great advantage in the recent war.

C. S. Srinivasachari

One of the most notable of South India's historians has departed from this world. As Head of the Department of History and Politics in the Annamalai University—a position which he held for about 15 years since 1931—C. S. Srinivasachari had the good fortune of having opportunity to exercise his great powers. He has left five sons and his wife to mourn his loss. To them our deepest sympathy is tendered.

Born in a distinguished family in South Arcot district, Mr Srinivasachari had his education in the Pachaiyappa's High School, Chidambaram, and in the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Graduating in 1909, he joined the staff of the Pachaiyappa's College in the History Department. After 20 years of service there he was offered the Chair of History and Politics at the Annamalai University.

The Indian History Congress elected him Sectional President in 1931 and 1939 and General President in 1941. He was elected President of the Oriental Conference (History Section) in 1940.

After retiring from the Annamalai University, Srinivasachari was for three years Principal of the R.D.M. College at Sivaganga. Shortly before his 61st birthday, he became Principal of the Pachaiyappa's College at Kancheepuram and retired in June this year. His numerous friends, students and colleagues issued a volume in commemoration of his 61st birthday.

Familiarly known as "Chicca", Srinivasachari's profound scholarship, versatility and genuine goodness made him an esteemed friend and a respected and affectionate teacher. Author of a number of books on history, he was always recognised in this country as one of its eminent historians. Among his well-known works may be mentioned: *The History of the Pallavas*, *A History of the City of Madras*, *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, *A History of Gingee and its Rulers*, and *Vignettes from the History of the Walajah Dynasty of the Carnatic*.

Deb-Raj Roy

This benefactor of education in Assam has immortalized himself by his donation Rs. 1,00,000 to the Golaghat College. He was a self-made man who made good in tea business. And the authorities of the Golaghat College have done well to name it after the donor. May his soul rest in peace!

V. Ramaswamy Iyengar

Death took away from Madras journalism on August 22 last a veteran who was known to his readers as 'Vara,' as he had written all his articles with the initials—VA and RA. A consistent nationalist starting his life-work in the spacious days of Mrs. Annie Besant, he specialized in Tamil journalism and soon came to the front. We tender our condolence to his bereaved family.

V. R. Kalappa

On August 29 last passed away at Nagpur a leader of the Labour Movement. He was a member of the Central Assembly, and he should have had years more to work for progressive movements. But he died at 53 only. Nagpur shared with Bombay the honour of being the centre of Tata activities; and it was there that this Labour stalwart did most of his work.

Surgeon Voronoff

This Russian surgeon known popularly as the 'monkey gland specialist' died at Paris on September 1.

Born in 1866, he found at Paris congenial soil for his special qualities. In 1917, he became Chief Surgeon of the Paris Military Hospital. Later he became director of the Biological Laboratory of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. After some time, again, he became director of experimental surgery in College de France.

Dr. Voronoff's name will go down to posterity as one prominently associated with efforts at prolonging human life and rejuvenating the exhausted or declining physical frames so as to make old people or old animals young again sexually and in other ways. The method which he so successfully applied in this matter was that of transplantation of the sexual glands of young animals into the body of the patient under treatment. In the case of lower animals glands of animals of the same species were used. In the case of human beings, those of monkeys only were transplanted, successfully removing senility and making the old decrepit system manifest, temporarily though, both the mental and physical vigour of much younger individuals.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 8th to 20th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

HOW THE BRITISH LOST INDIA

Our gains and losses from British rule

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.LITT. HON. M.R.A.S.

ENGLAND'S dominion over India ended on 15th August, 1947 and India's destiny passed into other hands. This is the proper place for looking back, analysing England's work in its completeness, and striking a balance between our gains and losses. We can see in clear objectivity that the changes have been vast and varied beyond what could be imagined even ten years before Independence Day. Our political tie with Britain has been severed, but the forces set going by the British connection in our society, thought and life are still working: in these fields there has been no break-away from our immediate past.

Looking at the whole course of British rule in India, we cannot fail to see that a revolutionary change has been made by it in our society as it was 182 years ago when the English first assumed the administration of an Indian province (by the Diwani sanad of 1765), or even 89 years ago when India came directly under the care of those who governed England (by the Act of 1858). What have been our gains and losses during British rule?

On the credit side we have secured

(1) The formation of a secular State with equality for all irrespective of religion or race.

(2) Raising the labourers and peasants from a semi-servile condition to full citizenship.

(3) The growth of a vast and most influential middle class.

(4) Recognition of the principle that the true aim of government is to uplift the people by socialistic activity, and not merely to act as a "police-state."

(5) The rise of a capitalist class almost rivalling that of Europe in magnitude and capability. The mere accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of some Indians was known in the days of our Rajahs and Nawabs; but that wealth was kept buried underground. It is only when wealth in the mass is employed fruitfully in production and trade that it can be called *capital*, and this has been its use under Britannic peace.

(6) Women have been raised from a degraded status by the growth of public opinion supported by state action. The pernicious influence of a harem of kept women on the children has been removed, and at the same time the freedom and education of the women has doubled the effective man-power of the nation.

(7) In the caste system, which has been the supreme factor of Indian life since primeval times, disintegration is now at work. Its prohibitions and discriminations have been abolished fully in theory and a little in practice, but in the cities only.

(8) Provincial, linguistic, and sectarian differences

of mentality are being ironed out, and uniformity of thought is advancing on the way to completion throughout India, thanks to newspapers, mass meetings, and a common type of literature in all our vernaculars.

But, on the other hand, Free India has to carry over an evil legacy, too, from her departed predecessor. This consists of—

(9) Over one-third of the Indian soil, the British have kept feudalism alive into the very middle of the 20th century. The primitive barbarism of the Nizam's Government (with 82,313 square miles and nearly 16½ millions of human souls to misgovern), the slothful, amorphous, defenceless political condition of Kashmir* (with about the same area but less than a quarter of the above population), the peasant-servitude and baronial tyranny obtaining in Rajputana *cum* Malwa (nearly 200,000 square miles and over 20 millions of people)—these will be remembered in history as a standing disgrace to a civilized suzerain who had dictated their Government for a century and a half. It will take Free India two human generations before Haidarabad or Kashmir can be brought up even to approach Madras or Bengal in modernisation, and that progress will be possible only if full sixty years of peace are granted by Providence.

(10) All separatist tendencies that oppose national union have been encouraged and the lines of cleavage widened by British policy.

(11) The Muslim community has been kept 50 years behind the times, thus paralysing one-third of the national body.

(12) The old home, based on the joint family, has been broken up. It is a world-wide phenomenon, due solely to economic causes, which have been intensified in the post-war age; but its effect will be felt in all aspects of our life and thought, for centuries to come.

(13) The feeling of exasperation against British rule roused among our people since 1905, and their sense of frustration and despair, have created a mental background most harmful to an infant State which has been suddenly called upon to grapple with the problems of complete independence.

* Lord Hardinge wrote about Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir in October 1912, "He used to be incoherent at certain times of the day until he had taken his opium pill, and he then became quite amusing." (*My Indian Years*, p. 73). This was before the Mrs. Robinson affair. And to a man of this type had been left the defence of life, property and women's honour when Pakistan troops and frontier Afghan tribes invaded Kashmir in 1947.

NEW MIDDLE CLASS: ITS IMPORTANCE

The rise of a vast and independent middle class is the greatest of the social changes that the British period has seen. It is the natural consequence of the introduction of modern civilisation and new administration with their numberless branches of activity, advanced industries which require more than skill of hand, a more even distribution of the wealth in the country, and public education opened to all. The unseen but ceaseless pressure of British rule has flattened our hill-tops and elevated our valleys; our Rajahs and Nawabs have grown smaller and smaller and are fast hastening to extinction, while the labourers have been legally assured of their rights, their economic position has been raised beyond the dreams of their grandfathers and the path of their rise to the next higher grade made easy.

This new middle class, unlike their predecessors in the Muslim period, are not the creation of royal favour or baronial patronage; they have an independent status because they know that the work of the new Government and society cannot go on without them. At the top they are being frequently related to our blue blood, and at the bottom labourers' sons are every year rising up to merge themselves in this class by disavowing their ancestry.

Democracy cannot work without social equality, and social equality has been conquered by this vast middle class moving across Hindu society like a steam roller. This non-official middle class has been the life and soul of our political agitation and supplied all its leaders.

INDIA'S MILITARY STRENGTH KEPT UNDER
SUPPRESSION BY POLICY

The surest foundation of foreign rule over a country is the confidence of the people in the efficiency and honesty of their administration and its power of military defence. The alien rule must justify itself every day by its work, as it cannot appeal to the subjects' sense of nationality or religious unity, which may keep them tolerant of misrule by their own people almost to the extreme point. In all these respects the years 1941-47 marked the lowest depth reached by the British power in India, but it was the working out of inexorable forces which were inherent in the very nature of England's strange position in India, and which no human contrivance could alter. Statesmanship and goodwill could have smoothed the rupture, but had not the power to prevent it.

A handful of Britons could administer India and a cabinet sitting in a small island four thousand miles away could direct the policy of this sub-continent without the full co-operation of its people, only if India was kept weaker by comparison. Under Lord Lytton (Viceroy from 1876 to 1879) the policy was openly launched for keeping the Indian people as weak as possible. First, the Indians were deprived of arms except under licence, but every European *qua* European was left free to carry

arms. Even when licences were given to loyal Indians they were, as a rule, restricted to inferior types of fire arms and munition. The armies of the native princes were legally restricted in size, but even these could not use breech-loaders. Foreign travellers visiting Rajputana and Maharashtra laughed to see these heroic races still handling the long-forgotten muzzle-loaders. Even the sepoy in British pay were armed with the types of muskets discarded as obsolete by their white comrades in arms, and their training was perfunctory. For instance, at the battle of Maiwand (1880) General Burrows employed Jacob's Rifles, a hundred sepoy of which had never fired ball cartridges before, and these men were pitted against Ayub Khan's Afghans armed with the latest Russian rifled artillery.

British policy consistently negated everything that could make the Indians strong in the modern world. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 had proved that a nation in arms is superior to a permanent professional army however well-drilled, and that the officers needed by a hastily expanded army cannot be trained in less than three years. And yet educated Indians were debarred from commissions in the so-called Indian army. They were even excluded from the Volunteer Force. In my college days, I saw a jet-black Negro of Jamaica walking on the Esplanade of Calcutta and chewing a straw; he had the letters C.V.R. (Calcutta Volunteer Rifles) on his shoulder-strap. We saw how a foreign imported Negro could become a volunteer here, but not even the highest and most loyal Indian gentleman was entitled to work as an honorary defender of his home and women.

Muller, the Captain of the German raiding cruiser *Emden* during World War No. 1, had been third officer of the Calcutta Port Trust Volunteers during a previous residence in India, and thus learnt all the secrets of the channel from the Bay of Bengal to the capital of India.* No native could enter the Calcutta Port Trust Volunteer Force, because it was an eternal law of Nature that every white man *qua* white man was a friend of the British and every native of the country their potential enemy.

Sir Charles Elliott, when Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, took a keen interest in the health of Indian boys. He issued an order urging the holding of physical drill in our schools, with a note *military drill is not to be taught!*

During World War No. I, the Allies, almost overwhelmed by the German man-power, issued an appeal to the people of India to serve as volunteers in Flanders, but not as soldiers, only as mechanics, drivers, etc., and this appeal contained the explanation, "Every Indian who

* He could not utilise this knowledge, during his next visit, because when his *Emden* reached the head of the Bay, he picked up some floating Indians dead and on dissection found them infected with typhoid. So, he avoided this pestilential zone and bombarded Madras instead, as a return for British hospitality and camaraderie in arms of a few years back.

volunteers will thereby free a Frenchman or a Belgian to fight as a soldier." In other words, Indians (other than professional soldiers), were fit to serve the Empire's cause only as coolies and not as soldiers. I still remember what feelings this circular roused among educated Indians at the time.

To what length British distrust of Indians could go was shown by another incident, which would have been unspeakably comic were it not for its tragic import to India. During this same First World War, France then at her last gasp, sent a call for volunteer soldiers (not mere coolies) to her Bengali citizens of Chandernagar (a small colony two miles by half a mile; near Calcutta). Eighteen Bengali Hindu lads cheerfully enlisted from that town. One Bengali lad of Calcutta, being keen on soldiering, mixed himself up with his cousins of Chandernagar (who were French nationals) and at first got enrolled. But Inspector P. Lahiri of the British Indian Police was on the watch there, he immediately pounced upon this lad, had him extradited, and dragged him back to Calcutta—as an enemy of the British Raj in the making! *

The problem was not one of mere numbers. The astronomical figures of £. s. d. required in modernising India's armament could be collected only by a national Government, and a national Government was legally justified in refusing to vote the money, unless it could decide all questions of war and peace—as *equal* partners in the Empire—and keep the army of India under Indian control. This was the unanswerable argument used by G. K. Gokhale when he complained that over 45 per cent of India's revenue was eaten up by the army, and the Finance Minister replied that Japan spent 60 per cent of her annual revenue on her army and navy. Gokhale's retort was, "I am ready to vote 75 per cent for the army, if you will officer it with our own men and leave the foreign policy of the country in our hands, as Japan does."

Thus an *impasse* was created which only complete separation could resolve.

HOW ENGLAND INTENSIFIED NATIONAL DISUNION

As the reign of Edward VII opened with the 20th century, British policy in India was driven into a frantic attempt to prevent the unity of the Indian people by widening every existing line of cleavage and creating new ones by political jugglery. In the 19th century the Muslims as a class had fallen fifty years behind the

Hindus, by obeying their bigoted priests, who had preached to them that if they received modern education, their souls would go to hell. Thus between 1830 and 1870 the Hindus not only recovered the ground that they had lost during six centuries of orthodox Muslim rule, but forged ahead in wealth, power, culture and share in the administration. The followers of the Prophet only dreamt and vainly sighed for the return of the days of their Nawabs and Padishahs. After the Sepoy Mutiny, Sir Sayyid Ahmad with infinite persistence and in the face of disheartening opposition from his own sect, tempted the Muslims to enter modern colleges and equip themselves for the free competition of the world.

And now under Lords Minto and Hardinge (1907-15) the Muslims were coached and guided to set up a separatist camp in order to counteract the Indian National Congress which was chiefly under Hindu and Parsi leadership. The turbaned Faithful were encouraged to boast that they were a martial people, a manly heroic race (*i.e.*, Asiatic *Herren Volk* or Nazis), while the subtle Hindus clamouring for Swaraj were only vakils and keranis, having brain power but no courage or inner nobility. The Muslims after 1905 continued to nurse their pride under official patronage, demanding "parity with the Hindus," and "our communal quota,"—"our special electorates"—without qualifying for life's struggle by hard toil in schools and factories or foreign study. Their artificially sheltered life, narrow and self-centred, spelt their doom, as soon as the British umbrella was withdrawn from over their heads.

Lord Curzon in his despatch recommending the partition of Bengal (1904) frankly stated that this stroke would have the merit of saving the English from hearing *only one political voice*, which meant that when the Bengali Hindus would next demand political rights for all the Indian people, they would be outvoted by "loyal Muslims" at Dacca and by Beharis in Patna. The Olympians of Downing Street nodded assent.

John Morley, once a prophet of radicalism, exulted in the official nursing of the Muslim League as a native opposition to the Indian National Congress; he wrote to Lady Minto, in October 1906. "The whole thing has been as good as it could be. It has prevented the critical faction here [in England] from any longer representing the Indian Government as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy versus the people." [Lady Minto, p. 47.]

When the Muslim League was set up on official props, there was exultation in the Viceregal Court at Simla (October 1906). A high official wrote to Lady Minto, "A very very big thing has happened today. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition." [*India: Minto and Morley*, by Lady Minto, p. 47.]

The next Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst followed the same policy. After the Kanpur mosque riot (in which 16 persons were killed, 30 wounded, and 106

* The sending off of this squad of Bengalis was a scene of immense enthusiasm. After two centuries Bengalis were again going to fight as modern soldiers. Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri (ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court) and many other notables of Calcutta were present to bless them. I met one of these French colonial Bengalis at Darjeeling two years after the Armistice, and he told me that his squad had been sent to Verdun, when Marshal Petain halted the Germans there. If the British had not barred their Bengali subjects, this Chandernagar corps could have been eighteen hundred strong instead of eighteen only.

rioters imprisoned) he called a general meeting of the whole of the Muhammadan community and told them, "I was their father and they were my children, and as such I had the right to chastise them if necessary. This sentiment was received with shouts of applause"—because all the riot prisoners were released and the disputed land given back. [*My Indian Years*, p. 87.]

In 1909, W. S. Blunt, one of the noblest British friends of the Muslims, "regretted that in India the motive [of thus favouring the Muslims] seems to have been the encouragement of Muhammadan loyalty as a counterpoise to the Hindu movement for self-government." [*India under Ripon*, p. 298, note added.]

Alas! It was too late in the day to make the *divide et impera* policy finally succeed; the Indian Renaissance had already gone too far for that. The British had tried for years to "bolster up the Sick Man of Europe," and their present attempt to bolster up the Sick Man of India met with the same fate.

Another arm of the same policy of splitting up the nation was the public exaltation of caste differences among the Hindus. Men to whom all blacks had been pariahs, now began to show a heart torn by anguish for the lot of the depressed caste Hindus. In Bombay and Madras, non-Brahmans were set up against Brahmins; in Bengal "Scheduled Castes" were listed and driven into a special "reservation" or political Ghetto of their own. Morley openly declared that the election of Muslim representatives by a purely Muslim electorate would only bring into the Indian legislature bigoted members, and yet he yielded that point. Ramsay MacDonald at the Second Round Table Conference held at Chequers declared that the filling of legislatures and public offices by free choice among all the people was the essence of democracy, and that communal reservation in these respects should be avoided, or if adopted (only in part) should be abolished after ten years; yet he too yielded. [This is on the authority of the Right Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar, who was present as a member.]

In the end these separatist tricks went the way that History shows such plans to have gone all over the world; but they left a lasting bitterness in Indian minds and put the Muhammadans back by another fifty years.

THE BITTER FRUITS OF ENGLAND'S SELFISH POLICY

Thus a situation was created in which our British rulers considered India's weakness as England's gain. The inevitable consequence of such a public policy was to create in the Indian mind a conviction that England's distress was India's only opportunity. It was the Irish problem, but multiplied a hundred-fold, because it related not to one small corner of the British Isles but to an area as large as Europe minus Russia and a population one-fifth of the human race, and alien to the English in speech, race and faith.

If India's distress was England's opportunity, India's glory could not be England's glory. A Bengali Deputy Magistrate of some literary fame told Rabindra Nath

Tagore that one day when he was talking with the Police Officer of Jorasanko thanah, on some private business, a beat constable came to the office door, saluted, and reported *Tin Lumber Daghi* * *Rabindur-Nath Thakur kal rat ko ghar pauncha*,—"Suspect No. 3 Rabindra Nath Tagore arrived at his home last night."

If it was really necessary to shadow the Nobel Laureate as an enemy of the British Raj, I cannot imagine what can be a greater condemnation of British rule in India. If it was not necessary, what are we to think of the wisdom of the British Governor of Bengal?

Those who had the honour of listening to the intimate talk of Gokhale, Lord Sinha, and Surendra Nath Mallik, know that with all their deep admiration for the British character and gratitude for the benefits of British rule, they finally despaired of India's political salvation ever coming from British hands. All people had lost their faith in British justice and the two World Wars destroyed their faith in British efficiency and invincibility.

The military disasters of Lord Lytton's Afghan War, the surrender of General Townshend at Kut (the greatest shame to British arms since Yorktown), and the unstemmed flight of British troops and administrators before the Japanese in Malay—destroyed the last remnant of belief in British power. The utter mismanagement and confusion that disgraced Lord Lytton's conduct of the Afghan War and Lord Hardinge's Mesopotamian campaign† showed that British control and personnel was no guarantee of efficiency. Belief in British honesty received its death-blow when the Munition Board scandal was pushed up by the Viceroy after World War No. 1. People asked themselves, Could Indians have done worse if they had been in power? The Indians at last discovered, to borrow Kipling's words, that the English were "Not god, nor devil but Man."

The sense of disillusionment was embittered by the step-motherly treatment of Indian interests. Frederick List in his *National System of Political Economy* advocated the nursing of infant industries in a country by protective duties and State bounties, and Bismarck implemented this policy in Germany. But in India, the British Secretary of State tried to strangle the Bombay Cotton Mills by laying on them a Countervailing Excise

* *Dagh* is an Arabic word meaning a brand put with a red-hot iron on the person of a criminal or slave. I still remember the slight curl on the poet's lip as he told me this story, adding, "I suppose the *dagh* still attaches to me in their dossier."

† The British Government sent to Mesopotamia smooth-bore artillery which had been laid aside in the arsenals of India for sixty years as useless, while the Turks used the latest German guns under Von der Goltz. On 29th April, 1916, the British-Indian garrison of Kut, 10,061 fighters and 3,248 followers surrendered to the Turks. Eighty per cent of the prisoners died in Turkish hands, the Britishers being about 3,000 and the remaining 10,300 Indians. (Authority: *Times Lit. Suppl.*).

Previous to this disaster, the British Indian wounded had died like flies, being crowded together in boats without medicines or medical attention. Nobody was held responsible for it. (Hardinge, pp. 134-135).

Duty. The argument used by Lord Salisbury in yielding to the clamour of the Manchester rivals of Bombay, have been called by an Oxford lecturer, C. J. Hamilton as disingenuous.† It is impossible to describe the harm which these duties did to the Indian people's faith in British justice. What Manchester gained, the Empire lost. And Manchester's gain proved illusory in the long run: the patriotic Indians took the vow to wear home-made clothes and to boycott British textiles; in 25 years this spirit spread to the masses. And the new Indian capitalist class, a pure creation of British rule, was antagonised and it henceforth made an alliance with the politically-active intelligentsia of the country. The Indian National Congress which was a charity-boy at birth, no longer suffered from lack of funds.

In the evolution of British India, a stage had now arrived when this country could not be governed from Whitehall, and yet it would have been worse still to leave the entire destiny of India in the hands of the British bureaucracy and white mercantile community with their few Indian *stooges*. It is surprising how little the authorities in England kept themselves informed about India and the Indians. Lord Curzon had sucked Maharajah Sir Madho Singh of Jaipur of several lakhs for his pet scheme, the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. And yet he, when a Cabinet Minister after return home, wrote a personal letter to Sir Madho Singh by name, asking for another donation, at a time when that Maharaja had been dead for four years! Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, when working in the India office, London, as a Councillor of the Secretary of State, was one day greeted by his Chief, Lord Birkenhead with the words, "How do you do, Maharajah?" The fact is that Mr. Mallik had a

colleague in the Council in the Maharajah of Burdwan. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between Mr. Mallik and Maharajah Bijaychand in size, features and colour; but to the master of India's destiny one native was as good as another.

OUR PRESENT PERILOUS POSITION

Finally, the greatest mischief done by the long-wavering struggle for India's independence against British conservatism, is that the first generation of Indians into whose hands Free India has fallen have acquired a distorted mentality. A class of professional politicians* has risen to power, and are only held back from doing incalculable mischief by the few giants at the top. A false sense of values has been preached to the electorate, to have been held in political detention by the British is proclaimed as a qualification for a ministership in Free India, and a coat without a collar is the symbol of true patriotism. A tie? good God! it is the badge of a slave of the English. Honest constructive workers for the people's true uplift are taunted with having made no sacrifice compared with the white cap patriots. Our old readers may remember the late Ramananda Chatterjee's apt remarks on this point. Patriotism of this type is sometimes cashed in to found bogus joint-stock banks.

But all these will pass away if only kind Heaven vouchsafes to us fifty years of peace and strong and wise hands at the helm of our Government. Then England's marvellous achievement in India will be appraised in a just balance,

in calm of mind, all passion spent.

* "A professional politician is a person who has no ostensible livelihood except his political status."—Note in the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar to the Simon Commission.

† *Trade Relations Between England and India*, p. 254.

:O:-

SONG IN KHEYAL

By CYRIL MODAK

In the stillness of dusk on my heart lean thy cheek,
On my heart lean thy cheek,
And unfold in shy glances the message I seek.
In that language that only fond lovers can speak,
Sad, glad lovers can speak
Lovers can speak.

Let thine arms cling about me like tendrils of vine,
Like tendrils of vine,
Like the whisper of leaves let thy life speak to mine
Of that haunting, mysterious, dark secret of thine,
Dark, sweet secret of thine,
• Sweet secret of thine.

Not mine ears but my soul shall attend ever nigh,
Shall attend ever nigh,
Not my lips but my joy-lipped devotion reply,
Not in words, dear my Love, with a kiss and a sigh,
And a kiss and a sigh,
Kiss and a sigh.

Put the flute of my self to thy lips young and fair,
Thy lips young and fair,
That thy breath may breathe life in what died thro'
despair,
And its silence shall break into paeans so rare,
Into paeans so rare,
Paeans so rare.

APPEASEMENT BIRDS COMING HOME TO ROOST

Clenched Fists Vs. Folded Hands

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"How far then, Catiline, will you abuse our patience?"—CICERO

THE lot of the political writer—especially if he is a political writer on a monthly, not a daily or a weekly—is a very unenviable one: by the time his article appears in print the news may become utterly stale and, at times, even false to the pattern of events that emerges ultimately from that canvas over which the Moving Finger traces its indelible outlines. I have often encountered this difficulty while writing in the columns of *The Modern Review*, and not least while writing now when no one can claim to know positively the final outcome of the rapidly increasing tension between India and Pakistan. For a few tense moments it nearly seemed that war was imminent and that the Congress's appeasement chickens were on the point of coming home to roost—to a very sanguinary kind of roost, indeed. In addition, there were all those wires of nerves between the two Premiers—wires that were, as the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton happily remarked of the rolling sentences of De Quincey, "lengthening out like nightmare corridors or rising higher and higher like impossible eastern pagodas."

THE CLENCHED FIST RELAXES A LITTLE

We heaved a profound sigh of relief when, at long last, the Nawabzada closed his telegraphic correspondence with the Pandit, and closed it with the same appealing air of injured innocence in which, a month or so ago, he had commenced it. That the war clouds, though lowering menacingly, did not actually burst even after the firing of that final epistolary shot was a welcome indication that our exceedingly loving and courteous neighbour was, perhaps, still waiting for an unmistakable signal from her Anglo-American friends to precipitate hostilities. Probably second thoughts had begun to assail the minds of those friends. With Korea acting as a stern warning to them they might well have been considering the feasibility of going slow for the nonce with fresh adventures: Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, for all his clenched fists and flashing eyes, might, when put to the test, prove to be no less a catastrophic liability than Dr. Syngman Rhee and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. I am far from suggesting that the lesson of Korea has been thoroughly learnt by these much-vaunted "democratic" Powers. Had it been learnt properly the fateful Kuesong parleys would not have dragged on as they have done so far, nor would they have been continually threatening a serious deadlock. America, in particular, is "all out" to exterminate Russia and its satellites—the only factor deterring it from that frightful resolve being the equally stubborn determination of the Kremlin and its "fellow-travellers" not to allow themselves to

be so exterminated, even for the laudable purpose of thereby facilitating the process of "democratising" our entire mundane planet. Obviously, the Soviet and its minions do not know what is good for them and the world at large although Messrs. Truman and Acheson (with the backing of their full military might) have been only too willing to point it out to them for the last ever so many months and years.

PAKISTAN VERY MUCH IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PICTURE

I have always maintained in these columns that Pakistan is the "blue-eyed boy" of Britain and America: it would have been that, of course, even if sundry strategic considerations (the only considerations that have any sort of validity now-a-days) had not so miraculously supervened in its favour. Pakistan and foreign friends have grown in beauty side by side. I am not suggesting that, literally, they have filled one home with glee: it is, however, my firm conviction that they have contrived to fill a fair number of homes with glee. They have mutual bonds of self-interest: something deep in the one calls to a corresponding deep in the other. Besides, they have—or imagine they have—a common enemy in Hindu India (which is the only real India). But, unfortunately for us, strategic considerations have also supervened, "making the gruel thick and slab." Pakistan is a vital link in the extensive chain of the Anglo-American defence (as well as offence) system; and these Western "democracies" naturally feel that, Communist extirpation being their sacred mission, the far-off divine event for which the whole creation is evidently moving, Pakistan must, at any cost, be coaxed and cajoled and cosseted by them as against the "Bharatiya Bania"—the amiable Pak Radio's endearing nomenclature for the Hindu citizen *pur sang*.

CAUSE GREATER THAN QUESTIONS OF RIGHT

AND WRONG

Thus it has come about that these Western stalwarts have been deeming it their bounden duty to sponsor Pakistan's cause as against India's through good report and bad, and irrespective of the hour and the season. In this simple and estimable scheme of things such paltry questions as what is right and what is wrong inevitably fail to find a place—much less a conspicuous place. They just do not exist. They are not regarded as existing because they are not supposed to be serviceable to the cause. Judged by a strict code of conduct they know as well as anyone else that Pakistan is, and has been ever since this spot of bother was focussed on the world's attention through our

country's earnest (and imbecile) appeal to the United Nations four years ago, not only wrong but *tremendously* wrong—*wrong as wrong can be*. It must be said to the credit of these Anglo-Americans that they are no double-distilled idiots and that if they cannot see a needle in a haystack they can see the haystack all right—provided that it is repeatedly pointed out to them. Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir was not comparable to a needle in a haystack: it was the haystack itself—with a capital "H." It was as large as life—some are prepared to aver that it was larger than life. Even so it took a deal of pointing out on our part; but in the end, the champions of "democracy" were not averse to acknowledging (tardily) that Pakistan was (in a vague sort of way) guilty of aggression against India. Our task, to be sure, had been lightened considerably by Pakistan's own belated admission, when pushed into a tight corner by the cross-examination of the United Nations' Commission, that it had, in the first instance, assisted the tribal hordes in their barbarous depredations on Kashmir and, in the second, had, at a later stage, itself actively participated in them. Further confirmations poured in during successive stages of these protracted investigations and the coping-stone was laid on this incriminating edifice by no less an authority than Sir Owen Dixon himself, the first Mediator in the affair. If there ever was such a thing as piling Pelion on Ossa this was it—beyond a shadow of doubt.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

All this irrefragable evidence against Pakistan was, however, of no practical benefit to us: circumstances, we are told, alter cases, and what would have been unmistakable aggression, aggression with a stamping iron heel, if Pakistan had been Korea almost ceased to be aggression because Pakistan is—well, so patently not Korea. "My face is my fortune, Sir," said the maiden in the story. Pakistan may likewise boast that the Islamic complexion of its country is its "bull point." That Islamic complexion has immunised it against the consequences of its dastardly aggression in Kashmir. It has acted as a powerful talisman. It has served as a potent shield against the shafts of retributive justice. After prodigious delay—contrasting glaringly with its lightning-like speed in Korea a year ago—the authorities at Lake Success (or their duly appointed representatives) were forced, by the sheer weight of evidence at their disposal, to acknowledge the extremely dubious part that their protagonist played in the Kashmir affair. There is, after all, such a thing as circumstantial evidence, and some circumstantial evidence, as Thoreau noted long ago, is very strong, "as when you find a trout in the milk." I am afraid that some *other* circumstantial evidence is also very strong, as when you find a Pakistani soldier in Kashmir; and that circumstantial

evidence, it goes without saying, becomes *staggeringly* strong, indeed, when, instead of one Pakistani soldier, you find whole battalions and brigades of them.

JUST ONE OF PRETTY FANNY'S WAYS

Pakistan initially denied, before the world organisation that it had any part in the Kashmir imbroglio. That, clearly, was due to sheer modesty: even in these days of blatant publicity, of high-pressure salesmanship, no evil-doer cares to blazon forth his wickedness so openly. Truth will out one day: why, then, so the argument runs, should we, by our gratuitous affirmations, try to hasten its divulgence? Pakistan, probably, argued also that it was the business of the UNCIP to unravel the tangled skein of Kashmir happenings and that it would be a veritable shame to take that business out of its hands by owning up to its guilt before that unravelling process was completed. The UNCIP duly unravelled the tangled skein and discovered that the spider that wove that complicated web was none other than its own foster-child, its own cherished darling. But it must be said to the credit of the UNCIP that it did not, as some others in its predicament might have done, throw up its hands in righteous indignation on account of that discovery: it was made of sterner stuff, and did not so much as bat its eyelids, feeling, evidently, that it was just one of pretty Fanny's ways, that a newly-created Islamic State *must* have its high-jinks, its exalted moments, before it simmers down to the disgusting drabness of life. So it studiously refrained from doing anything beyond merely mentioning in one of its resolutions that the presence of regular Pakistani troops in Kashmir constituted "a material change in the situation." The resolution runs as follows:

"The Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948, which sets forth the terms of reference of the Commission, was adopted *with cognisance of the presence of Indian troops in the State of Jammu and Kashmir*. The presence of *Pakistan troops* in Jammu and Kashmir, however, *constitutes a material change in the situation*, inasmuch as the Security Council did *not* contemplate the presence of such troops in that State, *nor was it appraised thereof by the Government of Pakistan*. The Commission cannot accept the statement in the memorandum (submitted by Pakistan) that the Commission's description in this respect is one-sided and inadequate." (My italics).

PAKISTAN'S ADMISSION

Pakistan's guilt was brought out plainly when, in answer to the questionnaire placed by the Commission before its Government on August 4, 1948, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mahommed Zaffarulla Khan, confessed that the Pakistan army was, at the time, in the over-all command of the Azad forces. Further, during the *expose* made by the High Command of the Pakistan army on August 9, 1948, it was stated that the Azad Kashmir forces were operationally controlled by

the Pakistan army. Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir is a clear violation of the U. N. Charter by one of its own adherents. The Charter says explicitly:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and, for these ends, ensure, by the acceptance of principles and institutions of methods, that armed forces shall not be used save in the common interest."

As for India, it put itself absolutely in the right by performing the normal obligations of a State by resisting the aggressor within its boundaries. The Security Council admits this without any mental reservation. Its resolution proceeds to state:

"Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement, Indian forces, as provided for in Part II B2, will assist the local authorities in the maintenance of law and order."

This is proof positive, if such were needed, that the Security Council fully recognised the sovereign rights of India over Kashmir. By not withdrawing its troops from Kashmir Pakistan violated the terms of the UNCIP resolution. But the Security Council has not deemed it fit to admonish that errant country: on the contrary, it has, with a view to placating it, passed a new resolution that is diametrically opposed to its previous one. For far less—if *anything at all*—Korea has been reduced to shambles. It is only too true (is it not?) that while, as the adage has it, one may steal a horse, another may not even look over the hedge!

PAKISTAN VIRTUALLY CONDONED

There is an article in the UNO Charter which prescribes to the Security Council the course of action it should follow when such a violation of its resolutions takes place. It reads:

"The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed forces are to be employed to give effect to its decision, and it may call upon its members to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

But, of course, nothing of the sort had been done in regard to Pakistan: what *was* done was to pamper the guilty one all the more and further to queer the pitch for the aggrieved party. UNO has reduced itself to such a pitiable farce nowadays! It is completely subservient to the United States, and to the United States everything is subservient except the exigencies of the cold war between itself and Russia. As I have already indicated, Pakistan's actions are not being seen in the dry, clear light of reason but in the prismatic hues of international diplomacy, to which highly questionable touchstone every controversy is brought at some point or other in the protracted proceedings.

This is because in the overheated imagination of

Uncle Sam there is, at present, only one topic under the sun, and that it this cold war between his own country and the one that pulls the strings from behind the so-called Iron Curtain. If there are other topics they jolly well have to toe the line of that principal one or go under; and Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir—aggression that has been tacitly acknowledged by the UNCIP—is one of those "other topics" that has to toe that line. The consideration that applies here—of toeing the line, that is—is whether, irrespective of the merits of the dispute (which, incidentally, are made to appear as though they do not matter a thinker's curse), the interests of America, so far as this cold war business is concerned, are appreciably advanced: that, and none other, is the preposterous yardstick.

ON BEING ASTUTE

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is an astute politician—they are all astute in Pakistan—and in his latest correspondence with Pandit Nehru has not been slow to capitulate on this extreme good-will of Britain and America towards his country. One can afford to be astute—very astute, indeed—if one has no scruples, inhibitions, complexes, what you will: one can afford to be astute—very astute, indeed—if one has only *one* object in life and if, further, one is hampered by no, crippling ideologies in one's pursuit of it. In our unfortunate land, however, things are a little bit different. We lack that single-minded devotion and that resolute purpose: in addition, we are hamstrung by our own silly slogans. The Muslims desperately wanted a "homeland" of their own: the Congress ultimately granted it to them, though not without misleading our countrymen till the bitter end into thinking that it would rather perish than grant it. Some people did perish—mostly old men and women and children—in the process but not a single hair of a single politician that had no compunction in betraying our beloved Motherland had been hurt. Besides, thousands of our young women were dishonoured in every possible fashion. But we soon got used to these unspeakable humiliations, telling one another that, obviously, the road to independence *via* partition was paved with them, that every noble enterprise has its appropriate price, that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs.

But that was not the end of the story. Something worse was to come. Having gleefully partitioned our country our Congress friends—with that exemplary large-heartedness which has always been their special distinction—decided to make our portion of the old undivided India thoroughly "secular." In the old days—that is, before the advent of the Gandhian Congress on the political scene—one would have surmised (and rightly) that if, in undivided India, the country was a composite one (though, to be sure, with a preponderating Hindu majority), in divided India one portion, being Muslim, the remainder would, as

unquestionably, be Hindu. But nothing of the kind happened, and, having presented the Muslims with a "homeland" of their own, our new "Ma Baps" saw to it that the poor Hindus did not get one of theirs. The Hindu has no country that he can call his own *exclusively*: he is a helot in Pakistan—when, that is, he has not been ruthlessly driven out of it—and in India he is just one among members of several communities. The Muslim has two countries, the Hindu has not even one. That is the bare truth about the evil legacy of partition *vis-a-vis* that modern orphan of the storm, the Hindu. The precious identity of the Hindu has been swamped and submerged by a massive tidal-wave of "secularism," the like of which has never been witnessed anywhere and at any time.

TOPSY-TURVEYDOM

To come back to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, he had, to be perfectly fair to him, been born extremely astute; and has been becoming astuter with every passing day, what with having, as I have already hinted, no inhibitions of any kind (as we, on our side, have) and with the British and the Americans vying with one another in showering sympathy on him and on his country, sublimely regardless of the rights and wrongs of the Kashmir dispute. We, on the other hand, thanks to that "putrefying albatross," appeasement, that our Congress Government has clamped on its neck, have to watch our steps very carefully lest a single false one render us open to the accusation that we are "narrow-minded," "parochial," "communal" and so forth. It is astonishing the twist our Congress leaders have given to the term, "communal." Those Hindus who bemoan partition and its repulsive brood of consequences and are not afraid of espousing the Hindu cause—seeing how tragically it has suffered, and continues to suffer, at the hands of Congressmen—are, it is being told in Gath and bruited about in the streets of Askalon, "communal": that is, those of us who have always stuck to our glorious ideal of a united India and have set our faces like flint against the disruptionists in our midst: whereas Congressmen, who have always been extravagantly partial to these same disruptionists and who, ultimately, presented them with Pakistan on a silver platter are supposed to be unexceptionably "national," untainted in the least by the virus of any vicious "ism." It is a merry game the Congress has been playing with our unthinking countrymen, and still goes on playing, and there, apparently, is no end to it—none, at any rate, that I, for one, can, at the moment, visualise. Those who pandered to the outrageously "communal" slogans of the Muslims—to wit, the Congress "high-ups"—are, it appears, commendably "non-communal": while those who consistently upheld the "non-communal" ideal are, it would seem, arrantly "communal"! This is the lop-

sided logic that is now reigning in the counsels of the country!

"CLENCHED FISTS": A FORM OF SELF-EXPRESSION

Small wonder that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has been becoming bolder day by day: this half-portion of a man has been steadily bloating himself to the dimensions of a veritable giant—with the giant's "thews, stature, bulk and big assemblance." There is no dead wood, in the shape of slogans and ideologies, to be hacked out of his path: he takes his rides along a smooth and asphalted esplanade; and all the time he is certain that his Anglo-American friends will be cheering him on from the wings, so to speak. A happy man, if ever there was one: so happy, indeed, that every now and then, he is impelled to express his gaiety of spirit by clenching his fists at the "Kaffirs" beyond the border. When he clenches his fists we are to understand that his happiness is boiling over. Had he been a poet he would, of a certainty, have poured forth his soul

"In some stretched metre of an antique song."

Being, however, only a politician he has to content himself with clenching his fists. Some, similarly circumstanced, have been known to cock a snook at their enemies. The mode of self-expression, obviously, varies with the individual. It is his misfortune, not his fault, that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has chosen to clench his fists as the only "way out," in a phrase immortalised by our Rajaji a few years ago when he was labouring hard for the creation of Pakistan. We, on our part, have reacted to that belligerent gesture by folding our hands. A soft gesture turns away wrath—does it not? Can, for instance, anything be a softer gesture than this? At long last our Government awakes to the latest exodus of Hindus from East Bengal: an exodus fully as tragic as any of the previous exoduses. This exodus began some two or three months ago. But it was *only on August 18* that our Government was able to screw up its courage to the sticking place and to lodge a mild protest with Pakistan about it; and how mild that protest was can be gauged by these words:

"The Government of India has asked the Governments of Pakistan and East Bengal to look into 'these vital matters' urgently, *not in a spirit of controversy*, but with the object of allaying, at the earliest possible moment, the nervousness and sense of insecurity felt by minorities in East Pakistan." (My italics).

PRINCIPLES COME IN THE WAY OF PROTESTS

It will be noticed, in the first instance, what an unconscionably long time our Government usually takes even to lodge a protest against Pakistan and, in the second, what a sickeningly 'innocuous' form that protest takes when, somehow, it does get itself lodged. This, I need hardly remind my readers, is in striking contrast with the policy of our loving neighbour which makes the welkin ring with complaints against us even where

no ground for such complaints exists. Probably this is "secularism" with a vengeance: it may well be that it militates against our reputed principles if we draw the attention of our *vis-a-vis* too often and too minatorily against its acts of omission and of commission with respect to the Hindus still living within its borders. So our rulers elect "to sit upon the matter" till the urgency has departed from it and cobwebs have begun to be spun over it.

"There is no hurry in their hands,
No hurry in their feet."

They have, obviously, not profited from experience: nor is there evident in their political philosophy any undue solicitude for the welfare and security of their kinsmen and kinswomen across the border. They have set an ideal before themselves (a very mistaken ideal, as it happens) and it takes precedence over the welfare and security of their kinsmen and kinswomen not only across the borders but also within them. Even after the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact of April of last year there has been no dearth of Hindu migrations from East Bengal and, recently, those migrations have assumed serious proportions; *and all that the authorities here decide to do in the interests of those Hindus is to lodge a belated protest and, while lodging it, to assure the guilty ones that "it is in no spirit of controversy" that they are doing so.*

I am certain that "secularism" can no further go. It passes my comprehension how, in these circumstances, the interests of the minorities in Pakistan can be safeguarded. Nor, of course, have they been safeguarded so far. In any other country, the Government that could not, or would not, protect its kinsmen and kinswomen in another would have been driven out of office long ago; it is a sad commentary on the toughness of fibre of our people that the Government is still in the saddle. The people themselves are inhumanly apathetic to the welfare and security of their kinsmen in Pakistan: after all we get the Government we deserve. We deserve no better Government because, as I have already hinted, we lack the requisite toughness of fibre, moral as well as physical: we are, verily, like the limp rags of Rudyard Kipling's apt description that no buckram can stiffen.

POOR PUBLICITY AND LATE PUBLICITY

I should like to linger a little over this matter of our Government's habitual delay and lukewarmness in bringing our complaints, not only to the notice of Pakistan (the guilty party), but also to the notice of the world at large. Our Government is both incompetent and inhuman—inhuman, that is, towards its own people, though overflowing with the milk of human kindness so far as the Muslims are concerned. Some time ago three villages of Assam were occupied by the East Bengal troops. After 48 hours or so New Delhi came out *with an apologia for Pakistan!* Those three villages, it would seem, are only *disputed*

territory. New Delhi was in so much of a hurry to rush to the rescue of Pakistan that it forgot for the nonce that Pakistan troops have no more right to occupy disputed territory than they have to lay hands on Indian territory. Then some further clarification of this elucidation was provided in Parliament: all the three villages were not disputed territory: one or two were Indian. If a protest was made to Pakistan by New Delhi it was *after* these elucidations and clarifications, not before them. Of course, *our* worthy Parliamentarians were completely satisfied with the Government's statement. They did not care to ask the powers-that-be why no protest had been made to Pakistan earlier, nor why it took upon itself to be the apologist of Pakistan.

NEW DELHI MISSES A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

Take, again, that matter of our massing our troops on our borders. We were not told that there was such a massing of our troops. We were not told that there had been a rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir and that we had no option but to be ready for any emergency—all the more so as the "jehad" offensive was steadily mounting in Pakistan. The Pakistani papers and the Pakistani politicians and the Pakistani people were concerted in waging a propaganda war against India, and, on top of it, there was this rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area. That even such a weak and namby-pamby and apathetic Government like ours was driven to mass its army near the border is ample evidence that the situation had become well-nigh intolerable: the pressing of a button from Karachi was, evidently, sufficient to start a conflagration. There would have been a nice fluttering of doves in the chancelleries of the world if, as soon as we got wind of that rushing of the Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir, we had given the widest possible publicity to it, especially in Britain and America where love and admiration for Pakistan run high and where they trip over one another's heels and fall over one another's necks in acclaiming old Liaquat's picturesque antics, which age cannot wither nor custom stale.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN STEALS A MARCH OVER PANDIT NEHRU

But did we? To ask the question is to furnish the answer. But over there in Pakistan they are not somnolent, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, noting how sadly we missed our golden opportunity, smartly turned our missing it to his unique advantage and, neatly slurring over his rushing of one of his brigades to the Poonch area, warned his Western "democratic" allies that India had massed nearly its whole army on Pakistan's borders and was hourly threatening his country's security. His Western "democratic" allies, as usual, affected to swallow Liaquat's monstrous allegation against us and started lecturing us about our

moral degradation; they lectured our beloved Panditji in especial for having so soon forgotten his foster-father's celebrated teaching of *ahimsa* and brotherhood of man and universal love and charity, *et hoc genus omne*. Once more, it was evident, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan stole a march over Pandit Nehru. Where the Pandit should have blazoned forth Pakistan's turpitude in trying to start hostilities any moment and his having, of sheer necessity, to concentrate India's armoured might on Pakistan's borders as an emergency measure to meet all eventualities, he left it to his opposite number in Karachi (by his tragic silence) to publicise a Bowdlerised version of events leading to that concentration calculated to damage India's prestige abroad as much as possible. The Pandit is no match for the Nawabzada—has never been, in fact—either in subtlety of intellect or in boldness of action and has been manoeuvred by the latter into the necessity of defending his concentration of troops on the Pakistan border: whereas, if he had played his cards properly, it should have been the Nawabzada who would have been obliged to justify his rushing of that Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir which made India's action inevitable.

OUR ACTION COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED

My readers would not have failed to notice that it was *only* when the Pandit had been driven into a corner, so to speak, by the Nawabzada that he revealed the reason for the drastic step he had taken in moving our army to the Pakistan border: namely, that initial rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area. And the Pandit is a seasoned politician! The *Economist* of London is not, as a rule, friendly to India—very few British and American papers are, for that matter—but, in its issue of July 21, it was forced, by the sheer weight of logic, to take India's side in the dispute. Discussing "the alarming intensification of the Kashmir dispute," it writes:

"There is little wonder that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, placed in a tragically difficult situation, in relation both to outside opinion and to his political opponents at home, seeks to focus attention on Indian military measures which, although provocative, no Government in Delhi could well avoid taking now in view of the menacing deterioration of the situation."

Even in Britain they see light now and then though, to be sure, they prefer to grope in darkness as far as India is concerned. This has been admitted in so many words by the *New Statesman and Nation* when, referring to the attitude of the *Daily Telegraph*, it says, in its issue of August 10:

"The attitude of the *Daily Telegraph*" (it refers to the *D.T.*'s editorial of August 7 which sought to prove that if war began between India and Pakistan the blame would necessarily fall on Delhi) "too clearly confirms the view strongly held in Delhi that British conservatism is irrationally, passionately and dangerously wedded to the Pakistan cause."

SMALL MERCIES

This weekly forgets that even the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* has been consistently and vehemently against India over the Kashmir question; nor has the *New Statesman* itself been uniformly in our favour. However, we should be thankful for small mercies, and we are thankful for what it proceeds to write in the same issue:

"The incontrovertible facts are that the Maharajah of Kashmir acceded to India; that, in the case of Junagadh, Mr. Jinnah publicly committed himself to the view that the decision of a sovereign prince to adhere to one or other dominion was legally decisive whatever the views of his people; that India voluntarily offered a plebiscite; and that no Indian troops moved into Kashmir until the tribesmen poured through passes into the valley burning and pillaging as they came."

After referring to Mr. Denis Warner's (the *Daily Telegraph*'s correspondent in Pakistan) account of fanatical preparations for war in Pakistan it declares:

"The Indian press and public are calm and peaceful in comparison with their neighbours. If, as Mr. Nehru says in his appeal for reason and peace to the Pakistan Prime Minister, he feels it necessary to keep troops 20 miles away from the frontier beyond which such fanaticism reigns, who can be surprised or attribute to him 'primary responsibility' if Pakistan fires the first shot?"

It is not often that even these radical papers care to espouse our cause: that is why I have thought it proper to quote so freely from them on the rare occasions when they refuse to succumb to Pakistan's blandishments.

INSTEAD OF PLAYING UP WE HAVE PLAYED DOWN OUR CASE

I have mentioned, in passing, how much our cause has gone by default owing to the deplorable lack of vision and publicity on the part of our Government. Neither in England nor in America have the authorities deemed it fit to present our case as it should be presented. I am not suggesting that we should always have played up our case, though I fail to see what would have been wrong if we did. Actually, we have systematically played it *down*. We have, not seldom, hidden our light under a bushel. We have allowed Pakistan to do all the talking and writing: the initiative has always been with Pakistan. When we do rush into print it is only to defend ourselves against some of the more grotesque charges of our loving neighbour. I do not remember ever having come across any publicity work on our side that attempted to put Pakistan in the wrong: the little publicity work we have done has been to defend ourselves when Pakistan has tried to put us in the wrong.

Not that Pandit Nehru does not know the value of publicity. At the height of Indo-Pakistan tension he said at a meeting in Delhi (or was it on the floor of our august Parliament?) that what he was mortally afraid of was not the Pakistanis but our own "commu-

nalists" (meaning, gentle reader, the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. and, I am certain, even some Congressmen like Purushottamdas Tandonji, the Rashtrapati himself, because he is not frightened out of his wits as our beloved Panditji is by the term "Hindu"). Instead of concentrating all his attention on Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan Pandit Nehru diverted it to spout on his old complexes. That, certainly, was not the time to rave at the Hindus: that was the time for him to rave at the Muslims. But though he has shown himself to be absolutely unpublicity-minded as regards Pakistan he has proved himself to be enormously publicity-conscious as regards what he chooses to term as the "Hindu communalists." During these critical days no pro-Hindu Hindu has made any public speech or issued any statement except to endorse Pandit Nehru's stand on the Kashmir issue; but the pro-Hindu Hindu is Panditji's King Charles's head and he cannot leave him alone: least of all when the Indo-Pakistan tension is at its height because it furnishes him with an excellent opportunity of waxing "secular." It is then that "secularism" is also at its height. Else note the following question and answer in Parliament on August 14:

Mr. A. M. Rathnaswamy: "In view of the past history of the Muslim League and the strained relations between India and Pakistan, does the Government propose to declare the organisation unlawful?"

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari: "The Government is inclined to allow *more and more* political activities on their part than reduce them."

"Secularism" moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform!

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CONCLUSION

To hark back to our woeful lack of publicity let me quote from Mrs. Taya Zinkin's article in the *Economist* of London recently on "India, Pakistan and the West":

"There is much force in repetition: every Westerner, in any way connected with the East, has heard a Pakistani extol his case with burning conviction; the same Westerner has, perhaps, never heard the Indian case at all; he may have seen it in print, but if he has heard it, it has been put to him most certainly by a critical Indian whose own mind was not quite made up on the merits of the case. No two Indians will put the same emphasis on the same points, and the Westerner cannot be blamed if he fails to see light where light is hidden by shadows."

She proceeds:

"Whereas the Pakistani case has been made clearly, simply, promptly, persistently, and convincingly, the Indian case has never been well made, it has always been made too late and the arguments used have tended to be obscure by the shifting of the arguments. *The fault presumably lies in the quality of India's publicity abroad.*" (My italics).

Our Congress leaders, I have always maintained, have, in their relations with Pakistan, been more eager to strike attitudes than to win points: no wonder Pakistan has been encouraged to beat the war-drum. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan knows the mind of Pandit Nehru: he has taken the full measure of him. Pandit Nehru has not been able to repay the compliment: there lies part of our country's tragedy.

PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY IN FREE INDIA

By DR. NANDA LAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow

WHEN India achieved her long-awaited freedom in 1947, many of us hoped that now we could at last settle down and enjoy the blessings of democracy in peace and without any further struggle. But, as a matter of fact, it has been increasingly felt that the battle of democracy is never finished and that it has to be won every minute, every hour and every day afresh. Eternal vigilance may or may not be the price of freedom, but democracy at any rate is unattainable without it. In a new State like ours, where our democratic ideas and experiences are still amateurish, new dangers and problems are arising which may shatter our infant democracy to pieces. To some extent, these dangers and problems are a reflex of the totalitarian epoch which confronts the world of today. But, these are largely inherent in the character of our socio-

economic system and our political evolution. Even in countries which are regarded as the custodians of democracy the actual practice of democratic precepts leaves much to be desired. We, therefore, in India, who are yet not much ahead on the road to democracy, have to guard against such trends as are the very negation of democracy.

Democracy is the catchword of every party and group in India, but that makes the position rather perplexing, for the catchword signifies different things to different people. Now that the general elections are approaching, a lot of political and philosophical jargon is being dished out in the form of rival manifestoes by leaders of all shades of opinion as the meaning of democracy which they visualise. It is indeed interesting that no party in India calls itself fascist, and all

pose to be democratic. Even the most reactionary groups swear by democracy. The consequence is that the common man is getting bewildered by the conflicting implications of democracy as interpreted in terms of Sarvodaya, Socialism, Marxism, Co-operative Commonwealth, Ram Rajya, etc.

It is a pity that to most people in India as elsewhere democracy is still an electioneering platitude, and it hardly stands for a genuine faith in the way of life which serves to promote the growth of human personality and seeks to safeguard equality of rights. "Party in power and party in opposition and citizens voting for one or the other," is what democracy means to many people including politicians. But, that is not all, for that merely indicates the external machinery of democracy. It is the spirit which underlies the concept of democracy which is more important. This spirit is, however, yet in its infancy in India. There is a growing apprehension in the minds of many careful observers in India that a sincere faith in a democratic way of life which is vital to the moral and spiritual personality of every individual will not grow up easily in the situation as it obtains today. There are obstacles to the growth of the democratic spirit in all its fundamental aspects—its connotation of human dignity, its recognition of liberty, and its technique of discussion. The obstacles are manifold. Tyranny of majority rule may jeopardise the sanctity of human values, while party discipline and power-politics may hinder the liberty of thought and expression. That these dangers are not imaginary will be apparent to those who have watched the recent trends of political thought and activity in India.

The new constitution of India is doubtless democratic both in its objectives and structure, and is intended to promote constitutionalism in our country. But, there are certain questions which need to be answered before we can be sure of our position. Is not our constitution much too legalistic and status-quoite? Will it work in the absence of sufficient tradition and experience of parliamentarianism in India? Will it survive the onslaught of Socialist or Marxist ideology? Is it not conservative in tone? Does it really harmonise with our social and economic life? Is it the reflex of a finished revolution, or an incomplete one? Will it be conducive to the stability of government? Is it likely to discourage the age-old centrifugal tendency in Indian political life? Can it really lead to a classless society? Will its unduly composite make-up supply the necessary psychological fervour which alone can safeguard the common man's faith in democracy?

Questions such as these are not easy to answer. But, on these answers alone would depend the success of the Indian experiment in parliamentary democracy. There is no doubt that our constitution is based on the concept of a democratic state, but the functioning of democracy has not been easy anywhere in the

world, much less in our country. It will be specially difficult in India because of the peculiar set-up of our socio-economic life. The difficulty will appear not so much in the application of the principle of secularism which permeates the constitution, but in the harmonisation of governmental authority and the rights of communal or religious groups. Again, the enforcement of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity in the midst of social, religious, economic and provincial differences and rivalries can never be easy. The acid test of a true democracy lies in the actual enforcement of these fundamental rights, and not merely in their outward profession. The political set-up in India is yet in a state of flux. Faith in democracy has not yet taken root in the mind of the average citizen. Communalism, provincialism and castism which are all an anti-thesis of democracy still vitiate our politics. Furthermore, political parties are still dominated more by personal and group loyalties than either national interests or democratic principles. Our constitution which is devoid of any ideological creed and which is more jerry-built than homogeneous will tend to encourage more of our present-day party-ism and conservatism than a dynamic resistance to collectivist authoritarianism.

Totalitarianism and communism are the twin dangers that lie ahead of our democracy which will be necessarily pitted against both. It is problematical as to how far our constitution will be able to withstand either or both of the two. There are certain features in it which may lead to totalitarianism. For example, the powers of the President are so extensive that these may favour party dictatorship. Unrestricted adult franchise is good in theory, but in the present conditions of India it may encourage class war and class dictatorship. Moreover, the recent encroachment on the freedom of expression is fraught with dangerous consequences. Immediately, the amendments to the constitution may not be of grave consequence, but there is no doubt that these may be misused in future. What is at present disquieting is not that freedom of expression is being indirectly controlled, but that freedom of expression is being regarded as an evil which can be tolerated within certain limits only. As a matter of fact, however, freedom of expression is vital to democracy, and democracy can not function without it. It is true that in the presence of treason from within and aggression from without strict vigilance is called for, but the crisis must be justified before restraints are imposed.

Liberty of thought and expression, so fundamental to democracy, cannot co-exist with a regimented Press. The Press is the greatest bulwark of modern democracy, and its role as the warden of popular rights is too significant to be ignored. The Indian Press has played in the past a memorable role in the history of our national movement, and it has set up on the whole

high traditions of independence. But, there are at present perils confronting the Press too. If it is controlled by powerful vested interests, it can never serve the cause of democracy. How the influence of such vested interests has of late begun to operate in the sacred realm of the Press is too well-known to need an elaborate mention. It is sufficient to state that such a contingency will be fatal to democracy. Besides, a collusion between the government of the day and the Press will be no less detrimental to the cause of democracy than the subservience of the press to particular vested interests or cliques. It is yet difficult to foresee how far the Press in India will be able to safeguard its cherished independence in the face of encroachments from the side of the governmental authority on the one hand and infiltrations of undemocratic interests on the other. All that can be hazarded is that the situation is not very hopeful, judging from the facts as they appear at the present moment. The honest votaries of the Press would themselves readily admit that it is becoming more and more difficult for the professional journalist to preserve his independence. If the Press completely succumbs to the diverse allurements or threats that are being bandied about, the cause of democracy in India will suffer an irreparable damage. We can at best hope that this eventuality will not materialise at least in the near future.

There is no gainsaying the fact that democracy can function only if the main parties are agreed on the fundamentals which include the integrity and independence of the state and the inviolability of the basic principles of the constitution. Is it certain that this basic agreement will continue in the changing international situation of the world? Will not the use of violence retard the growth of democracy? The man who killed Gandhiji acted on the dangerous assumption that it is far easier to destroy one's opponent than to convert him by means of discussion. A potential danger to democracy therefore lies in the resort to violence and intimidation by force. Democratic conventions will be nullified, if violence is adopted as a method of political activity. It is well-known that if a ruling party shows a totalitarian tendency, the opposition will necessarily adopt violent means to overthrow the government. A bloody revolution will not be thought of, if a peaceful change of government could be possible. It is, however, reassuring to find that practically every party in India has condemned violence as a method of gaining political power. Even the Communist party has made a declaration in favour of non-violence. Still, the future governments of India will have to exercise the utmost vigilance in the matter of detecting and eradicating this evil, for there can be no compromise between democratic practice and the methodology of violence.

But, violence will not totally disappear for the mere asking of it, or by merely paying lip homage to the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. The challenge to democracy in India lies in creating conditions under which mono-party dictatorship is not perpetuated in an unfair manner. Just at present, the Congress is the ruling party, but there is no effective opposition in our legislatures, and therefore we see the spectacle of a one-party state in India with all its concomitant evils. The part that the Congress played in the liberation of India fully justified its emergence as the sole ruling party in the early years of our independence when there was no other party organised enough to form the opposition. Parliamentary democracy, however, needs a government no less than an opposition. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that there can be no democracy without an effective opposition. It is not for nothing that the British Parliament has provided for a regular salary to the leader of the opposition. The function of the opposition is as vital as that of the government. Parliamentary democracy of course works effectively under the two-party system which, however, is not attainable ordinarily. Even in England the old two-party system disappeared with the rise of the labour party. Under a multi-party system, parliamentary government works rather badly, though it may not break down altogether. But, it can not work at all in the one-party state which is bound to become totalitarian sooner or later. One-party rule and democracy are a contradiction in terms. In the long run, a one-party dictatorship will lead to a violent revolution, for a government of this type is too artificial to endure long. A strong reaction has already set in against the rule of the Congress not because it is basically wrong, but because there is no scope for a healthy opposition in the legislatures.

The cry of "country in danger" or "national unity" is put forward as the chief argument in favour of the continuance of unity in the ranks of the Congress. Unity is being regarded as more important than the growth of dissidence among Congress leaders. But, such notions of unity may be excellent in times of a grave national crisis like war or invasion. Such insistence on unity was essential when India was under alien rule, and when freedom had yet to be achieved. But, now that India is free, the Congress need not insist on an artificial unity among diverse and heterogeneous groups who had agreed to fight shoulder to shoulder against an alien government. With the disappearance of the alien rule, the need for an artificial unity no longer exists. The Congress as a national front is an anachronism in the new conditions of today. National unity will not be disrupted, if the opposition is agreeable to accept the fundamentals of our political system.

The students of modern Indian history need not be told that ideas of democracy and nationalism have

grown up side by side during British rule in India. In fact, often these two were regarded as inseparable and convertible terms. This was natural in the days of our political subjection. More often than not, nationalism presupposed a faith in democracy as well. The old school of Indian politicians never liked to think that the two could be possible independently of each other. In any case, the stress on national unity in those days implied also a preference for democratic reforms. But, this has lost all its meaning in the changed conditions of today. It would be totally undemocratic in Free India, if the ruling party would either discourage or prevent the formation of opposition parties. It seems that the old habit of stressing national unity is still persisting even though foreign rule has ended. Nobody has any right, correctly speaking, to obstruct the growth of free democracy in the name of national unity. An all-party government is always possible, if there is a national crisis. Democracy in normal times does not require a glorified one-party national front. It would be a travesty of democracy, if it implied the obliteration of all differences of opinion and regimentation of all thinking on the plea that national unity must be maintained. The Congress would be stronger and more homogeneous, if dissidents go out of it and form other parties. It is high time now that the Congress transformed itself into a compact Parliamentary party with a definite programme of its own. Co-existence of contrary ideas accounts for the vagueness of the Congress ideology. This indefiniteness is causing confusion, and is a source of weakness as well. It is all to the good therefore that through recent defections the Congress has been vouchsafed a good opportunity for redefining its ideological creed and reshuffling its constitutional make-up once for all. If the dissidents are able to form a healthy opposition outside the Congress, so much the better for the Congress and also for the cause of democracy. So long as there is nothing basically wrong in the parent organisation, defections and splits are a blessing in disguise. They reinvigorate the parent body in a manner in which it would not have been possible otherwise. Loss in mere numbers would be more than compensated by the enhanced homogeneity of the organisation.

As the situation now stands, one may reasonably surmise that there will be varying degrees of opposition strength in all legislatures, even though the Congress may retain its present vantage ground. But, what would this opposition be like? It is certain that it will be a multi-party opposition which the Congress will have to face, and, as such, the opposition will hardly be compact, stable or well-organised once the general elections are over and the election-time alliances against the Congress come to an end. The opposition will consist of Rights, Lefts and Centre parties. It is not unlikely that they will manage to

combine against the Congress from time to time, or whenever it will suit them in any particular crisis. But, there is no doubt that such combinations can not be regular or homogeneous owing to the disparity in the aims and objectives of the opposition groups. The Hindu Mahasabha with its allied groups, even though it claims to stand for "real democracy" will belong to the extreme Right. The landlords' parties such as the one in U.P. will tend to be associated with the extreme Right. The K.M.P. Party will be reformist and democratic in its general methodology, but it will stick to the Centre and will be a counterpoise to the Congress. In any case, the K.M.P. Party will not be revolutionary in its outlook, though it may incline towards the Left of the Centre. The Socialist Party which has refused to accept the Russian form of Marxism lacks the appeal born of fanaticism distinguishing the extreme Lefts. As a consequence, the Socialists will be more liberal and democratic than the latter. It is not unlikely that in the long run the Socialist Party may break up under the strain of ideological differences, and that a part of it will get merged in the extreme Communist Left, while the rest will swing to the Left of the Centre or to the Right of the Left. The Congress as it now stands will remain conservative and reformist, and will not be revolutionary in its outlook. It will in fact incline towards the Right of the Centre. The other groups, barring the plutocratic, aristocratic or communal organisations, will usually move to the Left.

In the medley of parties, a stable democracy will be possible, only if all the Centre groups consisting of liberal, nationalistic and socialistic parties which are either opposed to the Marxian creed, or are unwilling to accept the whole of it combine against the rising tide of Communism. The Centre or near-Centre groups will at any rate remain democratic. The same cannot be said either about the Rights or the extreme Lefts, for their ideologies would easily make them susceptible to authoritarian ideas of either class rule or class struggle. It will be an evil day for democracy in India, if either the extremist Rights or the Marxist Lefts succeed in securing political power. But, the chances are that the Centre parties alone will form the government in India for some time to come, unless their hold is weakened by some crisis in the international situation.

The future of democracy in India is not as dark as it might appear from the foregoing analysis. Notwithstanding the fact that there are undemocratic features in our socio-economic system, we are temperamentally peace-loving and forbearing. All through the ages, we have tolerantly accepted other people's viewpoints and acted on the principle of give-and-take. We have never been a narrowly dogmatic people in any period of our history. Our spiritual background and our cultural outlook are favourable to the growth

of democracy in our country. The catholicity of outlook and the capacity for synthesis which have been the characteristic features of the Indian genius will tend to strengthen the cause of democracy. It is true that the path of democracy will not be easy and that there is no cause for excessive complacency, yet one can legitimately hope that democratic ideas and values

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will gain a new meaning and acquire a new content from the spiritual basis of our age-old culture. If India supplies the much-needed spiritual bias to the purely materialistic democracy of the West, a new chapter would be added to the history of representative government.

MINERALS AND WORLD WARS

By PROF. SUKUMAR MERH, M.Sc.

THE role which minerals play in World Wars, their influence on man's social and economic conditions that breed wars and also decide the final outcome of these wars, is not properly appreciated by people in general. But in fact, it is very effective and profound. From the earliest times down to the present day, the minerals and mineral products have played an exceedingly important part both in the development and in the destruction of various nations. Mineral industries have, many times in the past, been instrumental in determining the course of history, and promise to be of increasing importance in future also. Mineral resources cannot be confined to political boundaries. While some nations are richly endowed with various mineral deposits, the others are poor in that respect. But even those rich in mineral wealth are seldom self-sufficient in all the important minerals. It is because the formation and geographic location of mineral deposits have been fixed by some accidental geological phenomena of the remote past. Mineral resources of a country are called its "Wasting Assets." Once exploited they cannot be replenished. Because of their non-replenishable character, restricted geographic occurrence and their indispensability to certain industries everywhere, the mineral deposits have been responsible for various unique international problems. In fact, it may be justly said that the geological events which took place several million years back, have often been the ultimate causes of modern wars.

The material prosperity of a nation depends on its various manufacturing—agricultural or mineral—industries and trade. The essential factors for any industry are the raw materials, and the source of power, and both—raw materials and power—are largely dependent on mineral resources. Coal and petroleum are the universal source of industrial power, while the raw materials for most of the manufacturing industries are various 'ores' and other minerals. Even in the field of Agriculture and its allied industries, the importance of mineral fertilizers is great, for they are absolutely essential for the continued and improved productivity of the land. Evidently, therefore, the direct and indirect contribution of mineral resources

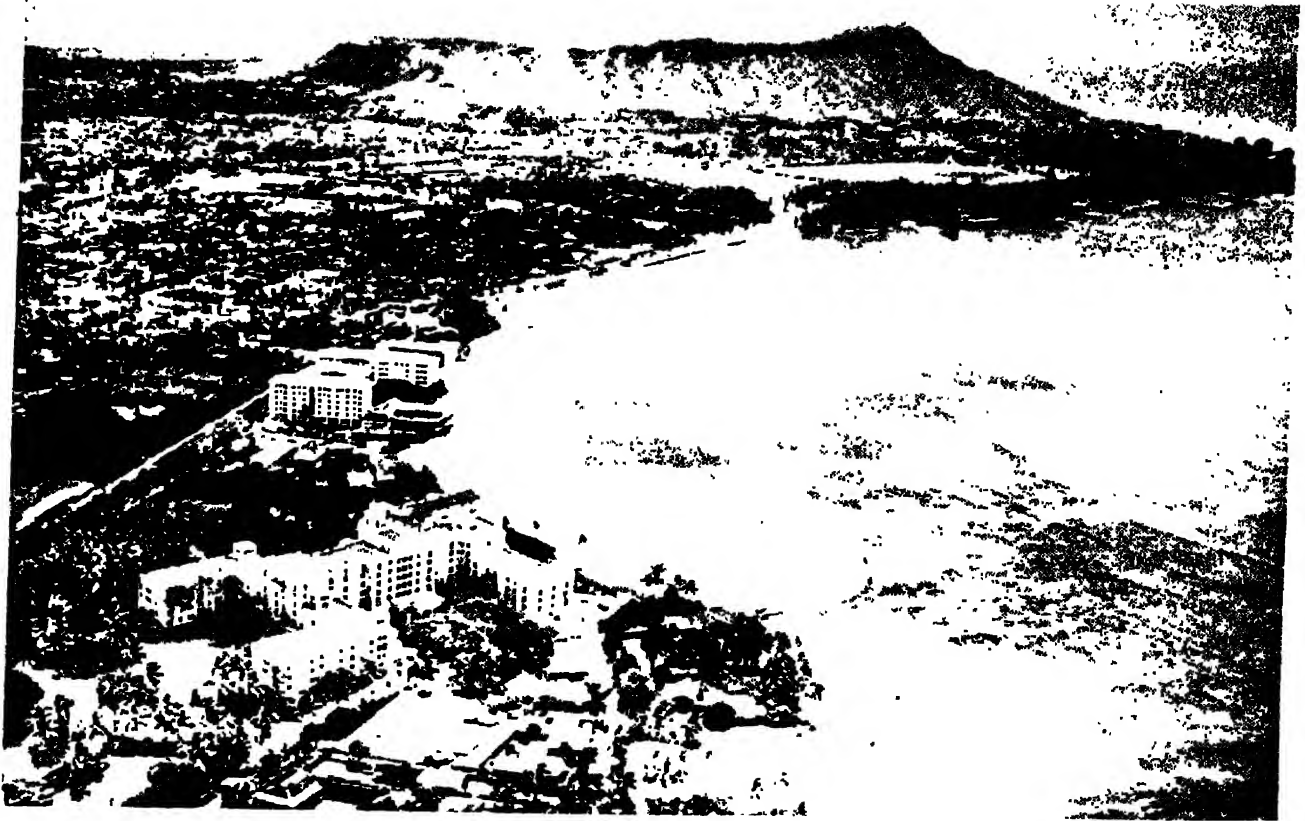
to the national prosperity and strength is enormous. Productive and rich mineral deposits are the most valuable natural resources that a nation can possess; but such an asset may be coveted by other nations also, and so it gives rise to serious international problems. The eagerness of deficient nations for acquiring rich mineral deposits and the acquisitive spirit and greed of a few politically and industrially powerful nations to monopolize them have engendered conflicts very often culminating in bloody wars.

A study of the trend of world politics, particularly the role which mineral resources have played in wars during the last two centuries, makes an interesting reading.

THE WORLD WAR I (1914)

With the dawn of the 19th century, Great Britain had emerged as the richest and most powerful nation of the world, and she enjoyed this privileged position practically during the whole century. Her large deposits of Coal and Iron, together with Copper, Lead, Tin and Zinc proved to be profitable assets and she was the greatest producer of these essential raw materials. Great Britain's economy, based mainly on various manufacturing trades, brought in return food-stuffs and other necessities of life. But during the latter half of the 19th century, England found Germany to be asserting herself as a formidable competitor. Although Germany was late in her industrial awakening, yet under the dynamic leadership of Bismarck, she very soon emerged as an industrially powerful nation. By 1850, all the small 'Principalities' of Central Europe were unified in a single Germanic Confederation. Artificial barriers of tolls and tariffs being removed there was a regular flow of raw materials from one part of the country to the other, and the German nation plunged itself heart and soul in building up powerful industries by pooling up the scattered mineral resources of Coal, Iron, Manganese, Chromium, Aluminium, Lead, Zinc, Potash, Antimony, Mercury and Silver, etc. The annexation of the French province of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 brought to Germany big deposits of Iron ores. With the coal from Ruhr Valley and Iron Ores from East Rhine districts and Alsace-

HAWAII—PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC



The famous Hawaiian ocean playground of Waikiki with Diamond Head in the background



Bishop Street in Honolulu, financial centre of Hawaii and heart of the Islands' economy



Nasirollah Entezam of Iran (*centre*) presides over the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly. At left is Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary-General and at right Andrew Cordier, executive assistant to the Secy.-General



General Matthew B. Ridgway (*second from right*) with U. N. representatives to the meetings in Kaesong, at which a Korean armistice is being discussed

Lorraine, Germany expanded her heavy industries at an amazing pace, and at the turn of the century, she was world's largest producer of Zinc and Potash, one of the biggest producers of Coal, and had built up a flourishing Iron and Steel industry. Germany wanted good markets. While the English goods were finding a very good and favourable market in all the parts of her Empire, Germany's own colonies proved not so rich as to carry on a sustaining trade with the "Father-land." The German industrialists wanted other fields. So the tussle started culminating in World War I, which Germany ultimately lost.

Germany was defeated in the First World War not wholly on account of her mistakes in military strategy, but mainly due to the insufficient and limited supply of natural resources, which are always the backbone of military strength. On the other hand, the allies had under their possession enormous and unlimited supply of various raw materials, which sustained them and put victory in their hands. When in 1918, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, it was foremost in the minds of the victors that Germany be made as weak as possible in the matter of her industries, and so the first things to be snatched away from her were her mineral resources. Austria and Hungary, which constituted the Dual Monarchy prior to the War, were reduced to purely deficit agricultural states with some small low-grade Iron and Coal deposits. Alsace-Lorraine with its Iron ores was allotted to France. Rich deposits of Coal, Copper, Manganese, Silver and Iron went to Czechoslovakia; Yugoslavia got rich deposits of Bauxite (the ore for Aluminium), Zinc, Chrome, Lead and Antimony. Rich Mercury deposits went to the share of Italy. It was the intention of the Anglo-American group and France to exploit to their own advantage all these mineral deposits given to various small countries of Central Europe. This seizure of her precious mineral wealth was a severe blow to Germany. The vanquished nation had no other alternative but to bear this injustice for the time being. The pride of the nation was hurt and a feeling to strike back gradually gained ground.

THE WORLD WAR II (1939)

While in the First World War only England and Germany were the two prominent warring nations, during the Second World War, various other ambitious nations of the East and the West joined either camps.

After the First World War, America started rising in power. With vast mineral resources within her territories at her disposal, she soon accumulated wealth and became one of the richest and prosperous countries of the world. The Russians, too, after the establishment of their Soviet Republic made an amazing progress. The first thing which attracted the attention of the Soviet Government was the proper exploitation of their mineral resources, which would help them in building up various heavy industries. The Russian plans succeeded and she became powerful. The Anglo-American block became much worried about this growing strength of Russia, but

they could do very little to check it. It was mainly because Russia was almost self-supporting in different raw materials necessary for her heavy industries and was not dependent on any outside country for the same. Although ideologically differing from one another, Britain and America, at a later stage of the last War, had to enter into alliance with Russia, when she was drawn into the conflict by the dramatic German attack.

Germany on her side had her two faithful allies, viz. Italy and Japan. The three nations had high ambitions for becoming first-rate world powers, but unfortunately they possessed comparatively small territories and meagre mineral resources of essential raw materials. Nevertheless, they had powerful and ambitious leaders as heads of their states. These leaders exploited the deep-seated fear of communism gripping England and America, which secretly thought it desirable to see a powerful 'Axis' block to balance the power of Soviet Russia. Thus Germany, Italy and Japan developed their industries and military strength also with the help of imported Iron-ores, Coal, Petroleum and other essential raw materials from America and British Empire.

It will not be out of place here to trace in short the trend of events which ultimately ended in the Second World War.

The French troops in 1923 suddenly attacked and occupied Ruhr Valley. Deficient France wanted Coal to smelt Iron ores from Alsace-Lorraine. This military action of France over Germany came when millions of Germans were dying of starvation and the whole nation was facing a total economic collapse. Germany could only express her helpless indignation and resentment at this injustice. However, the Ruhr Coal was again restored to them in 1924 by the League of Nations, because it was not much agreeable for the Anglo-Americans to see Socialistic France building up a big Steel industry. The ingenious German nation, though hungry and down-trodden, very soon improved her economic condition by building up various industries, most of which, in fact, depended on imported raw materials. German products found a very wide market and there were signs of prosperity. Then again came a period of economic collapse. All the nations, for protecting their own industries, discouraged imports of foreign goods, and there was again the difficulty of finding markets for German goods. German trade and economy suffered a serious set-back, and the ugly face of unemployment and starvation again appeared. It was during 1930-31, when the German nation was passing through its worst sufferings, that Hitler assumed the leadership of the country. To the people, he assured food, employment and an honourable status for Germany amongst the world nations. He repudiated the treaty of Versailles and established the whole German economy on a war footing. He declared that he wanted back whatever had been taken away from Germany by force. The fear of Communism again led Britain to allow Germany to repudiate the Treaty of Versailles, to build up a strong army, navy and air force and also to let Germany

occupy parts of Rhineland in 1936 and Czechoslovakia in 1938. But very soon the British people realised the dangers of German militarism, and when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, the Second World War started.

During the nineteen-thirties, when Hitler was busy in strengthening Germany, his powerful friend Mussolini in Italy was also aspiring high about the future of his country. Italy's condition was more hopeless regarding mineral resources. Germany had Coal from which she generated thermal power as well as synthetic petrol to satisfy her emergency needs. Italy had neither Coal nor Petroleum. As Mussolini realized that this deficiency would prove a great handicap in case of war with England and America, he resorted to age-old expedient of force. In 1935, Italy attacked Abyssinia. This invasion was only to get possession of possible oil-fields there. But the conquest of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was a great disappointment to Italy, because in spite of vigorous search for oil, no oil-fields were found. The venture proved a mirage only. Then the Italians invaded and conquered Albania, and there they got a thousand barrels of petroleum per day from Albanian oil-fields. Motivated by the same fear complex of Communism, in the case of Italian aggressions also, the British Government did nothing to stop this aggression of powerful military machine against helpless and innocent neighbours. The British people could not tolerate this injustice and they forced their Government to boycott Italian goods, and to place economic sanctions against Italy. But the Government again yielded to Mussolini's threats, and when Mussolini openly threatened that sanctions on petroleum would be considered by Italy as an act of war, the British Government allowed the British-owned Oil Companies to supply as much oil as Italy needed for her military campaigns. It was the policy of appeasement of this sort which swelled the heads of Mussolini and Hitler, who got encouragement in fulfilling their sinister designs of war-mongering.

In the Far East, similar efforts of Japan met with greater success. With very little of Iron and Coal, Japan built up a flourishing steel industry. Imports of deficient raw materials from other countries, mainly America, China, East Indies and Malaya, sustained various industries of Japan. Manchuria and China supplied Coal, the United States gave Oil, and China, Malaya and Philippines furnished Iron ores and other ferrous metal ores. With her industrial progress, Japan started aspiring to become world's most powerful nation. With the limited natural resources and depending on imported raw materials, it was not possible to achieve this goal. Japan realised this weakness and in order to be self-sufficient she started on a colonial conquest. As a first step towards the fulfilment of her aim, Japan attacked mineral rich territories of China. In 1931, Japan conquered Manchuria for her coal-resources. She got more Coal when Northern China came into her possession, and in addition, rich deposits of Iron ores were also made available to her.

The British Government again acquiesced in this aggression and did nothing in the League of Nations to

check this Japanese expansion. She remained 'neutral.' Thus China was left helpless. So long as Japan had not aligned herself with the Axis powers, all her petroleum requirements for various industries and for her military operations against China were met by the United States. It was only when fighting flared up in Europe, and Japan made a common cause with the Axis powers, that the supply of oil and other minerals was denied to her. Japan was prepared for this eventuality. By her conquest of Korea, Manchuria and a part of China, she had enough Iron and Coal. As for Petroleum, she had already stored a large quantity of American Oil and in due course of war, she got hold of Dutch East Indies and Burma with their oil-fields. It is interesting to note that in early stages of the last War, Japan used American Oil against American soldiers.

It is evident that although the immediate causes of the Second World War were mostly political and psychological, yet those causes grew out of economic conditions, which in turn were profoundly affected by the distribution and control of important mineral resources.

STOCK-PILES AND SUBSTITUTES

As soon as a war is declared, there is a total breakdown of normal trade between the two hostile camps, of warring nations. The political alliances are, therefore, mostly governed by the consideration of needs in respect of raw materials, and both sides in the war choose their allies accordingly. However, there are always some essential raw materials, which are indispensable for carrying on the military campaigns, and the supplies of which are denied to the enemy. It is on account of this reason that for several years before the actual declaration of the last War, the hostile nations built up huge stock-piles of such deficient but essential minerals the supplies of which were expected to be cut off later on.

The stock-piling was the most terrible "secret" weapon of Japan during the last War, and the stock-piles of the deficient minerals that she built up in the years prior to War were much larger than the technical experts of the Allies estimated. Japan had accumulated enormous reserve stock of Crude Petroleum, Manganese, Chromite, Copper, Lead and Zinc, etc. Germany had also built up big 'stock-piles' of these industrial minerals. But unlike Japan, she did not rely totally on reserve stock. The Germans carried on continuous and vigorous researches for finding out substitutes. Very soon after Hitler came to power, the Third Reich began constructing big plants for the manufacture of Synthetic Petrol from Coal, in spite of the high cost of making Synthetic Petrol which proved quite uneconomic when compared to that of the imported oil. But Hitler had planned this for war-emergency, and by the time the war started, nearly half of Germany's oil requirements were met by synthetic oil plants. It will be interesting to recollect that German advance and onslaughts during 1940-41 were spaced by a number of pauses in military operations. These were

MINERALS AND WORLD WARS

only periodic breathing spells on account of oil shortages, and during which petrol supplies were again accumulated. If the War had continued for a few years more, the capacity of synthetic oil plants would have been so large that no such pauses in her advance would have been required.

Germany's efforts regarding her Aluminium industry are also worth mentioning. She has poor deposits of bauxite, the aluminium ore. But before the War she was the biggest producer of this metal. The Germans had developed the Aluminium industry to meet the shortage of copper to some extent. In addition to the imported ore, she acquired bauxite from the neighbouring countries before and during the war, generated cheap electrical power from coal, synthesized cryolite (an essential mineral in alumina reduction) from another mineral fluorite, and produced the cheapest aluminium in the world.

Another effort of Germany to meet the emergency was in the form of discovering new and improved extraction methods of metals from low-grade Manganese, Lead, Zinc etc.

On the other hand, to America, Great Britain and Russia, abundant supply of essential minerals like coal, oil, ferrous and non-ferrous ore minerals were always forthcoming, and it was this sustaining supply of raw materials which enabled them to exhaust the enemy's potential strength and gain ultimate victory.

• THE POST-WAR PICTURE

In the past, coal, petroleum, iron and other allied ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores were the chief mineral resources responsible for the national prosperity as well as for wars. But to-day to this list may be added—and that too at the top—the resources of radioactive or 'atomic' minerals. In addition to their utilization in the manufacture of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, scientists all over the world are busy harnessing the atomic energy for its utilization for constructive purposes also, viz., as a source of industrial power in place of coal or petroleum. There is almost a mad frenzy amongst nations of the world for discovering deposits of radioactive minerals like Pitchblende (containing Uranium and Radium), Monazite (containing Thorium) and Beryl (containing Beryllium). Countries which are richly endowed with these minerals hold the most important and strategic position in the world politics today.

The best source of atomic energy is Pitchblende and its allied minerals. The chief producers of these Uranium bearing minerals are Belgian Congo, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Portugal and the United States, with sporadic minor productions from Cornwall, Madagascar, Russia, S. Australia and India. Beryl, another atomic mineral, is widely distributed in limited occurrences throughout the world. The third important mineral Monazite containing Thorium, is available in larger quantities. Thorium is not spontaneously radioactive but its atomic disintegration can easily be initiated by laboratory operations. Biggest

deposits of Monazite lie within the territories of the Indian Union, as beach sands of the West Coast of Travancore. Other producers of this mineral are Brazil, Malaya and Ceylon.

The distribution of these atomic mineral resources and the greed of various nations to possess and exploit them have given rise to one of the most difficult post-war problems, and it is not improbable that this race for atomic armament may again lead the war-torn world to another more bloody and destructive catastrophe. The piling up of the war machine in the absence of a sane social policy itself makes war inevitable.

INDIA'S MINERAL RESOURCES

India cannot be considered very rich in respect of all the minerals. But still, it held an important and strategic position during the last two wars on account of some of her minerals. India possesses world's richest Iron ore deposits; her production of Manganese ore is one of the highest in the world; Mica-mines of India are the top suppliers of muscovite to the world. Considerably good deposits of Coal are also available in India. Great Britain holding India in bondage exploited these resources. While the supply of various essential minerals was denied to the opponents, the Allies had the regular flow of such minerals during the last two wars, which brought them to ultimate victory.

But today India is politically free from such exploitation of her natural resources by others. India with her enormous resources of Iron ores, Manganese, Mica, Monazite and a limited supply of Pitchblende and Beryl holds a unique position in the world politics of today. The nightmare of the rising tide of Communism has been haunting the capitalistic countries of the West, and they are afraid of the growing power of Russia and China. India holds a key position in Asia. In the frantic efforts of the two power blocks to bring India to their own side, there may be hidden the motive of exploiting her valuable deposits of Thorium and other minerals. The protestations of helping India in critical moments of scarcity and of assisting her in the technical advancement of India may in fact be motivated by no other desire than the idea of keeping an eye on, and if possible, to exploit her natural resources. India's attitude of neutrality towards the world's power politics of today, and her unique stand for the abiding World Peace are not an agreeable and pleasant affair to the Americans. Prime Minister Nehru has definitely declared that India's help and her natural resources cannot be available to any nation who is on war-path unless the path of war may be for protection of innocent humanity. Taking advantage of the economic distress and scarcity caused by the various natural calamities that have befallen on India during recent years, some countries have tried to bargain for India's Coal, Thorium, Manganese and Mica supplies. Pakistan's pressure tactics to get coal and other supplies are known to all. Behind the so-called sympathy of America and her eagerness to help India, there may be

considerations other than humanitarian. There may be the desire to get hold of these strategic mineral resources. The 'wheat deal' has opened the lid. Two years back, when India asked for wheat to ward off her food-scarcity, America demanded in return control over above-mentioned Indian minerals. India could not accept this bargain. Today the food situation is still worse. The country is on the verge of famine and most of the American people thought that India would surrender herself. They proposed the same demand with more severe condition for the food aid. But the country refused to accept this conditional wheat gift from America.

This 'American Food-Aid' affair is nothing but the latest stunt of the 'Power Politics' seeking an easy control over the vital mineral resources of a weaker nation. Not only for India, but for all the weaker nations the conditions are almost similar. Under the garb of chalking out various development plans and advancing financial aids, the real motive of the few stronger nations is to impose a sort of economic domination upon the under-developed countries, thus reserving for them an absolute control over their mineral wealth. There can be no objection to the exploited nations, if such exploitation of resources aims at the betterment and progress of their own countries, or of mankind in general. But unfortunately it is not so. Their natural resources are being exploited for building up formidable military strength of a few nations only, which are again on the war path. The resentment against such exploitation is daily mounting. The latest example is that of Iran. For several decades her rich oil-fields were a great source of wealth and power to Great Britain. Now Iran wants back the ownership of her own oil, and she wishes to utilise it as a means of bringing prosperity and progress to her people. This is a perfectly justifiable demand. But Britain will not agree to it. She wants the monopoly of this life-liquid of war in order to maintain her high place in world politics, and so Iran, with her rich oil-fields, is becoming a 'sore-spot' in the world to-day.

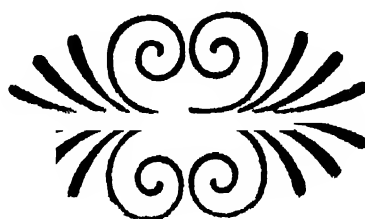
Korea and Malaya have also somewhat similar stories to tell. Korea possesses rich deposits of Coal, Iron and Tungsten, thus bearing great potentialities for the establishment of a flourishing steel industry. Before and during the last war, Japan was the main exploiter of these Korean resources. But after the War, there was the virtual partition of the State and these mineral deposits went mostly to North Korea. Because of the leftist tendency of the North Korean Government, these natural resources were denied to the Western powers. It is for

this reason that the United Nations under the influence of the Western powers did not like to accept the North Korean Government. The aim of the present Korean War for both the belligerents is the unification of the two parts of Korea and the utilization of its entire natural resources, and if the 'United Nations' are successful in their campaign, the 'free and democratic nations' will have an easy access to Korea's Iron, Coal and Tungsten resources for themselves.

The present disturbed conditions in Malaya are proving a constant head-ache to Great Britain. The unrest in Malaya represents the restlessness of the Malayan people to break away from their economic bondage. In addition to her Rubber, Malaya is one of the biggest producers of Tin ore, and has considerably good deposits of Monazite. The repression of the Malayan struggle for freedom has created a very explosive situation in the Far East, and who knows that Britain's desire to perpetually exploit Malayan resources may not lead to some serious international conflict in that area.

It is a great human tragedy that while most of the nations are struggling hard to tide over the misery of hunger, scarcity and poverty, which have followed the last war in its wake, a few so called 'prosperous and peace-loving' nations are again busy in war-mongering. Exploitation of replenishable natural resources like agricultural products to some extent can be tolerated, but that of the mineral resources amounts to almost a crime unless it is for human good. Once lost, they are lost for ever, and the exploited nation ever remains a beggar in the matter of those commodities. And it is such exploitation of the weak by the strong which causes dissatisfaction and resentment, which ultimately culminate in wars. Nature's mineral bounties, which should go to make humanity happy and prosperous, can never be allowed to make its lot miserable. But the strong nations in their lust for power forget this maxim, and they always try to exploit the weaker nations in the matter of their natural resources. It would be a grave blunder for mankind to pledge its precious resources for building up a war-machine, because if they do so, the war-machine itself will evoke the nemesis which no one will be able to control.

When the world's natural resources will come to be regarded as property in which all people of the world have a joint interest, regardless of their location, only then it will be possible to effect a mental disarmament based on mutual good will, confidence and tolerance, and this alone can prevent future conflicts and wars.



WELFARE STATE

By K. P. KHUMANI, M.A.

EFFECTIVE slogans sometimes develop into social objectives. It is said that the modern State is becoming a Welfare State. The Prime Minister of India has given categorical expression that the ultimate social objective of the country must be the realisation of Welfare State. This has been endorsed by the Indian National Congress at its Nasik Session. So it becomes all the more necessary and important to study and analyse the concept of Welfare State and the problems it has to face in its ultimate realisation.

Prof. Pigou of the Cambridge University says that the main motive of economic study is to keep social improvement and hence Economic Science should be realistic rather than pure. Economic welfare may be defined roughly as that part of welfare that can be brought into relationship with the measuring rod of money. Reader observes that welfare increases (decreases) whenever one or more individuals become more (less) satisfied without any other individual becoming (more) satisfied. Despair or measuring utility perhaps drove Robbins to argue that Economics is a positive science and that it is neutral between ends. Henry Pesch would tell that Economics is both a positive and a normative science. The Mercantilists, Physiocrats and Adam Smith placed the welfare of the nation in the centre of their theories; but as regards the means, there is a gulf of difference. Any state professes itself to look after the welfare of its citizens. But the methods to the achievement of this end differ so widely that they deserve careful analysis.

During the laissez-faire days, the State was expected to be only a police man. "Thus far and no farther" was the cry of the time. But with the developments in the factory organisation and in the industrial sphere, the need for the interference of the State was exceedingly felt. The unfairness of putting the low-paid labouring class on a footing of equality with the fortunately well-placed few gained ground. The capitalist system was making its headway and even the actions of the state could not cure the evils of the system. The Marxian onslaught made manifest the social evils that were the results of the capitalist system. Negatively, Marxism served as an eye-opener to the capitalists. The conception of the end of the state similarly changed and the states began to assume powers to regulate the various activities in the interests of the common good. Economics and politics became more inter-dependent than before and poverty was looked upon as a social evil. It was accepted on all hands that all efforts must be directed to eradicate this evil.

The concept of Welfare State has been the subject

of discussion in recent years. This word-combination is interpreted differently by different writers. There are divergences in the emphasis in the aspects of Welfare State and consequently there have been grave misrepresentations, which have led to false conclusions. Technically the determining factor of a Welfare State lies in the avowed assumption of certain basic responsibilities by the State in regard to providing education, sanitation, medical relief and means of livelihood to the people and the correlation thereof with the means of production of national wealth. There are some special responsibilities as of unemployment insurance, social insurance, old age pensions and others having a cradle-to-grave sweep which transcend the traditional concept of State functions and focus the special features of Welfare State as such. This signifies the difference between the totalitarian states and other systems. There is no necessary relationship between the Welfare State and the totalitarian state or inherent contradictions between the capitalist system and the Welfare State.

Broadly Welfare States can be classified into three kinds. One proposal is to assure a minimum for all, retaining in principle private property and the price mechanism and allowing the more enterprising to find his fortune and incidentally to benefit the society too. This is the philosophy of free enterprise in which the Americans have placed their belief. Then there is the mild socialistic idea of Welfare State. Sir Stafford Cripps indicates that in the British State "the fundamentals of social justice and economic stability shall be planned" and the rest is to be left to private enterprise to start with. This is best illustrated by the present-day Britain. There is a third kind, which wants the state to absorb all activities. This believes in the nationalisation of all industries and in planning. Russia is the typical example of the third kind.

This naturally takes to the discussion of the need for planning. It is very unfortunate that there is no unanimity even among experts and economists as to the interpretation of the term, "Planning." There can be planning both under capitalist and totalitarian systems. There are ardent advocates of planning like G. D. H. Cole, Wootton and there are also vehement critics like Dr. Hayek and Jewkes. So there is at the first to clarify the meaning of the term. If by planning is meant only central planning, it may not find favour from all quarters. If by planning is meant only thought-out, organised and concerted action, there cannot be any opposition to planning. The two schools which support the extreme views seem to be unscientific and contrary to facts. The planners harp

much on the efficiency of state action and they cite the series of Five-year Plans of Russia. It is argued that it eliminates monopoly, shocking inequalities of income and other social evils which are the results of capitalist economy. Further, it is said that free enterprise which has been given such a long lease of life has failed to justify its existence by the recent developments. The standard of life of the people is still at the low level and unless and until State directs the economic activities, no appreciable improvement can be achieved. Planning removes the disharmonies of production, distribution, consumption and exchange. Modern developments in currency, export and imports make planning inevitable.

The other school takes the most gloomy attitude towards planning. Dr. Hayek describes it as "a weapon of totalitarianism used for the oppression of minorities." Belloc says, "The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself." Carr disparagingly says that the nationalised thought has passed everywhere with the nationalisation of industry. It is argued by the anti-planners that planning will be too effective or ineffective. The most serious danger lies in the extinction of economic and political liberty. It will end in the regimentation of society. Moreover, national self-sufficiency is destructive of international economic co-operation and incompatible with political co-operation. This point is emphasised by modern economists like Meade and Robbins. Writers like MacGregor suggest solutions to adopt democratic socialism. Robbins is of opinion that in peace time price-mechanism must operate and he would like planning and control to supplement private enterprise and not to supplant it. Individualism corrected and shorn of its crudities and abuses is the best solution.

But modern opinion tends to insist the importance of mixed economy. The State must take up more responsibilities but only in so far as it is conducive to the interests of all citizens. The place of free enterprise must be recognised and appreciated and it must be encouraged so long as it aims and achieves the welfare of the community. As John Jewkes says every sensible economy is a mixed system. So there is no basis to say that Welfare State is possible of achievement only under a particular economic pattern. The end is the same, though the means differ considerably.

Among the notable men that have contributed to the study of the Welfare State, Lord Beveridge stands foremost. His Report has been advanced as a neutral plan with no bias towards either socialism or capitalism. The Beveridge Plan assures at least a minimum welfare of the people. It is a fact that man's dependence on others has very much increased in the present day. He has to be looked after properly in childhood and old age. Apart from these, orphanage, widowhood, sickness, infirmity, accidents, unemployment and other

unforeseen contingencies present serious difficulties. The magnitude of these evils has mounted with the growth of industrial civilisation. Social security springs from the universal desire of man to free himself from the fear of want. The State, as an association of individuals to promote their common well-being, has in modern times undertaken upon itself the duty to provide through appropriate organisation the necessary security against these risks.

The term social security generally means income security or security against want. But want is only one of the five giants which are inimical to human well-being. Disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness are equally devastating in their incidence. Society must defend itself against them, as social security in the broader sense would include protection against these evils. The Beveridge Plan chalks out an insurance scheme, which is to be contributed mainly through state funds acquired through special taxation. It provides benefit only in return for contribution. It does not reduce incentive because only a minimum and not a maximum is provided. The Plan also suggests the institution of National Health Service and Beveridge wants the whole system to be co-ordinated under the ministry of Social Security. The Plan has the distinguished features of comprehensiveness, unification of administrative responsibility, classification, adequate benefit, flat rate of contribution and flat rate of benefit.

The scope of social security measures "has been an evolutionary movement directed by experience." There are two main currents, namely, social assistance and social insurance. The social assistance intended to help these unfortunate classes began in England even in the times of Elizabeth when the first Poor Law was passed in 1601. The subsequent Acts also aimed at alleviating the difficulties of the poor. But it must be mentioned that there was some stigma attached to poor relief in those days. But today it is considered as a social evil and a new attitude, characteristic of the democratic age has gained ground. Many countries have introduced legislations to grant old age pensions. It began in Denmark in 1891 and has been adopted by New Zealand, Australia, France and Great Britain. Unemployment schemes have been introduced providing cash allowance or work relief. The United Kingdom follows the cash allowance method and America follows public works policy. The principle followed is "wage-stop" which says that the allowance paid for needs should be less than the amounts which would ordinarily be available if the person were following his normal occupation. This is intended to prevent voluntary idleness and to induce the workers to seek work instead of living on state charity. Family allowances in order to raise the normal income of families to the required minimum are

granted. Medical care is specially given to help the poor. The Mothers' Pensions Act in U.S.A., the British Family Allowances Act of 1945 and the Canadian Act of 1944, all these aim to provide social assistance.

The principle of social insurance gained recognition with the National Insurance Act of 1911 passed by Lloyd George, though it was initiated by Bismarck in Germany in the last century. The Health Insurance Scheme of Great Britain may be taken as an illustration of the new technique. The insured person has to pay a contribution during every week he is employed. His employer also has to pay a contribution on his behalf. A fund is thus created to which the State also makes a contribution. Cash benefits comprise sickness and disablement. Maternity benefit is provided. There is also unemployment insurance including industrial and agricultural manual and non-manual labour below £420 a year.

The Labour Government issued a White Paper after coming to power. It recognised the responsibility for maintaining full employment. But the social security insurance plan of the Government need not be exaggerated nor need we break into superlatives in evaluating its utility. It does give the people a security against unemployment and sickness though it does not annihilate them completely.

America, the land of free enterprise, also has undertaken social security measures. The development of these schemes achieved the zenith during the Presidentship of the late lamented Roosevelt, who under the New Deal, introduced new reforms. The New Deal consisted mainly of four types of measures, namely, social security legislation designed to protect the dispossessed from unemployment, illness and old age; measures to strengthen and protect the labour's bargaining powers, measures to aid farm; attack on monopolies and others. Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare Attache to the American Embassy in India, speaking on "Social Service in U.S.A." in the Social Work Conference, 1941, says that prominent part is played by the privately initiated, sponsored and operated non-governmental agencies. All activities are curative and preventive.

Russia follows the Communist pattern of economy. There, it is said that everyone has the right to work and leisure. Trade cycle is averted and profit and interest are eliminated. Foreign trade is the monopoly of the State. Industries have been divided into three kinds, namely, those of Union significance, State significance and Local significance. But it must be said that the Russian example has got its own peculiarities and special problems.

With the study of the social security schemes in these countries, it would be helpful to see the nature and limitations of social security. The social security that must be provided against all the social evils must

differ from country to country. The special problems of the particular country must be taken into account before any comprehensive scheme is envisaged. Apart from this point, the problem of social security itself presents many difficulties which must be tackled carefully.

The term "Welfare," though it is generally accepted, may be misleading. The distinguishing feature of this new kind of State is not that it is more concerned than other States with raising the standard of living of its citizens as a whole. A country's standard of living at any moment is the total of goods and services it provides (less the proportion of these that is used for capital investment and for exports plus the goods that are imported in exchange). The welfare arrangements described above are not designed to increase this production. Their purpose is to ensure that everyone gets a certain minimum share of the production whatever his circumstances. Such arrangements may, of course, have an indirect influence on the volume of production. Mr. T. W. Kent observes that the monetary inducements for the business and middle classes have been much reduced with the growth of the Welfare State. This is not, of course, necessarily to condemn the Welfare State. But it must be borne in mind that the problem is to balance the loss against the benefits. In the initial stages, it may affect production and no security is worth having when the available productive resources services, and commodities are reduced. So there is this necessity to check this difficulty. It is true that the feeling of security created by social services the demonstration of the State's concern for the welfare of its ordinary citizens will tend to improve industrial efficiency, more understanding of their employer's difficulty. In a country with a growing population and a lower standard of living anything that slows down the increase of production is very dangerous.

It is said that a thorough-going Welfare State is one chronically liable to steady inflation. This is found on the experience of industrial economies. This hardship increases all the more in an economy, which is more dependent on agriculture. The fund, which must be created to operate the various social services, must be carefully raised. The benefits of the services should not offset the fresh taxation on the poor. It should not discourage saving and affect the capital formation. A faster improvement in the welfare of the ordinary man can be achieved if welfare measures are introduced at a moderate pace.

Friedrich Baerwald, writing in the Fordham University magazine *Thought*, remarks:

"It must be clearly understood that no social security system and no welfare policy can function adequately under conditions of chronic unemployment. The key to social security is therefore an employment policy which succeeds in preventing such an unfavourable development of the labour

market. If it succeeds even an ambitious social security system is feasible. If it fails social security legislation will not prevent the widespread destitution characteristic of depression."

The implications of full employment are a high degree of continuous employment, which must be congenial. The work must be got with without any delay. Changes of occupation or place must be reduced to the minimum. It must not reduce the standard of living. In the British White Paper, three essential means have been suggested to maintain full employment. There are the maintenance of aggregate expenditure, flexibility of productive resources and the control of wages and prices. The writings of late Lord Keynes, Meade and others really give valuable suggestions with regard to this aspect of the problem.

Then, in the Welfare State, there are other questions like the increase of production and the reduction of the glaring inequalities of income. Apart from the other devices, modern opinion relies on monetary adjustment for these. The progressive taxations like the income tax and the important place given to direct taxes in the present-day public finance aim at achieving these objectives. But it must be cautioned that all efforts in this direction should not interfere with savings and investment and capital formation.

After analysing the problems of the Welfare State, it is interesting and appropriate to study the problems that are specially confronted with in India. With the determination to achieve Welfare State, the magnitude of the problem has assumed greater importance than before. It may be said that the concept of the State which now commands the most influential following in the country, if not also the largest following is that of the Welfare State.

The changes that have taken place in India are momentous. The transfer of Government into Indian hands, the partition of the country, which is perhaps the parting gift of British Imperialism, inflation and under-production and lack of capital formation—all these add to the speciality of the Indian problem. Legislations like the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, have aimed at improving the lot of the helpless. Mr. B. P. Adarkar submitted his report on Health Insurance for Industrial workers, the essential feature of which has been a compulsory contributory insurance. Though no social insurance scheme has been given by the Government, the need for it has been recognised and all efforts are taken in that direction. The Mines Maternity Benefit Act of 1941 aims at giving maternity benefit to women. The Employers State Insurance Act of 1948 has been indeed a remarkable achievement. It breaks new ground in the field of social insurance inasmuch as it proposes an integrated scheme embodying workmen's compensation and maternity benefit with health insurance. With regard to education and sanitation, steps are taken to provide greater facilities. In a country which has agri-

cultural economy, the difficulties are numerous and with majority of population being illiterate, the most statesmanlike attitude and capacity is called.

In India, during the last fourteen years, the total expenditure of State governments on nation-building activities, as a percentage of total revenue expenditure has gone up from 34.98 per cent to 46.46 per cent. This total expenditure on such activities has increased by 100 per cent between 1946 and 1947. According to the *Statesman's* Washington correspondent, in 1950, U.S.S.R. spent per capita \$73 on social and cultural purposes, while the U.S.A. spent 19 per cent more per capita for education, 140 per cent more for social security and social insurance, 370 per cent more for public health and 160 per cent more for scientific research than the U.S.S.R. Though compared to these figures, the Indian example recedes to the background, it is really an advancement if the past economic and political conditions of the country are taken into account.

But a note of warning must be given. If in the high ambition of the realisation of the Welfare State, hasty steps are undertaken, it will result in the frustration of all hopes in the future of India. Several obstinate and cold facts like the under-production and inflation must not be lost sight of. The Indian Rupee has the four-anna value of the Indian Rupee of 1939. The shyness in the capital market and the progressive deterioration in the volume of production must make India feel that any effort must be taken carefully. The Government must follow both "production by inducement and direction." The long-range prosperity of the country must not be sacrificed at the altar of pet principles.

It is feared in some quarters that the Welfare State will inevitably lead to the extinction of the civil and political liberties. The extension of the functions of the State must take place within the desirable social ends, particularly the maintenance of civil and political liberties. Though it is true that Russia has improved the standard of living of the people, it is an unfortunate fact that the personality and the individuality of man is completely ignored. The objective should be to better the position of man, at the same time promoting other social ends too. The *Economist* writes:

"The sound policy for those who believe in the Welfare State is that the State should maintain for its citizens the highest standard of individual welfare that it can reasonably afford and that does not undermine the economic efficiency or political liberty of its citizens."

Any attempt to achieve too much in too short a time may defeat larger purpose. It is the end that justifies that ultimate jurisdiction of the State. To conclude, "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

FAMOUS ENGLISH HOUSES

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

I. KNOLE

ONE of the things that has changed in England down the ages is the attitude towards the Spring. In the fourteenth century, the first great age in English history, the poet Chaucer opened his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* with a salute to the Spring. In the



North-West Front from the Park. Knole

next great age, the Elizabethan, it is the same; all the sixteenth century poets, from Surrey to Shakespeare, laud and magnify the Spring. I wonder why we have lost that attitude. Why for instance have Maypoles and May Queens quite gone out? Above all, I wonder why we take our holidays in August, that dried-up summer month, when our ancestors chose the sparkling Spring to go on *their* pilgrimages.

Such thoughts came to mind the other day caused by a visit to Knole, largest and loveliest of all our country houses. Knole has a special place in the hearts of English people. For one thing it is completely English, as English as the colleges at Oxford with its courts and quadrangles and mellowing stone. Indeed Knole and Magdalen are practically of the same age. In 1546, Knole was sold to Archbishop Bouchier who built the house as it appears today. And only a year later Bishop Waynflete of Winchester began to build at Magdalen.

To get to Knole the modern pilgrim may set out from London in a democratic char-a-banc, travelling through the most characteristic of all English countryside. For Knole is situated near Sevenoaks in Kent, a county which has absolutely everything. It has castles, cathedrals and market gardens, oaks and oast-houses and cherry orchards. It has too the rolling north downs and, spreading out below them, the patch-work pattern of the weald. From at least one point on these downs you can see across seven counties.

It is tempting to enlarge on the road to Knole—the quickest way out of London and far and away the most attractive. In a matter of minutes you are at Camberwell Green (Mendelssohn's 'Spring Song' was first entitled 'Camberwell Green'). Thereafter, from Dulwich to Sevenoaks, you are in an unsuspected rural paradise. Dulwich Village, self-contained as a cathedral close, centres round its public school which was founded in the seventeenth century by the actor



Green Court East. Knole

Edward Alleyn. Never was there gift more allied to the giver! For Alleyn, who must surely have been playing in *Faust*, dreamt one night that the devil had come for his soul. And he felt so shocked by his dream that he founded the school as a penance. . . .

On from Dulwich one passes and often through

a green tunnel of over-arching trees. All along the way, past and present blend in comfortable accord. There are old timbered 'pubs' at Beckenham and thatched cottages at Bromley. Outside Sevenoaks the

In the fifteenth century, as we have seen, Knole was acquired by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was the first Archbishops who built the East side of this court with its lovely oriel and mullioned windows.



The Stone Court. Knole

Bat and Ball Inn is a reminder that for more than two hundred years willow for cricket bats has been grown in these parts. (In 1773, John Frederick Sackville of Knole, third Duke of Dorset, presented a cricket-ground to Sevenoaks.)

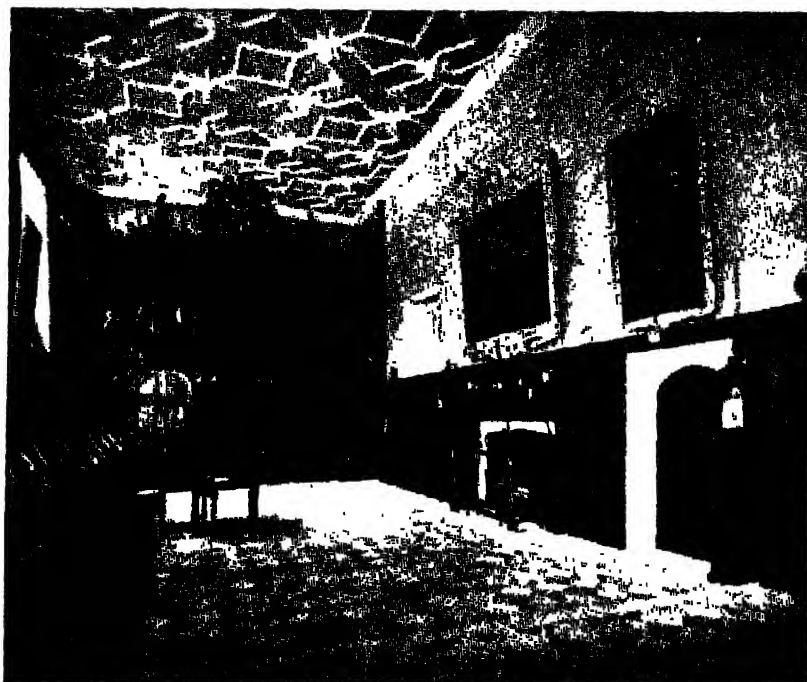
And so we arrive at the gates of Knole, thankful to have come by car, as the park is very hilly. But the park itself is scarcely noticed because of the engaging tameness of the squirrels who rush down trees to look at the passersby. It is the same with the deer. They stand in groups along the verges of the road, strange little creatures with spotted coats like a Noah's Ark cow, and imported long ago from Japan.

There is nothing ducal or flamboyant about the first view of the house. One enters through a gateway between two towers. On either side of the gateway stretch plain Tudor walls surmounted by later Jacobean gables. Only ornamentation is the Sackville leopard, who sits upright on every gable.

But the gateway leads into the Green Court, the first of seven courts. (Knole has seven courts, fifty-two staircases, and three hundred and sixty-five rooms). Here we are right in the midst of Knole's long history.

Knole would have remained with the Church had not Henry VIII, with his accustomed rapacity, coveted it for himself and compelled Cranmer to hand it over. All the left wing of this court became the King's Stables.

Perhaps I may pause for a moment to comment that under Mary Tudor Knole *did* return to the Church for a little while. In 1556, she granted it for life to Cardinal Pole. But when he died two years later, on the same day as the Queen Knole reverted to the monarchy. Soon it passed to the new Queen's cousin Thomas Sackville, created Lord Buckhurst in 1567 and Earl of Dorset in 1604. He was the first Sackville to live at Knole—which has remained in his family for more than 300 years.



The Great Hall

In the midst of the Green Court are two Italian bronzes. One is of a Gladiator and the other of Venus and they were brought to Knole in the eighteenth century by John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset. To this Duke Knole owes most of her best paintings. But he must wait till we come to the Reynolds Room.

Leading out of the Green Court is the Stone Court. It is completely paved and its stones cover a reservoir from which the former inmates used to draw their drinking water. But the general stonyness is redeemed by a most delightful and unexpected feature. Along the length of the eastern side of the court is a wide balcony, supported by a colonnade. It could accommodate musicians or serve for a promenade and it is a Jacobean addition.

The early years of the seventeenth century, the beginning of the Jacobean age, were important ones for Knole. For although Thomas Sackville had been granted the house in 1566 it was not until 1603 that he obtained possession. His was a versatile and late-Renaissance personality. In his youth he had written *Gorboduc*, the first blank-verse tragedy in our lan-

brushes with history—from Anne Boleyn to George IV.—which the visitor experiences as he wanders round. One of the fire-dogs bears the arms and initials of Henry VIII, the other those of Anne Boleyn. (Poor rejected Queen. There is something so intimate in sharing the fire-dogs . . .). Set out on a table along one of the walls are the Letters Patent conferring on various Sackvilles their titles of Lord Buckhurst, Earl Dorset and Duke of Dorset. Each is headed by a portrait of the Sovereign and my favourite is the one granted by Queen Elizabeth. It is a pleasant surprise, and rather touching, to come on this miniature painting of the redoubtable Eliza. She is depicted, sitting at the top of the parchment, as a dumpy little woman with her knees near her chin . . . I suppose the principal thing in the hall is the portrait of Edward



Third Duke of Dorset
By Gainsborough

guage; he entertained musicians and had a private orchestra. He had been Ambassador to France and to the Low Countries and Chancellor of Oxford as well. Only the last five years of his life remained to be spent at Knole but he made the most of them. He is said to have imported three hundred workmen from Italy, including plasterers, upholsterers, masons and glaziers. He it was who launched the house on its long career of being the most beautifully furnished place in England. To this day, people come to Knole solely for the sake of the Jacobean furniture.

Through a doorway under the colonnade is the entrance to the Great Hall. This was built in the time of the Archbishops but heavily overlaid with panels and carvings by this same Thomas Sackville. It is not especially remarkable. The charm lies in the odd



Earl of Surrey
By Strates

Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset, painted by Van Dyck. But I don't care for it. I prefer Van Dyck in melancholy mood. This Earl seems to swell and swashbuckle.

Coming out of the hall one is met by a lovely sight—a really exquisite carved staircase. It is called the Great Staircase but its name is misleading. Principal staircase it may be but it is not very wide and there is nothing great or heavy about it. It is all lightness and grace and the leopards perched on its pilasters are a sermon in elegant deportment. Sunlight falls across the landings and I do not think that anywhere else in the world can stairs exist which more effectually take away the feeling that any effort or exertion is called for to mount them. The walls are decorated in *grisaille*. This my dictionary describes as,

'a style of decorative painting in grayish tints in imitation of bas-reliefs.' But time or intention has turned some of these grayish tints to cream or yellow or rose. Or perhaps it was the sunlight.

Apart from the Hall, only the rooms on the first floor are shown to visitors. Here there is a series of galleries with smaller rooms at either end. The one I liked best was the Cartoon Gallery. It bears this name because on its walls are six copies of Raphael's cartoons, which were designs for tapestries for the Vatican. (The original cartoons are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum). The present copies were given by Charles the First to an Earl of Middlesex whose daughter married into the Sackvilles.



Mrs. Sackville
By Lely

This gallery seems to me to sum up in itself much of the history and the beauties of Knole. At the far end, pride of place is given to a painting of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk. The first of the Sackvilles was connected with the Duke of Norfolk's family through his mother who was a Boleyn. He was also a poet and he was ten years old when Surrey, a much better poet than himself, was executed by Henry VIII on a charge of treason. He must often have mourned the death of his gifted kinsman. But to return to the painting: it has been the subject of much controversy. No one can fix its precise date and there are four versions of it in existence. They are certainly commemorative portraits. But the most interesting part of the controversy centres round the Latin motto. Painted at the base of a broken column, on which Surrey rests his elbow, are the words 'Sat Super Est.' What is the correct trans-

lation, or, rather, what is the meaning which it is trying to convey? The literal translation is 'Enough Survives.' Some think this is a reference to the fact that Surrey had a son to carry on his line. Others see in it a tribute to his verse. He was the poet who wrote about the Spring and I plump for the second explanation. But in any event we can be grateful for the motto. *Sat Super Est. Enough Survives!* It is a reflection worth adding to one's scanty store of philosophy.

There is a glorious Renaissance fire-place in the Cartoon Gallery. It is in marble and the design rises from floor to ceiling. Such fire-places are a feature of the house and there were others in the ballroom and



Chinese Boy
By Reynolds

the Reynolds room. This one is opposite a window and has a shell-like radiance. Colours altogether glow in this gallery. The walls are covered in rose-red velvet. The windows are painted. And the furniture, of the Restoration period, is in velvets of green and blue and crimson. But the most satisfying thing of all is the floor. Every plank looks unusually wide and solid; short for its width and of a different length from the next one. But it all settles into a solid, dark, and gleaming platform. The truth is the floor is not made of planks at all. It is composed of tree-trunks, split in half, with the rounded half downwards.

Huge fire-places and age-old velvets . . . how has Knole escaped the ravages of smoke and moth? (So far as the moths are concerned, does the secret lie in her special blend of pot-pourri, which perfumes all these rooms and has been made since the days of George the First?). In another gallery there are chairs

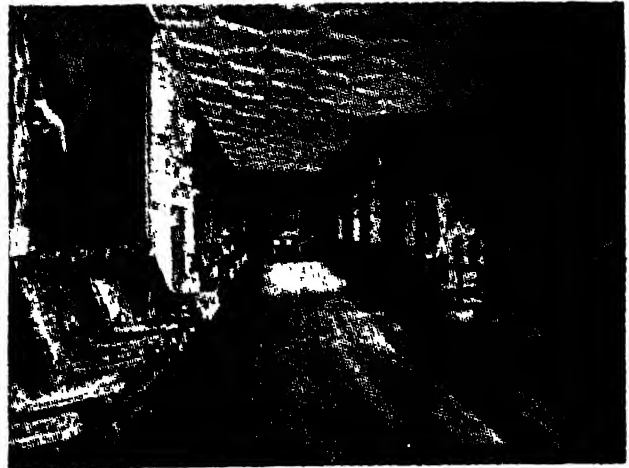
and stools of the Elizabethan period which are still in their original coverings. The colours are fading into a haze but there seems no reason why these chairs and stools, which have survived so long, should not stay in their places for ever. Knole's most famous furniture is Jacobean and much of it is now in the Leicester Gallery. (Named after Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who was at Knole for a brief period before the first Sackville). But I do not care much for Jacobean furniture. It has been done to death. I am sick of the typical Hamlet cross-legged chair and the 'Knole sofa' with drop-ends, which is copied by every furniture maker in the Tottenham Court Road. In this gallery one feels more drawn to the portrait of a Countess of Desmond who lived for a hundred and forty years. And what years! She was born in the reign of Edward IV and died when Charles the First was on the throne. (On the way, at the age of ninety, she fell out of a tree in Knole Park and broke a leg). She saw the Wars of the Roses and the rise of Tudor absolutism; saw absolutism crumbling in the uncertain grasp of Charles . . . What would we not give to see in which way our own revolution is developing.

Let those who may, remember Knole for her furniture. Others will recall the Sleeping Beauty atmosphere of her deserted courtyards—and the wonderful collection of portraits in the galleries upstairs.

Every hundred years or so the Sackvilles throw up someone quite outstanding. In Elizabeth's day there was Thomas Sackville. In Restoration times there is the jolly, roistering Sixth Earl of Dorset. He is one of the most brilliant, talented and dissipated figures in a brilliant, talented and dissipated age. It was said of him that his good nature was supreme. Certainly he attracted the most contrasting characters. His affections ranged over Nell Gwynn, William Penn, Pope, Dryden and, the greatest of all fellow-rakes, Lord Rochester. It is reported that Rochester said of him, perhaps with a touch of envy: 'I do not know how it is, my Lord Dorset might do anything, he is never to blame.' To this amiable creature we owe the magnificent sea-shanty 'To all you Ladies now at Land.' (It is in the *Oxford Book of English Verse*). And to him Knole must be indebted for the enchanting series of Lely portraits which hang in the Spangled Dressing Room. Nearly all are of Court ladies. They have the dark good looks of the period and, in their dresses of luminous pinks and greens and yellows, they are very beautiful as they hang in line.

On another hundred years and the Third Duke of Dorset is presiding at Knole. He is devoted to the arts which is a very good thing for posterity because we are now in the age of Reynolds and Gainsborough, the greatest period in English portrait painting. In many ways this Sackville recalls his Elizabethan and Restoration ancestors. He was Ambassador in Paris

up to the time of the French Revolution. And instead of a Nell Gwynn there is Giannetta Bacelli, the Italian dancer, to whom he gave his Garter to wear as a hair-ribbon. (She caused great scandal in Paris when she danced at the Opera with *Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense* blazing on her forehead!). There is a very beautiful recumbent statue of her at the foot of the Great Staircase.



The Cartoon Gallery. Knole

A portrait of the Duke, by Gainsborough, hangs in the ballroom and it has often been lent to Exhibitions. As a rule Gainsborough is not reckoned a very successful painter of men. To succeed with a portrait an artist must have a firm grasp of character and Gainsborough was not disposed to be analytical. He was for spontaneity and he is better with women and best of all with children. But this painting does succeed. There was a strain of melancholia in both artist and sitter and perhaps that made for understanding. Dorset certainly was very attracted to Gainsborough and commissioned five other paintings. (And paid £105 for the lot!)

But it is Reynolds, the greatest of all English portrait painters, who gets the best showing at Knole. So many of his paintings hang in the Crimson Drawing Room that it has become the Reynolds Room. It was Reynolds, it will be remembered, to whom Boswell dedicated his *Life of Johnson*, and who founded the famous Literary Club to which the Johnson circle belonged. Portraits of members of the Club are in this room, including those of Doctor Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and David Garrick.

Next to a self-portrait by Reynolds, which he is said to have given to Dorset, hangs a painting of extraordinary charm. It is of Hwang-a-Tung, a little Chinese boy who attended on Giannetta Bacelli. Exotic child attendants have been a feature of noble households. (Shakespeare, who was acquainted with the ways of courts, gave to Titania, the Fairy Queen, 'a lovely boy, stolen from an Indian king' for her atten-

dant). It would be interesting to know what happened to this gentle Chinese boy in after-life. All we hear about him is that the Duke sent him to the Grammar School in Sevenoaks.

But Knole alas has lost its most beautiful child painting. This was the portrait of the Duke's three children, painted by Hoppner, which was sold in 1930 in order to clear off death duties. It seems a pity that that picture had to go. For the sensitive little boy, with the soft mass of hair and eyes set so far apart, was the last of the Sackvilles in the direct line. He died in 1815 at the age of twenty-one, after an accident in the hunting-field, and Knole passed eventually to the children of his younger sister Elizabeth. This Elizabeth married George West, Earl de la Warr,

and their descendants have adopted the name of Sackville-West. It is the Sackville-Wests who are now at Knole. The title of Lord Sackville was given to them in 1876.

Just after the War the present Lord Sackville presented Knole to the National Trust. It is saddening to feel that these great houses will no longer play a part in the life of the nation. But at least their tapestries and paintings will not be sold abroad to pay for death duties.

And let us salute the Sackvilles—and all others of their kind—who served their country at home and abroad and who in every age were the friends and encouragers of the humanities.

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KODAIKANAL

By L. N. GUBIL

On the precipitous southern slope of the Palni Hills overlooking the plains is Kodaikanal, regarded as the most beautiful of the hill stations of Southern India. Situated 7,000 feet above sea-level and easily accessible, it ought to commend itself to all who desire to relax in beautiful surroundings to get rid of the strain of work and the prickly heat of the Indian summer in

of calling on any one after 4 p.m. as only the invalids keep indoors after that hour at Kodaikanal.



• The Lake

the plains. In contrast with the "fair glades and neighbouring lawns" of Ootacamund, the alternating hill and dale scenery of Kodaikanal is decidedly more attractive to the visitor from the plains. The salubrity of its climate is comparable more closely to that of the high-lands of Scotland than to the English air characteristic of the Nilgiris.

Almost the first thing which strikes the visitor to Kodaikanal is its absolute freedom from convention. In regard to the hour of call, the utmost informality prevails, but one may warn visitors against the futility

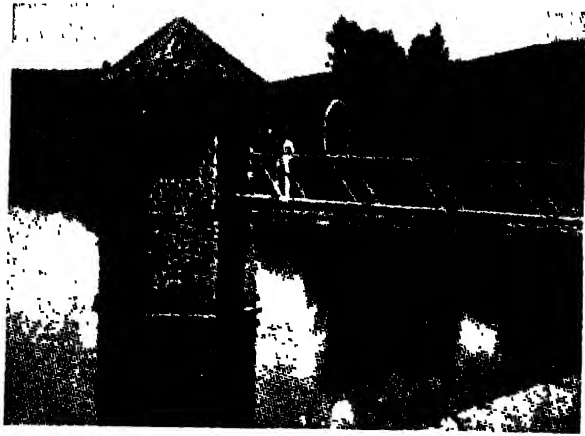


Carlton Hotel opposite to Lake and Boat Club



The Observatory

Of all the places of importance to be visited at Kodaikanal, the first is decidedly the lake. On its banks are located the English and Indian Clubs, the Boat Clubs, the Carlton Hotel and some of the offices.



Reservoir

The most popular resort for people of all ages, the lake-side presents a gay appearance with the boats plying across the lake from corner to corner. Many Indian ladies may be seen rowing across the lake and with their gaily coloured sarees add greatly to the colour-effect of the scene.

The Coaker's Walk is yet another popular resort from where one commands an interesting view of the towers of Madurai, the adjoining village of Periakulam and the hills and valleys round Kodaikanal.



Dolphin's Nose

The Pillar Rocks are a sight in themselves, standing up to a great height in the shape of pillars among the pine forests adjoining. Nearer home, the Fairy Falls and the Bear Shola Falls are equally attractive.

To the more adventurous spirits, the Pambar

Valley and Falls and the Dolphin's Nose present attractions of the most exquisite nature. The scenery of the Pambar Valley is Elysian and in the inviolable quietness around, one draws the breath of peace.



Pillar Rocks

The strain of a walk down the whole course of the Pambar Valley may deter all but the most venturesome from making the attempt. The Falls by themselves are a sight not to be missed.

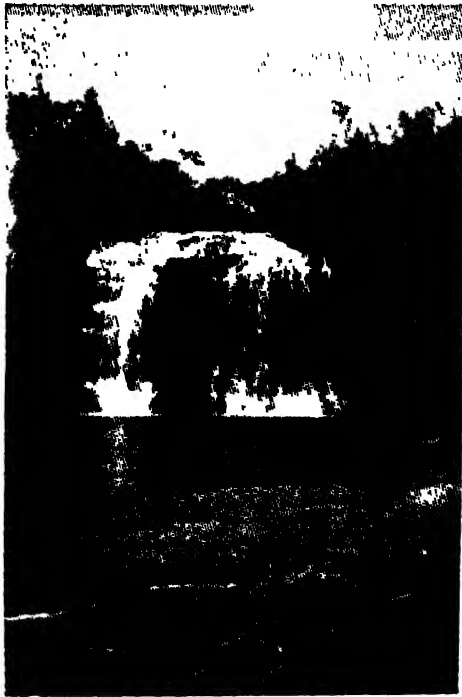


Bear-Shola Falls

The sign-board, Dolphin's Nose 4 furlongs, easily beguiles the unwary into an undertaking, the magni-

tude of which he realizes, when, after walking the distance indicated, he finds himself no nearer to the goal than at the start. But the effort of the walk is amply repaid by the sight of the Nose itself—a huge

Observatory in India which in addition to being a first class weather Observatory and scismological station, specialises in the study of physics of the Sun and is specially equipped with the most up-to-date



Fairy Falls

block of stone jutting right out into the void. It will be a truism to suggest a visit to the Observatory, but a student of science may be informed that it is the one



Baronet Levinge Monument

equipment for spectroscopic observations and research on sunlight.

The Jesuit Fathers who have achieved fame through their Colleges in Tiruchirappalli and Madras, have a college for the training of their members in Shembaganur, a place 2,000 feet below Kodaikanal. Any visitor to this hill-station should not fail to see this college and the farm attached to it. A visit to this place is an education by itself.

Thus, a trip to Kodaikanal at any time of the year is sure to produce lasting benefit to body and mind.

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HAWAII : PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC

By MAUDE JONES

SITUATED in the north-central portion of the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaiian Islands are the focal point of Pacific ocean and air transportation. The first settlers were Polynesians who had journeyed from distant islands to settle there. These migrations extended over some centuries prior to the arrival of the British explorer, Captain James Cook, on January 18, 1778. Then the island group was divided into four separate kingdoms. By 1795, the young chief Kamehameha had won his way to power and conquered all but one of the islands. This island was later ceded to him.

Hawaii had its own culture before the advent of the early European explorers. Without metal of any kind, with only stone implements, the inhabitants perfected the making of canoes, wood and stone utensils, and spears, bark cloth, and mats. Their feather capes were never equalled. Hawaiians were well

versed in medicine and anatomy. There was no written language until 1822 but history and genealogies were handed down by word of mouth.

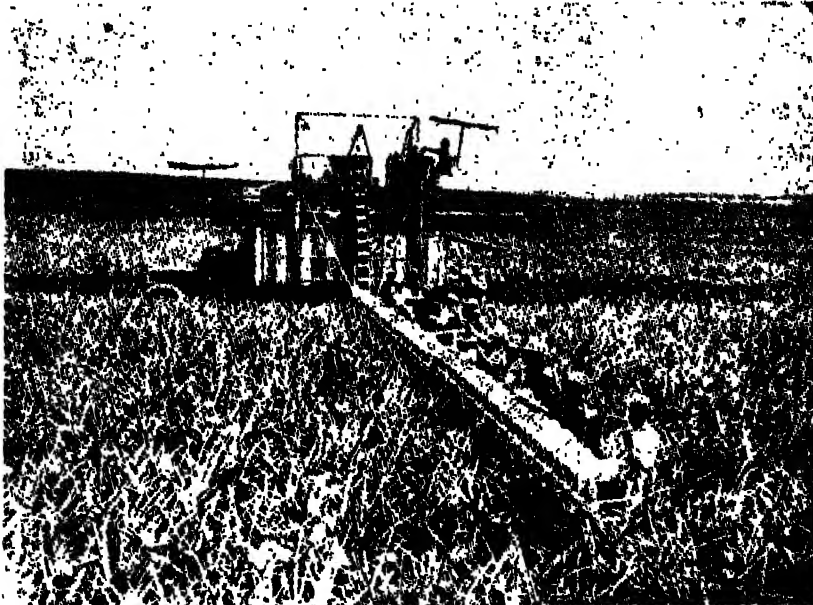
When the first missionaries arrived in 1820 they found a country without a settled religion. Since the old Tabu system had been overthrown after the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the way was open for the establishment of Christianity.

The evolution of Hawaii's government has been unique. From an absolute monarchy (1795-1840), it became a constitutional monarchy (1840-1893). Then the monarchy was overthrown and a provisional government established. In 1894, this was changed to a republic. On August 12, 1898, the formal act of annexation to the United States took place, and today Hawaii stands on the threshold of American statehood.

Foreign powers attempted to gain possession of Hawaii from the time Kamehameha I ceded the Island of Hawaii to another British explorer in 1795. In 1816 and 1817 the Russians established themselves in the islands, built a well-equipped fort on Kauai, and had

the War of 1812. Today they are battling against Communist forces in Korea.

August 30, 1950, was the one-hundredth anniversary of Honolulu's being proclaimed a city and the capital by a resolution in Privy Council. The year also marked the centenary of the city's Board of Health, Fire Department, and Chamber of Commerce, the arrival of the first Mormon missionaries, and of numerous civic organizations.

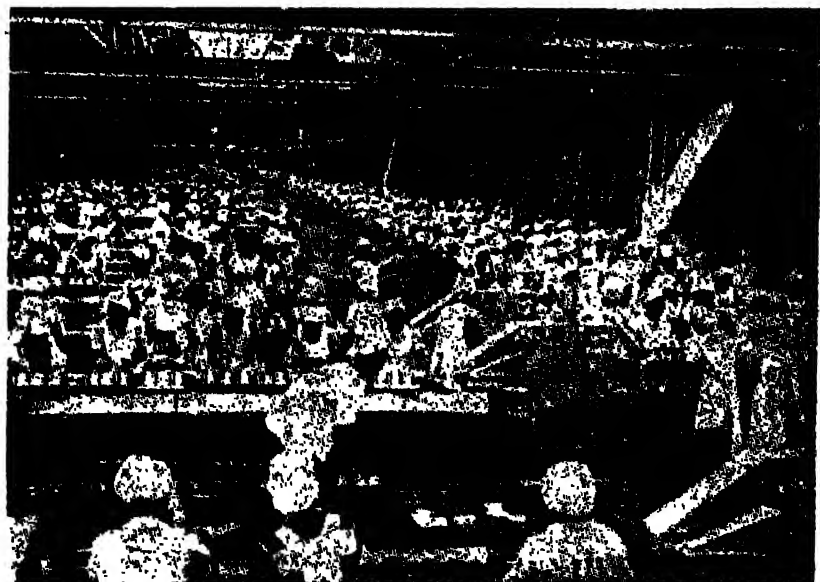


Using a mechanical harvester, pickers collect the abundant pineapples, one of Hawaii's major crops

to be driven out by force. In February 1843, an impetuous young English naval officer, Lord George Paulet, seized the islands in the name of Great Britain, but on July 31, 1843, Admiral Thomas, commander of British naval forces in the Pacific, disavowed the act and restored the sovereignty to the islands' ruler. On that day Kamehameha III gave Hawaii its motto: The life of the land is preserved by righteousness. For ten days in 1849 the French occupied the Fort and government buildings at Honolulu.

The United States had always shown an interest in the island kingdom. The first annexation treaty was drawn up in 1849, and a treaty of reciprocity was negotiated which went into effect in 1876. When the treaty was extended in 1877, Hawaii ceded Pearl Harbor as a coaling and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States. Hawaii was free from foreign invaders until December 7, 1941.

Hawaii's sons have fought side-by-side with American troops in every engagement beginning with



Pineapples are sliced and canned under modern conditions in this Honolulu factory

ment archives. Other territorial buildings and the federal building are grouped around Palace Square, forming Honolulu's civic center.

The educational system of Hawaii has advanced steadily since 1820. In January 1949, a total of 86,835 students were enrolled in public schools, 24,760 in

private schools, and 4,905 were registered at the University of Hawaii. The University's Agricultural Extension Service reaches all parts of the Hawaiian group as well as other parts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This Trust was one of those established by the Charter of the United Nations, under which the United States has the responsibility to help the islands in all phases of their development.

Religious freedom is recognised in Hawaii, all denominations enjoying the same privileges. St. Andrews Cathedral, the beautiful Episcopal church, was founded by Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma. The first Catholic priests landed in 1827.

Trade in Hawaii has changed and grown with world development. The fur trade was the first international exchange of goods. Furs were brought from the Pacific Coast of North America and reshipped to China. Next sandalwood was the principal article of trade, but the demand for this was so great that the forests were demolished. The whaling industry followed, but the shifting of the whaling grounds ended this lucrative business, and agriculture came into its own. The first sugar mills were erected in 1838, although sugar was said to have been produced as early as 1802. Coffee, wheat, and other crops are raised in smaller quantities.

With the increase in agricultural development a great demand for labourers arose. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was organized; government envoys, empowered to negotiate treaties, were sent to foreign countries to procure labourers. Immigrants came from China, Portugal, Japan, Galicia, Russia, Korea, several other Pacific islands, and the Philippines. Small numbers of Scotsmen and Scandinavians arrived. The amazing fact about the introduction of these peoples from so many diverse countries is that they have lived and worked together in complete harmony. All are good citizens. One of Hawaii's assets has been the power to mould people of all races and religions into one harmonious group.

Sugar, the oldest industry, is the base of Hawaii's economy with an annual yield of almost 1,000,000 tons. Pineapples, a comparatively new industry, average an annual pack of nearly 19,000,000 cans. Fish and fish products form a growing industry with a large canning plant at Honolulu and a picturesque fleet of fishing boats. Coffee raising is so important that the public schools on the coffee-raising large Island of Hawaii arrange their vacation schedules so as to allow pupils and teachers to pick the ripe coffee.

Tourists have been considered Hawaii's third industry, but a new development has placed the export of orchids and other cut flowers high on the list of the island's industries.

Hawaii takes pride in her care of the ill and

handicapped. Kamehameha IV and his Queen, Emma, founded the Queen's Hospital in 1859. In his speech proroguing the legislature on May 4, 1859, the King said:

"I confess that the act of your two Houses which I regard with most complacency is that in which you commit the public Treasury to the aid of hospitals. You, Representatives, amongst whose constituents are those very persons for whom these places of refuge are principally designed, have expressed a kind and grateful feeling for the personal share which I and the Queen have taken in the labor of securing the necessary means for the establishment of a hospital in Honolulu. . . . When you return to your several places, let the fact be known that in Honolulu the sick man has a friend in everybody. Nor do I believe that He who made us all, and to whose keeping I commend in now dismissing you, has seen with indifference how the claims of a common humanity have drawn together, in the subscription list, names representative of almost every race under the sun."

Honolulu boasts a 400-bed hospital with all modern facilities including operating rooms, outpatient clinic and a weekly tumor clinic, as well as an excellent school of nurses. Today Hawaii leads in its care of the mentally handicapped with its new treatment center at the Territorial Hospital set in beautiful surroundings. Molokai, the Lonely Isle, has cared for those afflicted with leprosy since the time of Kamehameha V.

The Territory is air-minded. Six airlines connect Honolulu with the mainland of the United States, with Canada, the Antipodes, and the Orient. One airline gives passenger and cargo service to all of the islands and has completed 22 years of operation without a fatality to passenger or crew member. The company schedules more than 50 flights daily.

The big island, Hawaii, is famed for its two active volcanoes, Kilauea and Mauna Loa. In June 1950 Mauna Loa staged one of its most spectacular eruptions. Islanders rush to, instead of away from, an eruption. On this island, the birthplace of Kamehameha I, are the ruins of the ancient City of Refuge. Hilo, its largest city, is situated in the bend of a beautiful crescent-shaped bay with Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea as a background.

Maui, the Valley Isle, has the vast extinct crater of Haleakala where is found the rare silversword plant, and beautiful Iao Valley. Kauai, the Garden Isle, is known far and near for Waimea Canyon and Mount Waialeale where 460 inches of rain fall annually.

The population of Hawaii as of January 1, 1950, was 527,473 (exclusive of the armed forces). The city of Honolulu claimed 263,795 inhabitants.

Hawaii has lived up to her motto, given by Kamehameha III in 1843: *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono* (The life of the land is preserved by righteousness).—From *Think*

THE WALL'S BARRIER

By SANTA DEVI

SNATCHES of diverse conversations are wafted from across the other side of the wall into his ears. Sometimes it is a deep rumbling voice, sometimes the high shrill voice of a child, or at other times, the silvery jingle, the bubbling ripple of a feminine voice. Now all the voices were familiar with him. It was most delightful to listen to the sweet young voice of a girl, chirping every afternoon at four—"How are you, Dada? Now just see, I have brought you oranges, *malpowa* and the finest rice, for you today! Have the sweets at night and tell them to cook this rice for the morning. You do not seem to have any fish-problem in the hospital. If we had four such huge slices of *Rui*-fish at home—it would have been enough for the whole lot of us."

Dada replies, "Exactly! with prices rising to such scandalous heights in Calcutta, very few people can eat their fill with their slender private income."

The girl trips across the floor, lifting cups, moving saucers,—her bangles jingling; he guesses her movements hearing the 'swish, swish' of her dainty *chappals*. Just a yard away and yet unseen.

Suddenly she exclaims, "My! I had very nearly forgotten to deliver the whole lot of letters for you today. Mother repeatedly asked me not to forget about the office-letter and the one from Darjeeling. She will cross-question me when I return home."

Dada says, "Read out the office-letter, will you? I will send the answer by your hand today. There is no hurry about the letter from Darjeeling—I will read it when I get time."

The girl's voice bubbles out in laughter, "There is no hurry, indeed! When you are rid of poor little me, you will gaze leisurely at that *shuli* tree there and read the letter, heaving deep sighs!"

Dada snaps at her, "You have no sense of propriety or reticence—cracking your crude jokes at any one and every place! Please read me the one from the office. I wonder how many more days the leave will be extended."

The girl starts reading out, in an irritated voice and anglicised tone, a letter written in English. The reading stops with the footsteps of two or three persons. "Hullo Jatin, keeping well? Boy, you did give us a shock? Now you are having quite a secretarial work here, of course!"

A young woman murmurs, "Your ways do irritate us, really! You just couldn't stop scampering about until you were landed with appendicitis—you wouldn't listen to us, so this will teach you a lesson!"

The other new-comer retorts, "You have some hopes! How can your voice reach him, whose trance could be broken only by the penance of that Uma of Darjeeling?"

"I beg your pardon," replies the young woman, "was I trespassing?"

The cabin-servant stamps heavily into the room. He seems to place a tray noisily on the table. The young sister screams, "Such a huge omlette, Dada! The very sight is tempting! But, don't cut it up, please. You will have to fast today if we all start taking shares!"

More and more footsteps. How many more will enter that room? The earlier visitors are making room for the others. That soft-voiced lady remarks, "Jatin Babu is popular. I do feel jealous! We wouldn't have so many visitors even in death-bed! And look at the number of books."

Jatin Babu seems to answer, "God bless you, you needn't die. Your list of admirers is growing fast already. The moment I get down from this bed, I too will offer my attendance. And I will bring along as many of the latest books as you want."

Plenty of chattering and gossiping, laughing and teasing, work and play is carried on, throughout the evening. Who will say this was a sick-man's room? When visiting hours end with the six o'clock bell—even newer voices are heard speaking in there!

At long last starts the sprinkling of Lysol solution. Jatin's sister's voice is heard, "We will be going now, Dada. Else they might sweep us out with the holy water."

Another lady pleads, "No, no, please—where is the hurry? These rules aren't as strict as they look. Lots of people sit right up till night."

Gradually the room grows quiet. The servant comes in, then comes the nurse, each does his own allotted duty, chatting a little, while they work. Each pours his tales of misery into the sympathetic ears of Jatin Babu. The servant complains, "If only I could get a better job, Babu? I can cook, I can do some nursing too, what can't I do? But, of course, it is my fate! The kitchen-servants eat as much as they steal,—while we shrivel up like dried fish! I can't even send just ten rupees to my wife and child back home. Why were I born a man then?"

The dark nurse says, "I am a single person, but when I am on duty I must watch over fifty people, with just two hands and a pair of eyes! How can a person endure this? If I had a white skin and wore a skirt—why, I would have had a fatter pay at least,—a good reward for my pains! But, of course, being born dark, I must trudge along as I am."

* * *

Anadi had sprung from a respectable lineage, and was once quite well-to-do. His widowed mother had sent him to England for higher studies. But his circle of friends there—being very far from thrifty—had

reduced him to his present destitute state. Who would have thought, even a month ago, that he, after a street accident, would be lying with a crushed leg in the public hospital? Jatin Babu's cabin was right beside his bed in the general ward. And that was a piece of luck of course. Some times tunes of his familiar world float across from there and make him restless. When that room quietens down his mind can no more forget the visible world. This isn't the world in which he had once roamed and been entangled in ties of love and labour. This is a veritable approach to the jaws of Death. These fifty men breathing the air of the same room and the same world, were strangely different from all normal mortals in their monotonous sameness of lying in bed from dawn to dusk. Queerly identical were their pains, their thoughts and their ravings. In the morning each prostrate man counts the hours for the eagerly-awaited supply of watery milk or some such drink. When the body resists the idea of food, there is no other choice but to think of pain, pain and more pain. At nine, the doctor in his Western outfit, will go through his daily rounds followed by his troupe of assistants. He may give you some relief, assisted by his young students. But nobody has the spare time to listen to the groans of these suffering creatures and soothe away with gentle touch their poor aching bodies. The nurse enters with the thermometer, thrusts it once in each mouth, draws the temperature chart, but never speaks a cheery word if she doesn't feel like it. Only her tender hand and kindly smile can rouse a spark of hope in the timid hearts of these travellers to the shores of Death. But there was not a drop of pity left in the tired body of one who has lived years inside this Vale of Death. Mere pecuniary interests have robbed her tending hands of all natural tenderness. They do feel some warmth in the touch of an inexperienced new-comer. But how short-lived that is! So many of them lie waiting for that single person. She moves from bed to bed like an automaton. What else can she be with her twenty-four hours' schedule of both pleasant and unpleasant duties.

Anadi has nobody of his own to attend to. For most of the others, at least some one comes daily, to carry in a bit of lunch and sit awhile beside the bed. Even in that crowded room they look at each other and smile, as if they were quite alone there. The Hindusthani fellow lying in the next bed has a wife who comes everyday in her dirty sari and silver ornaments just to sit somehow by his pillow and whisper a few intimate words while she wipes his face with an edge of her dirty sari, after feeding him with the bread she brought. She scampers off within a few minutes; but to Anadi it seems that he has given her husband quite a lot within those few minutes.

The Chinese craftsman over there, lying for days in that dazed condition—even he had better luck than Anadi. The Chinaman's wife, in a fit of rage,

had ripped open her husband's stomach with a pair of scissors! But her smiling face was something to see, now when after a week her husband was somewhat recovering. She came in the evening, donned in her best coat and pyjamas, and entertained her husband with a lot of gossip. Who would say now that once they had quarrelled rather violently? It had been almost a hopeless sight to watch him while he lay senseless for days within that oxygen tent. Today he was a changed man.

But, of course, all did not have the same amount of luck. The ancient sweeper-man, who had come about ten days ago, would lie all day with eyes close-shut, refusing all food, raising himself up only when his wife and daughter arrived every evening. Sitting propped against his pillows, worn and haggard as he was, it was quite evident that he had reached his end. He had no curiosity about the numerous people coming and going and talking around him. What if he was a mere sweeper-man? His face showed as if he was beyond all earthly desires now—and not stopping there—Death the inevitable rears up its head! There began the tussle between life and death—a twenty-four hour ordeal with hot water bags and chafings of hands and feet. Even the impassive doctors and nurses, began running to him all day. The wife and daughter came in the evening, together with a lot of women in dirty saris. They sat around the bed, staring at the old man's face. He was propped up against a few pillows, as he could no longer lie flat. Then came the end—before the eyes of a room-full of sick creatures. Some closed their eyes, others turned around on their beds as they lay. It was not long before the empty bed had its sheets changed—and there it stood white and vacant awaiting a new arrival.

That was not the single case—Anadi had seen others such within these few days. His heart trembles and he has a wild desire to jump off his bed and run away. But that of course was impossible. So his heart flies eagerly to Jatin Babu's cabin, catching a glimpse of fresh young life. That room too had a patient in it, but nobody was heard groaning there, the nurses and their helps did not bark out their demands inside it, and even the solemn-looking doctors paused there a few minutes, to chat about local topics. Food from outside the hospital boundaries was carried into the cabin twice daily. A tiffin-carrier every afternoon, and lots of other parcels, brought in the evening, by a variety of visitors. Friends brought fruits or sweets and sometimes stacks of books and bunches of flowers. There were fifty beds in Anadi's room and not a single bed in the whole room could boast of a few flowers by its side. But the other cabin had a regular supply of flowers. Jatin's attending nurse exclaims, "This room simply cannot hold any more flowers; I have filled all my glasses, bowls and mugs with the lot of them."

There were a few more cabins around the general

ward, and they could boast of visitors too. But a mere glance at a typical set of people always confirmed their being Jatin Babu's visitors. A grimy-trouserer Babu, a matron bedecked in her ornaments, or a young fellow wearing a gossamer-thin punjabi and a gold wrist watch—and several others were seen in the evenings. Some were regular visitors, others came occasionally. But they did not seem to be Jatin Babu's visitors, that look of anxious preoccupation mingling with fleeting signs of irritation or fear, showed that they gave greater preference to the ailment than they did to the ailing! Jatin Babu's friends, on the other hand, came with eager smiling faces and eyes shining in curious anticipation. What newer fun would he serve them with today! The girls came, swinging their bags across their shoulders and cradling a few books in their arms. A fleeting glance from under dark eye-lashes would sometimes greet the unfortunates of the general ward. These too were human beings after all! That quick glance seemed to enquire, "What is ailing you? Why are you always alone? Don't you have anybody in this world?" Then of course they walked quickly away taking their smiling glances with them. If they had once stopped to ask about just any man in that room—it might have been a daring thing to do, it might even have annoyed the doctors—but could not anybody imagine how happy the miserable man would have been?

Anadi would surely have known a bit of heaven if that bright young thing had spoken just a few words to him. Today was his twenty-fifth day in this hospital, and he had seen Jatin Babu's friends come in every day—sometimes in the evening, sometimes at noon and sometimes even twice daily. Jatin Babu's sister Apu had never been pointed out to Anadi. He had decided by himself that that tall, slender slip of a girl must be she. After all she was the most frequent visitor. Moreover, that way of hers of twisting her hair up into a tight roll, the way she carried that over-stacked bag of hers with its long leather strap over her shoulder, her way of never wearing the same pair of earrings or shoes for two days at a stretch, that trick of trying to force gravity into that smiling face of hers before she entered the cabin—all added up to suit just that name Apu! Her large sparkling eyes were enough proof that she alone could possess that sweet voice heard from the other side of the wall. And ah, what a tender heart she had! Throughout her visit, she could be heard pleading or commanding, "Please, eat this Dada!" or "Do stop making such a fuss!"

* * * *

Anadi was wondering why Apu had come in the morning that day. She had never done that before. Her sari was coffee-coloured with a wide row of white flowers along its hem—she had put on a beautifully embroidered blouse with it. Anadi had never before seen any Bengali girl wear such

embroidery work. But of course, every new fashion looked good on Apu,—and she, therefore, was looking lovely in her embroidered blouse. The imitation pearls she wore on her ears matched the white flowered border of her sari perfectly, and it was not hard to guess that she possessed a keen sense of the artistic.

Today Anadi will be going through a minor operation for his injured leg. A sick headache was teasing him from early morning and the mere thought of his encounter with the operation-table was making his face paler as he sank deeper into his bed. This sudden vision of Apu had cheered him up. He watched her go by his bed and enter Jatin Babu's cabin. Anadi lay back and began thinking about her. Apu came out of the room after some time, and tripping softly across the floor came to a sudden halt before Anadi's bed. "Won't you stand here a minute please?"—The words somehow slipped through Anadi's lips.

"Why, what's the matter?" said Apu. Her eyes were full of tender curiosity. "You don't look like a general-ward patient. Why do you lie here?"

The perfume Apu had used was filling Anadi's nostrils with fragrance. It seemed to carry him away from the hospital's repulsive odour of Lysol, into some strange magic land. He answered her happily, "Don't you know? I thought you knew everything about this place. Didn't anybody tell you my story? I was speeding away on my cycle when the chain snapped off all on a sudden—and even before I could regain my balance a huge Pontiac ran right over these poor legs."

Apu was shocked, and clasping her hands together she exclaimed, "Oh, how terrible! But you could have been killed!"

Anadi replied, "The gentleman was good enough to bring me to the hospital in his car. I would have died then and there otherwise! But now of course, I am very much alive and hope to go back with my legs almost intact."

"Why is it that nobody comes to see you while all the others have visitors coming with sweets and flowers?" Apu asked gently.

Anadi answered, "Who have I, to come and see me—the stray dog that I am?"

Apu cocked her head sideways, like a kitten and exclaimed, "What nonsense! Do stray dogs read *The Discovery of India* while convalescing? I am sure you were running away from home and so your mother doesn't know your present address and predicament."

Anadi replied, "My mother quitted her earthly home years ago,—so I don't think I have a chance of running away from her now. I am quite alone in the world."

Apu whispered, "I am sorry for what I said. From now on I will be visiting you once every day."

Anadi said, "How is that possible? People will talk!"

Apu answered, "Well, am I not standing here and chatting with you? Nobody is noticing. What is there to talk if one person shows sympathy to another? They are inhuman if they do."

Anadi looked across the room where the young surgeon was consulting with a few nurses. They did once glance this way but it did not seem that they found anything strange. Some of the other patients were either reading newspapers or chewing at oranges, and still some others were busy with their friends and relations. None seemed to notice Anadi or Apu. The ward was unusually quiet today.

Anadi said again, "But, you know there are some things that are better not done. You don't know me. Nobody introduced us to each other. You stopped near the bed of a general ward patient, just because he suddenly asked you to. What will your Dada say to that?"

Apu widened her eyes and replied, "Dada? He will shout the house top down. He will order me out of the hospital."

Anadi said, "And I am sure your mother will be angry too."

Apu laughed, "Mother will beat me with a broom-stick! I don't dare to tell mother. But of course, I shouldn't hide anything from her."

Anadi looked up sadly and said, "I don't think your Dada would have been angry if he knew me well. I am not quite a bad sort. I too have been to England and I do have a foreign degree. Bad luck has brought me down to where I am now. People would have been more than eager to be friendly with me if I could retain my past good luck. Today they turn up their noses and pass me by."

Apu's lowered face was pensive, as she played with the huge, white plastic bag in her hand. A few yards away a nurse stood washing surgical instruments in a bowl of hot water—she glanced gravely at Apu and then went back to work. A very tall doctor in an over-all, went by the bed; he seemed to smile a little. A patient nearby was repeating over and over in a blurred tone, "Mother, oh, mother!" But Anadi's heart and eyes were gazing raptly at Apu's downcast eyes. Suddenly Apu said, "Suppose I bring Dada over here and introduce him to you? He has got a sensitive heart that gives him a lot of trouble when he feels for any one."

Anadi was all smiles, "What can give me greater pleasure?" he answered, "I have been hoping and praying for such a chance for days. I would have gone and got acquainted myself, if I had had the strength to raise myself. Moreover, we wouldn't be allowed to go over there, even if we could use our legs—you see, we do not belong to that aristocracy of private cabins. My mind, of course, is always busy trying to cross the boundaries."

Apu replied, "I had better call Dada—that will surely break the boundaries! He is not tied down to the bed any more. They have let him get up twice daily."

Anadi ventured, "Would you mind very much if I say something? may I ask you to place your hand on my forehead for a few moments, before you call your Dada? It is aching so infernally—it wasn't so bad before."

Apu was not the least surprised. She did not frown or remonstrate. Drawing a stool near the bed she sat at his head.

A heavy perfume floated over as she snapped open her white bag. She brought out a small white phial out of the bag. Then pulling off the stopper, she smoothed the solid white thing over his brow. Ah! so cool and soothing it was.

Apu ran her red-lacquered nails through his hair and gently massaged his head. The throbbing veins seemed to calm down under her tender touch. Anadi's eyes were closing drowsily. But his heart was hammering ecstatically under his chest—and he could not sleep. Was Apu so tender? Her one gentle touch was tying him up for life-long bondage! But will this momentary tenderness suffice? Perhaps he will never again meet Apu after leaving this hospital. Apu will ornament some sumptuous mansion while Anadi will again be carried on his nomadic feet, from road to road. Perhaps he may again fall under the wheels of a car when Apu rides into the Chowringhee market in a Pontiac. May be she will bring him again into this hospital in her own car. But will she visit him everyday? Why should she come when her Dada was no more a patient there? Apu was in no way concerned even if Anadi died here, suddenly, like that old sweeper-man. Her life will lead her to a different route. But why is it that the easiest things are the most unattainable in this earth? Some fateful day Apu will be tied for ever to some one whom she has not met as yet, and who himself has still not seen her—while this luckless fellow always hungered for a glimpse of her sweet smile, or her merry eyes, to whom a single touch of her hand was worth all of heaven—why will he be robbed of his right to meet her once again? Perhaps this was Anadi's fault entirely! If he had been brave enough to express his feelings before her, both their fates might have been wholly changed. Such timidity leads a man to the ultimate loss of his loved one. A man should rightly demand the love of the woman he wants—timidity leads nobody anywhere! Modesty is the befitting grace of a woman and so no man admires feminine boldness.

But why was he worrying at all? What had he to offer her in exchange of his soul's demand? Apu came from a wealthy home, she had never crossed the streets afoot, and had hardly ever got on a tram. She rarely wore mill-made cloth and according to high

society's standard her outfits were correctly matched from top to toe. Apu had also had a fair amount of education. Can such a girl be huddled into a grimy lane in Shyambazar and bound within the four walls of a damp, ground-floor room? Even if her soft heart gives assent to his demands—should he take advantage of it? A flower-like creature as she is Apu will soon shrivel up when struggling with sorrow and drudgery. Anadi felt a bitter pain within his heart. He pushed aside Apu's hand and muttered, "Go back to your Dada. You needn't sit here with me. I will soon be able to cope with this head-ache. There is no need to waste your time and pity on such trifles!"

* * * *

The hand moved away from his brow. Was it Apu who said, "What are you saying? I don't follow you. Are the pains getting worse?"

Anadi said, "Oh, no! I was just telling Apu to go home."

"Who is Apu?" said the girl.

Anadi glanced up surprised, "There she stands, Apu—Jatin Babu's sister! I was talking to her."

Apu flushed scarlet hearing Anadi. "How did Anadi Babu know my name?" she asked.

Anadi stared at her face with the same stunned expression. The room no more seemed quiet and shadowy as before. Even the people around him had lost that unperturbed look. They were all suddenly talking and laughing, frowning and staring. Apu was not all alone with him. She was standing with her Dada, and looking down at him. It was the nurse who was sitting by the bed.

Jatin Babu said, "We heard you had an operation today—so my sister and I came along to see you. I

suppose you hear her name often, as you lie very near me! You are quite a learned person I believe, and so my sister wanted to meet you too. She had seen you everyday while going by this way."

Anadi said, "I see. When did you come?"

Jatin Babu replied, "Just about a couple of minutes ago."

Anadi said, "So I have had an operation? When?"

The nurse said, "It was done in the morning. You have been sleeping through the day. I was just sprinkling some eau de cologne on your forehead—you were tossing your head so!"

Anadi said, "Is it morning still? Somehow, I can't guess the time. Have they set my leg, then?"

The nurse seemed to fumble for an answer. Then she replied awkwardly, "Please don't feel too sad about it. Luckily, one was saved—the other will soon be made in wood. There are lots of people who have them."

A few lines of agony flickered over his face. But he was calm when he said, "Well, that settles it. A perfect street-beggar on crutches!"

Apu's eyes filled with tears. Quickly wiping her lashes, she whispered, "Why were you asking me to go away?"

Anadi's eyes were averted. He replied, "You needn't hear what a lunatic says. It does not matter at all."

Apu said, "We had better not discuss it today. I will listen to it some day later on. Do come to our house when you get well! A man should not break down—sorrow is always there, after all. Dada, give your card to Anadi Babu please! Our home address is written over there."

—Translated by Miss Shyamasree Nag, M.A.

-:O:

THE STRANGE CASE OF BAUDELAIRE

By PROF. B. N. CHATURVEDI, M.A. PH. D.

"Joy is one of the most vulgar adornments," said Baudelaire, "whereas melancholy is the illustrious companion of beauty . . . I can scarcely conceive a type of Beauty in which there is no sorrow."

When the writer of *The Flowers of Evil* said this, he was not indulging in any trite paradox—he was hinting at the perverted foundation on which his own life was built up. The masochistic traits which all aspects of his life reveal are conspicuous enough to suggest that he was taking recourse to a psychological mechanism by means of which he could bypass his various complexes and take shelter behind a cult which was at once a denial and an acceptance of life—denial in the sense that he was to build up an esoteric system of his own which could compensate for his lack of healthy reaction to life and acceptance in the sense that he tried to idealise the very ugliness and filth which are anathema to an ordinary sensibility. The process

through which he was to effect this reveals the tortuous course of his own life.

THE CULT OF THE MASOCHIST

Masochism in its broader sense implies self-punishment and self-immolation. The masochist is very often prompted by the same motives which impel the criminal neurotic who takes recourse to crime in order to derive a morbid pleasure from the mechanism of self-torture and also from the state of suspense which intervenes between the criminal deed and its subsequent discovery. The confirmed criminal is an artist for whom the crime becomes an end in itself, for it may compensate for his failure in other walks of life. The situation in which Baudelaire was placed and the inhibitions from which he suffered since his childhood made his life analogous to that of the criminal, for the psychological regression under which he took shelter from a frustrated life involved all types of neurotic-cum-criminal.

symptoms, like cheating, lying and even kleptomania or an uncontrollable inclination to steal.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SIN

Much has been written upon the recurrence of the incest theme in Baudelaire's works and the much discussed Oedipus complex from which he is said to have suffered. Here also it was the law of compensation that worked. What he missed in real life he tried to recapture by means of his imagination and by constructing a barrier which would not allow the incest motive to be expressed directly and which would express itself in various circuitous ways by means of substitutes—by his love of sin and evil. "The unique and supreme pleasure of love lies in the certainty of doing evil." Then there is his infatuation for the degraded harlot Jeanne Duval. The paradox of it is that he doted upon her not because he found her sexually attractive but because he found in her a convenient symbol of sin and debauchery.

"Tombs and houses of ill-fame offer beneath their arbours a bed which remorse has never frequented," he said.

She was not given up in spite of the fact that she had become an obstacle not only to his happiness but to the development of his mind—"a creature who does not admire me and who is not even interested in my work." Baudelaire, physically the least passionate of men, sought the pleasure of horrors and debauchery in his imagination and in his perverted attachment to Jeanne Duval who was loved simply because she provided the safest barrier against the incursion of repressed incest motives. The only explanation that can be found for his glorification of sin and evil is that he derived erotic satisfaction from indulgence in them—this being a psychological substitute for ordinary sensual gratification which was denied to him.

THE DOUBLE PERSONALITY

What was the essence of the conflict within Baudelaire which was responsible for his mal-adjusted personality, try as he did to come to terms with himself by various self-devised mechanisms? The known facts of his life indicate conflict with his step-father General Aupic, disgust at his mother's second marriage and an abnormal attachment to his mother—interpreted by some as bordering on incest. An attraction-repulsion complex in regard to his mother dominated the greater part of his life, for the feeling of guilt that he felt in regard to his mother was repressed and various psychological mechanisms were built up to perpetrate that repression. Love for Jeanne Duval was but one of these mechanisms. But the repression led to a circuitous expression of the banished wish, for Baudelaire's masochism was in one way a punishment inflicted upon himself so that his mother may herself be chastised in him, humiliated dragged into vice and filth. In another way self-punishment was one of the means of going back to an infantile situation and realising in fantasy what could not be attained in real life.

"It is suffering that becomes the great protectress—the psyche forms a habit of punishing itself with the help of illness, either psychic or organic, or with the help of social failures."

His love for debauchery or evil or sin was an indirect way of achieving what had been inhibited in him for as he said:

"Modern brutishness and stupidity have their usefulness and often that which has been made for evil turns, by some spiritual mechanism, to the good."

His art provided to him another medium of escape from his inhibitions for it was an effort of his frustrated personality to attain in the realm of the imagination what had been denied to him in real life. The creative force of his imagination would bear forth what would be the equivalent of a child produced by normal sexual relationship. It is these efforts at escape and sublimation that give us an inkling into the meanderings of a tortured personality that tasted the flowers of evil in order to extract good from evil.

PRIEST OF BLACKNESS

It has been said that certain types of neuroses are conducive to the flowering of genius and to that extent humanity is supposed to have benefited from the conflicts and self-tortures of men of genius which have found sublimated expression in their works. The very basis of Baudelaire's art is neurosis. Symbols and images, which have their root in his neurosis, keep recurring in his works and remind us of the black magic of his art. In one of his poems entitled "The Assassin's Wine," he said:

"To slake the horrible thirst that tears at me, I should need as much wine as her grave could hold . . . I threw her in the bottom of a well and I even pushed in on top of her all the paving-stones that made the margin . . . This debauchee . . . has never known true love either in summer or winter—love with its black enchantments, its retinue of infernal fears, its vials of poison, its tears, its sounds of chains and bones."

One who is not acquainted with the facts of Baudelaire's life may not be able to appreciate the significance of the symbols employed in the poem. The throwing of the woman in the well refers to the repression of the incest motive. Very often in his poetry crime is the symbol of incest and death the equivalent of sexual pleasure and love itself is surrounded with all the paraphernalia of a black incantation. His cynicism, his dandyism, his delusions of persecution regarding his father, his ennui, his dabbling with evil, were all psychological mechanisms meant to arouse antagonism and to give him a feeling of self-satisfaction at being the victim of counter-blows and to obtain delight from a narcissism which held in contempt all that was conventional and commonplace. It is but natural that such a perverted life should have ended in a disease which symbolised self-punishment with a vengeance—cerebral syphilis, being as it were an ironic comment on the identity of 'cruelty and voluptuousness' which he had sought in his life.

GENESIS OF HINDI

By DR. CHANDRA BHAN GUPTA, M.A., D.Litt.

In another fourteen years Hindi in the Devanagari script will be India's official language. As regards regional languages the Constitution provides that the legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State.

Is Hindi really capable of assuming this high place in India and the world? To understand this problem we have first to make a survey of the division of languages based upon the difference in morphology or word-formation and see if there is any kind of affinity between the regional languages prevalent in north and south India. Secondly, we have to reconsider whether Hindi has been flowing continuously from generation to generation and changing according to dialectical rules and thirdly to analyse whether it has sufficient literature.

There are mainly three divisions of languages based upon difference in morphology. They are agglutinative, isolating and inflectional.

In agglutinative languages the stem and suffix always keep their individuality and are felt as individual parts within the word-form. The Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish languages belong to this group. Take one example of word-formation in Turkish—*el* will mean hand, *el-im* (my hand) *el-im-de* (in my hand), *el-im-de-ki* (being in my hand).

Chinese belongs to the so-called root or isolating languages. Here it is the position of the word in a sentence that determines its character. A word is a verb, noun, or an adjective not because it has the distinguishing characteristics of these, but because it occupies a peculiar position in the sentence. The position and the tone determine the meaning of the word in a sentence which is a string of words. *Mu* is a Chinese word and its meanings are 'eye,' 'thinking,' 'principal' and 'necessary.' In different parts of China it is pronounced as *muka*, *munga*, and *moka*. If this *mu* or *muka* word is pronounced in a different manner it means 'mother' or 'thumb.'

The Indo-Germanic and Dravidian groups belong to the inflectional languages. By inflectional languages are meant those languages whose words are formed by the combination of the stem and suffix and where the combination of these words does not appear clearly. In this type the stem part of the word changes along with the suffix part. Thus in inflectional languages as the stem and suffix change they both come closer to

each other and almost become one. Examples from the Dravidian languages and Indo-Germanic languages make this point clear.

	Singular		
	N.	A.	D.
Telugu	<i>Gurram</i>	<i>gurramunu,</i> <i>gurram</i>	<i>gurraminuku</i>
Tamil	<i>muram</i>	<i>maratte</i>	<i>marattirku</i>
Malayalam	<i>maram</i>	<i>marattine,</i> <i>maratta</i>	<i>marattinnu</i>
Kanarese	<i>maram</i>	<i>maranam,</i> <i>maramam</i>	<i>marake,</i> <i>marakke</i>
Sanskrit	<i>aham</i>	<i>mam, ma</i>	<i>mahyam, me</i>
Hindi	<i>mai</i>	<i>mujhe</i>	<i>mujhe,</i> <i>mujhako</i>
Avesta	<i>azem</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>me</i>

Although a connection between the languages of different groups and languages within one group, like the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian which also are highly inflectional, cannot as yet be historically proved, yet there is perhaps nothing unnatural if we accept the possibility of such a connection. We can say the languages prevalent in India in the south or north have at least some affinity in the fact that they belong to inflectional languages.

CONTINUOUS FLOW

Hindi belongs to the Indo-Germanic family of languages and can be traced from the Aryan language of India. To this Aryan language belong the Vedic language and Pali and Prakrit which are called middle Indian dialects and modern vernaculars. We can only understand the relationship between Vedic Sanskrit and Pali and Prakrit in some such manner. They are the direct descendants of a dialect which was spoken in ancient India side by side with the Vedic dialect with which it was very closely related. Words and forms like *prana*, *sahasra*, *bohukam*, *anudivasam*, *nasti*, *aha*, *matari*, *pitari*, *samstuta* *bhutam*, *avihimso*, *anarambhah* and *bhavati* that occur within some edicts of Girnar show that Sanskrit tradition was current and unbroken then as in later centuries and exercised its influence over the growing languages.

The same is observable in the literary Hindi of to-day. Here it is to be remarked that a literary language is not an 'artificial' language made by anybody, but one or the other dialect raised to the dignity of a common language of literature.

Under the name Prakrit, grammarians understand various languages. Vararuchi mentions four: Mahareshti, Paisachi, Magadhi and Sauraseni. Hemchandra mentions

three more: Arsa, which is nothing else than Ardhamagadhi of others, Culikapaisachika and Apabhramsa.

Corresponding to the Prakrits we have the languages spoken in different parts of India today. Thus Marathi is derived from Maharastra Apabhramsa. Gujarati, Rajasthani, a group of several dialects, Punjabi and Western Hindi, also a group of closely allied dialects, are to be traced to Saurasena Apabhramsa; Eastern Hindi, a group of dialects, to the Ardhamagadha Apabhramsa; and Oriya, Bengali, Bihari, a group, and Assamese to the Magadhi Apabhramsa proper. Sindhi from Vracada and Lahnda Kashmiri are probably derived from the Paisacha Apabhramsa. Besides these, there are the Himalayan dialects, Garhwali, Kumaoni and Nepali, called by Grierson the Pahari languages. Dr. Bhandarkar appears to include them among dialects of Hindi.

Thus it is clear Hindi can directly be traced from the Saurasena and Ardhamagadha Apabhramsas, the last stages of Prakrit. At that time as by the word *gatha* Prakrit was implied, so by the word *doha* or *duha* the verse of Apabhramsa or current *Kavyabhāṣa* was understood. The oldest specimen of the verses of Apabhramsa or Prakritabhāṣa Hindi are found in the writings of different sects of Tantric and Yogamargi Bauddhas in the first half of the 7th century. In the age of Munja and Bhoja such kind of Apabhramsa or Old Hindi is found in full-fledged form in pure literary or *Kavya* writings.

The Apabhramsa continued mostly up to the beginning of the 15th century. The poet Vidvapati has used two kinds of styles of languages—old Apabhramsa language and spoken *Desibhāṣa*. He has clearly shown the difference between the two styles.

Desila bauna saba jana mittha

Te taisana jampaon avahattha.

i.e., *Desibhāṣa* (spoken language) is sweet to everybody so I write the same kind of Apabhramsa (mixed with *Desibhāṣa*).

Khariḍoli, *Bangru*, *Vraj*, *Rajasthani*, *Kannoji*, *Baiswari* and *Avadhi* are considered to be different forms of Hindi although there is much difference between their forms and suffixes. Owing to this similarity, the words *ayala*—*aila*, *gayala*—*gaila*, *hamara*—*tohara*, spoken in Benaras, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur and Ballia are considered to be Hindi. From this it follows that Hindi has the right to consider *Bisaldoraso* belonging to the 11th or 12th century as well as the *Padavali* of Vidyapati of the 15th century as its own.

There is a definite phonology in modern vernaculars prevalent in India. They possess all the vowels except *r* and *l*. Some of them have a short *e* and *o* besides the diphthongal *e* and *o*. In Hindi there are 14

vowels. Consonants suffered a change in the Prakrits, being either assimilated or simplified. The modern vernaculars have carried on simplification further. The following examples will show how the changes have occurred from Sanskrit to Prakrit and from Prakrit to Hindi.

Hindi	Prakrit	Sanskrit
<i>sendura</i>	<i>sindura</i> or <i>senduro</i>	<i>sindurah</i>
<i>kila</i>	<i>kilao</i>	<i>kilakah</i>
<i>bhaunra</i>	<i>bhamvara</i>	<i>bhāmarah</i>
<i>hatha</i>	<i>hattha</i>	<i>hastah</i>
<i>kama</i>	<i>kajja</i>	<i>karyah</i>

One particular change is marked in almost all the modern vernaculars of India. They have passed into the analytic stage. They have lost the Sanskrit and old Prakrit inflections and have adopted postpositions as substitutes for case terminations, e.g.

Hindi: *ne, ko, se (dvara or satha), ke liye, se, ka, men or para.*

Bengali: *ke, sahila or dvara, er janva, haite, era or ar, te or upare.*

Punjabi: *ne, nun, nala, lai, ton, di, te or utte.*

Gujarati: *ne, nen, dvara or sathe, mate, thi, no or ni, upar or ma.*

Marathi: *la, varuna, sathi, pasuna, cha, vara.*

From the above analysis we can assert that Hindi, belonging to Indo-Germanic family, is traced from the Aryan language of India, has a distinct phonology, and has been evolved in its present form according to dialectical rules which affect changes in a particular language.

HINDI LITERATURE

We have to analyse the literature which Hindi contains in a brief form attempting to place the view chronologically as far as possible. As the literature of every country is the true reflection of the feelings of the people of that place, it follows that the change in the nature of literature goes on along with the change in the feelings of the people. Taking into consideration this fact, the history of 950 years of Hindi literature can be divided into four parts:

1. Viragathakala (Age of Heroic Poetry) 1000-1325.
2. Bhaktikala (Age of Devotion) 1325-1650.
3. Ritikala (Age of Style) 1650-1850.
4. Gadyakala (Age of Prose) 1850 onwards.

In the first 150 years, i.e., from 1000 to 1150 no particular current can be ascertained; every kind of religious, moral, erotic and heroic writings are found in *dohas*.

As the attacks from Muslim invaders began a particular form is visible in Hindi literature. As the poets were dependent on kings and *Charanas* used to recite scattered erotic and moral *dohas* in courts so they began to describe the heroic achievements or *gathas* of kings who patronized them. This writing style is termed *raso* and on this account the first division is called *Viragathakala*. These *vir-*

gathas are available in two forms—in *prabandhakavya* and *viragathas* (ballads). *Prithvirajaraso* is the oldest book in the former style and *Bisaldeoraso* in the latter.

Khusro Mian and Vidyapati of Tirhut towards the end of Viragathakala i.e., about the first quarter of the 14th century give us clear indications of the two different forms of language that were prevalent as the written language and dialect of the country.

Following the establishment of Muslim rule in India the current of thought changed in the country. Poets could no longer sing the merits of heroism of their patron kings and naturally their minds turned towards devotion. At the time came such poets who brought life and vigour in the down-trodden Hindu society and also there was an effort on the part of the poets to bring harmony and unity among Hindus and Muslims.

In Bhaktikala, the popular style of language was being adopted. Kabir wrote in the popular language but that was not up to the mark and it had no definite form. He adopted the *saddhukaribhasa* of Nathapanthis which was made up of Khariboli mixed with Rajasthani and Punjabi. Suradas made use of the popular dialect of Vraj, established it fully in the old *Kavyabhasa* and successfully combined the literary language with the popular style.

Avadhi was also being used. The first writing in Avadhi is *Satyavati Katha* of Ishwar Das. Later the *Premmargi* Muslims also used Avadhi for writing their stories.

Various styles of writing were prevalent, the main five styles being *Chhapayya-paddhati* of Viragathakala, *Gita-paddhati* of Vidyapati and Surdas, *Kavita-Savayya-paddhati* of Ganga and Bhatas, *Doha-paddhati* of Kabir and *Prabandha-paddhati* of Ishwar Das.

The full development of Hindi poetry became visible in this era in the works of Tulsidas. He found two forms of *Kavyabhasa*, i.e., Vraj and Avadhi and five styles of writing prevalent in the literary field and he employed all the devices in Vraj and Avadhi by his all-powerful intellect and thus secured the first place in the Hindi literary field.

Though in Bhaktikala some books were written on *alamkara* and *rasa* and though Kesavadas wrote *Kavipriya* which did not differentiate between *alamkara* and *rasa*, yet the Ritikala in its proper form began after 50 years, and on a different ideal in which there was difference between *alamkara* and *rasa*.

In Sanskrit literature poets and authors were people of different categories but this difference was not mostly observed in Hindi *Kavya* field of this age. *Antyamuprasa* or *Tuka* is a new feature of Hindi literature which was given due consideration by

Kesavadas and which was also not found in Sanskrit literature. In Sanskrit there were many *vadas* in literature, such as *Alamkaravada*, *Ritivada*, *Dhvani-vada* and *Vakroktivada*, but these *vadas* have got no place in Hindi literature. Hindi poets accepted *rasa* to be the soul of *Kavya*. Although there are some merits of Ritikala, yet the poetry of this age was limited and tied by rigid rules of *alamkara* so that there was no place for experience or individuality.

Though the Gadyakala begins from 1850 yet some books were written in prose in Vrajbhasa previously also. One such Gorakhlipanthi book in Vrajbhasa belonging to 1350 A.D. is found. Between 1852-1862 some books on education were written in Hindi.

In the period between 1868-1900 Bharatendu Harishchandra was the most important writer. He wrote his works in clear language and in reality Khariboli got the pure literary form in his writings. The language of Munshi Sadasukha was full of pompousness, of Lalolal full of words of Vrajbhasa and of Sadalmisra words of East. Raja Shiva Prasad had many words of Urdu. The language of Rajalakshman Singh was certainly pure and sweet but there were many words of Agra in it. But as soon as Harishchandra came on the stage, the introductory period ended and the nature of language became definite. After Bharatendu's age began the difference between the different styles and individual specialities of writers. After 1900 up to the present time there is much development of Hindi. Dramas, novels, stories, essays and criticisms of different types have come into existence. Efforts are made to write original books in Hindi on different branches of art and science through such agencies as the Nagri Pracharani Sabha of Banaras.

It is needless to mention the number of words taken from Sanskrit by Hindi, as without taking words from Sanskrit, Hindi cannot be a complete language. We have to translate and write original works on modern sciences. Either we have to adopt foreign words in a large number or we have to find words in Sanskrit or some regional language after analysing the properties of the word.

Dr. Raghuvira after analysing the properties of the words, such as oxygen, phosphorous, sulphur and zinc has given Sanskrit synonyms as *jaraka*, *hasvara*, *sulbari* and *kupyatu*. He has also introduced suffixes like *-atu*, *-ati*, *-i* and *-la*. These Sanskrit words may be accepted or not in the learned world but it is definite these words or similar words from Sanskrit have to be adopted for the scientific words as without which the forms such as oxide can not be translated.

We are sure to assimilate words from regional languages. Not to speak of the languages of the north, owing to their close alliance with each other, we are

taking words from the Dravidian languages of the south. R. Caldwell says the following Sanskrit words which are also used in Hindi have been taken from the Dravidian languages in original form: akka—mother, atvi—forest, ali—female friend (Telugu alu—woman), nira—water, pattana—city, palli—a small village, mina—fish.

Thus we can emphatically assert that Hindi has sufficient literature flowing continuously through generations and having a distinct phonology and has the capacity for assimilating words from the language, such as Sanskrit and regional languages whether of the north or the south.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

There is a wrong impression that the present Hindi literature which has been written in Khariboli has been initiated by Muslims alone, that its original form is Urdu and it has been formed by keeping out words of Arabic and Persian.

This impression has arisen because Vrajbhāṣa was used in earlier literature and Khariboli was used as a dialect only along with other dialects in different provinces. Khariboli was not mostly used in literature or *Kavya*, but it was present in its *desi* form before the time it began to be used for Urdu. In literature also it was sometimes used. The appearance of the old form of Khariboli is also found in the Apabhramsa *Kavyas* in the age beginning from Bhoja and ending in Hamirdeva. As for example,

Bhalla hua ju maria, bahini mahara kantu.

After that in Bhaktikala poet-saints used Khariboli in their *saddhukari* language. Take for example Kabir's words in the following:

Kabira mana nirmala bhaya jaisa ganga-nira.

In the time of Akbar, Gangakavi wrote a prose book on *Chanda-chhanda Baramana ki Mahima* in Khariboli. In 1741, Ramprasad 'Niranjani' wrote a book named *Bhasa Yogavasishta* in clear Khariboli. In 1761, Pandit Daulat Ram translated *Padmapur* in Khariboli written by Harisena in 700 pages. Thus Khariboli was slowly becoming the popular language of the educated people.

Sadhus, Pandits and great personages used this language in their speeches before the advent of the British. The British actually found two languages prevalent among the educated people—the general *desi* form of Khariboli, which was called Hindi and the court form of Khariboli given by Muslims, called Urdu. As the Fort William College was started in Calcutta in 1803 in order to get books written in Hindi and Urdu separately, this fact clearly indicated that John Gilchrist who was professor of Hindi and Urdu in the College found the existence of independent Hindi Khariboli and not Urdu.

Under the patronage of the Fort William College, Lallolal Gujerati and Sadalmisra wrote *Premasagara* and *Nasiketopakhyana* respectively. Munshi Sadasukha wrote a book on a subject taken from *Vishnupurana*. He used pure and lively language and included in his writing some prose *tatsam* Sanskrit words also. Persons interested in Urdu only named this kind of Hindi which was mixed with Sanskrit as *Bhakha*. As for example:

Svabhava karke ve daitya kahlaye, bahuta jagha chuka hui, unhin logon se bana aval hai, jo bata satya hoye.

Banaras pandits use for ages *hoyaga, avata hai, isa karke*. All these things indicate towards the spread of Khariboli independent of Urdu.

SUGGESTIONS

It is seen Hindi has grown up independently and has been handed down to us from generations as other languages of the world. It has flexibility and can assimilate words from Sanskrit and other regional languages.

Hindi is capable of assuming the place of the official language of the Union as provided in the Constitution. But to bring Hindi to such a high level within ten or twelve years we have to make great effort.

There should be a central board for the advancement of Hindi consisting of learned persons of all the regions of India to be entrusted with the work of translating and writing original books in Hindi on all branches of science. Members of the board should be experts in philology and other branches of science. Experts from foreign countries should also be the members of such a board so that adequate words of foreign languages may also be adopted.

This step may be taken by the Government or learned persons may themselves form such a group. The latter step requires sacrifice on the part of the experts. We won freedom through selfless service and we should make sacrifices for the cause of one language.

It has been seen that associations like the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and some State Governments, such as U.P. and Madhya Pradesh are making vigorous efforts to translate books, Government documents, legislature words and get books written in Hindi but these stray efforts will create confusions as different words will be coined in different places to indicate certain ideas and meanings. Without a central board successful formula for assimilation and elimination of words cannot be complete and if things are left in this topsy-turvy condition there is likelihood of major conflicts even over the language question. It is the Government's duty to strive in this direction in a concerted manner and thus fulfil their mission in bringing Hindi to the real level of the official language of the Union within the stipulated time.

UNESCO AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A., B.T.

UNITED Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation is an offshoot of the UNO. While the latter is a self-imposed guardian of world peace and has been an arena of bloodless word-fight among astute diplomats, the former holds up the lofty ideal of co-operation and permanent peace in the world society. Both have the same aims but while UNO wants to maintain peace and good relations in the *world of today* by sanction and police force, UNESCO wants to build up a new social order of man of *tomorrow* through proper training and widening of vision. Naturally, UNESCO puts great emphasis upon education and formation of right attitude of the children who will succeed the present generation in the sphere of politics, culture and social and human relations.

AIMS OF UNESCO

Scientific inventions of Modern Man have annihilated time and space and closed up far-flung continents. No people can now live in complete isolation, immunized from the influence of other nations in any way. Far-sighted men have begun to realise the possibility of a *One World* in which different nationalities living in different regions of the globe will be but component parts of a grand human society throbbing with the noble ideal of international brotherhood, peace and co-operation. Powerful nations have in the past looked upon others as aliens and subjugated and exploited the weaker. This favoured the growth of superiority complex in the victors and a sense of inferiority in the vanquished. But no ethics can justify bondage of man imposed by man. Up till now might has dominated world politics and human relations. There has been a crazy competition for martial strength amongst the big nations of the world; science has been harnessed for destructive purposes so much so that the civilization of man now stands on the brink of total ruin. If the idea of dominating others by sheer brute force still rules supreme, human race is sure to be extinct on the earth by mutual annihilation. When the warring nations rush toward such a lurid future, UNESCO comes forward with vision of a world society composed of human beings bound together by love, co-operation, sympathy and mutual respect for each other's culture.

UNESCO aims at eliminating the cause of wars and ill-feelings among nations at the root. If wars begin in the heart of men, peace also originates there. So its ideals have been to sow the seed of peace and goodwill in the young and soft core of children's hearts. Education is undoubtedly the most potent factor in bringing about a millennium, for by it alone can world peace be broad-based on human sympathies and woven into the very texture of life of the world citizens. UNESCO may thus be termed *Modern Noah's Arc* designed to save human civilization in the cataclysmic deluge of Modern Man.

UNESCO'S OBJECTIVES : How to ATTAIN THEM ?

Much of the ills of human relations are the outcome

of racial egotism born of ignorance, selfishness, narrowness of vision and callousness about other people's joys and sorrows. Bigoted nationalism and jaundiced racial prejudice rear up children in an atmosphere where proper values are not attached to others' lives and achievements and are primarily responsible for jingoism. UNESCO endeavours to uproot the cause of ills by creating world-mindedness in children through education and proper appreciation of each other's ways of life, achievements, problems and values. In a word, the laudable aim of this organisation is not the impossible task of changing the hearts of hardened politicians overnight but the creation of a new world society through proper training of the children. For ;

"The child represents the possibility of a better humanity, and all men feel more or less consciously that he is their *raison d'être*, the common end of their complementary efforts."—(*In the Classroom*—UNESCO Pamphlet-V; Page 47).

UNESCO has been trying to rouse the consciousness of "complementary efforts" of teachers and parents in the making of future citizens of the world. Its approach to the problem is characterised by new ideals in the teaching of Geography, History and Foreign Languages for the attainment of the supreme purpose—international brotherhood, world-mindedness, peace and amity.

TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY

In most countries the present customary practice is to teach geography in a series of widening circles, beginning with local geography (i.e., the classroom, the school building and its surroundings, the village, the country) and proceeding to a study of the continent. This gives a wrong perspective to the educands by leading them to attach an exaggerated sense of importance to their own country. As a safeguard against this, UNESCO recommends study of universal geography which would depict the world as the common habitat of man and enlarge the child's imagination by interesting him in all that is remote and strange. The pamphlet states :

"We propose, further, that there ought to be a UNESCO atlas, in the form of a portfolio containing unlettered maps and overlay sheets of transparent papers printed in various languages with the names of mountains, rivers, and towns. The study of their common habitat from the same atlas would constitute an additional bond between all the children of the world."

TEACHING OF HISTORY

Narrow nationalist ideology has a tendency to poison international relations. To avoid this dangerous pitfall, history for children should be a record of man's progress through ages from the primitive to the modern state. "The child must learn that civilization has been, and remains, the work of all peoples." This feeling of a common heritage will prepare the children's minds for international fellowship so far as their future well-being is concerned. To quote again from the UNESCO pamphlet in essence :

"The child's attention should be drawn to the constructive activities which help to advance civilization, materially and spiritually: the great discoveries; the inventions which make life more secure and happy; the methods for putting the resources of the globe at the disposal of all people. These things make the child feel that he belongs to the whole humanity, and impel him to discharge his debt to the past by working with all his skill for a better life. History must cease to be military history and must become the history of civilization.

"There is need above all for universal history. Just as the child should grow used to considering the earth as his habitat, so he must learn to consider the whole of humanity as the fatherland in whose service the particular fatherlands, his own and others, are enrolled. The teaching of history, therefore, should proceed as should that of geography, not from the particular to the general, but from the general to the particular."

TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's culture is one of the happy ties of human brotherhood. And the knowledge of foreign languages serves as a link in this respect. It broadens men's mental and intellectual horizon and promotes intellectual understanding. It is

-:O:-

essential for a citizen of the world to know some languages other than his own and appreciate some good literatures and arts of other countries through the original and translations and thereby form a healthy attitude toward foreign civilizations.

* * *

In the bleak world, when the political firmament is overcast with portending explosives, UNESCO envisages a benevolent mental evolution of the young hopefuls to be wrought through educational processes. The pessimist may refer to the past history of man and nod his head in disbelief, the cynic may point to the inherent nature of warring humans and pout his lips in disdain, but the reasoning optimist believes that the idea of international brotherhood and solidarity of friendly relations has already begun to work in the hearts of men and that a brave world, happy and prosperous, worthy of Man—the cream of the creation—will gradually emerge out of the chaos and turmoil of the present age. The awakening of a bigger conception in the minds of right-thinking men heralds a new age for man; it may take time to materialise but it has dawned in human hearts, and that is fraught with immense possibilities for the future,

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INDEX OF PAPERS: ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (1919-1944): *Compiled by K. Venkateswara Sarma. All-India Oriental Conference, Poona. 1949. Pp. 501. Price Rs. 12.*

The All-India Oriental Conference has deserved well of all students of Indology not only by organising periodical meetings of scholars interested in its various branches, but also by making valuable suggestions to the Government as well as learned societies in this country for the guidance of Indological research in future. It was therefore a happy idea on the part of the author to prepare this work which lists nearly 3,000 papers presented by a large number of scholars at successive sessions of the Conference during the first quarter of a century of its existence. The author has done well in prefixing to the Index a valuable historical sketch of the activities of the Conference from its origin in 1919 down to the completion of its 30th year in 1949, though he has thereby overstepped the chronological limits indicated by him on the title-page. The Index proper, which is very exhaustive and useful, consists of two parts entitled Author Index and

Title Index. Useful tables, containing lists of inviting bodies, presidents, secretaries and other office-bearers are added at the end in the form of Appendices. When all this is said in favour of the Conference and its faithful chronicler, one cannot but feel sad at the reflection that some of its most important suggestions (such as those for the creation of a central Indological Research Institute and a Department of MSS, Survey) have so far failed to awaken any response in our national government. Equal disappointment is felt at the fact that some of the schemes sponsored by the Conference and adopted by our learned societies (such as those for the compilation of a Historical Dictionary of Sanskrit and an up-to-date edition of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*) have as yet made no appreciable progress. Finally, it may not be amiss in this connection to express one's deep regret that the Conference has so far neglected to bring home to the Central Government the complete stagnation that has overtaken one of its most important Departments, viz. that of the Department of Archaeology, in recent years.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHISM WILL SURVIVE: By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Patna. 1949. Pp. v+54+4 plates. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Krishnamurti is an enthusiastic Gospeller on behalf of what he calls 'neo-Gandhism.' It is his belief that an attempt should be made to preserve the teachings of Gandhi through a Gandhi Institute; and he presents here the reasons as well as a detailed plan of such an Institute.

HEALTH AND LONG LIFE: By Swami Sivananda. Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh. 1949. Pp. xiii+380. Price Rs. 5.

The author is a missionary who believes in nature cure. The book is written for helping laymen in the prevention and cure of diseases through *yogic asanas*, controlled diet, regulated bath, application of the sun's rays, as well as a little of homeopathy and ayurveda. There is much pseudo-science running throughout the book; yet, we believe, there is much of sound, common sense advice also. May those who believe in self-help, profit by a judicious use of the instructions contained in the book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

COMMENTARY ON THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: By Durga Das Basu, M.A., B.L., Asst. Legal Remembrancer, West Bengal. Second edition. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons. Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 30.

This is the second edition, the first edition published in November, 1950, having been sold out, of a book which has already made its mark having received praise from the Lord Chancellor of England and from such eminent jurists as P. R. Das. This is perhaps the most exhaustive commentary so far on the Constitution of the country. It has had to concentrate inevitably on comparative materials, which indeed will be useful to jurists and journalists. The author deserves congratulations for this cyclopaedic commentary. It includes the latest amendments; and we hope it should be on the table of every public man and busy journalist for ready reference.

K. N. CHATTERJI

SCIENCE—ITS METHOD AND ITS PHILOSOPHY: By G. Burniston Brown. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1950. Price 15s. net.

The book is an attempt to explain to the educated public the true nature of scientific method and to trace the history of its gradual development. It is a fact that all the implications and assumptions of the method are not known even to many scientists. The author has done well to state clearly in the very first chapter of the book that the foundation stone of the scientific method, namely, the assumption that nature is uniform is after all a *belief* only, though of course a belief that is constantly being justified by experience. The source of that belief may be traced to some property common to all forms of animal life, because the 'learning' of all animals, even of the lowest forms is possible only on the anticipation that the same stimulus will always produce the same effect. When we define science as a method of obtaining true knowledge we mean, according to the author, that it is a method for discovering propositions that can be verified. That was also Aristotle's idea but he overestimated the importance of verbal expression. Bacon corrected Aristotle's error and insisted that science must start with collection of facts. The inductive method is to be applied and suitable hypothesis formed. Crucial experiments would then finally settle

the question of the causation of the particular effect. The inductive method is to be applied not only in the physical sciences but also in historical and political studies and in investigations of "memory, composition and division, judgement and the rest." Newton always attempted to follow the geometrical method. Starting with definitions and actions derived from experiments he proceeded by mathematical and experimental proofs to conclusions of greater and greater generality. Whewell in modern times realised that hypotheses were vital to science. Milne attempts to arithmetise physics. Eddington emphasises that metrical physics deals only with numbers obtained by reading pointers of some kind. According to Eddington, a metrical physicist "is a man with a scale and a clock and one eye; he needs no other senses" (page 144). Euclidean geometry can be translated into ordinary algebra but geometrized physics needs an algebra which is more complicated. This algebra Eddington designated 'Sedenions.' From this Sedenion algebra he was able to deduce fundamental constants of physics. Physics thus has been reduced to a form of mathematics. Whitehead and Russell showed that all mathematics ultimately rest upon a few definitions and actions of symbolic logic.

The outcome of all this then is this. After a certain stage of development has been reached it is possible to deduce the fundamental constants of physics from a purely mathematical system. This, however, raises other questions. Mathematics depends upon reasoning. Reasoning is very largely done in words and other symbols. Does the necessity of using words impose restrictions on thinking? Here then we come upon a psychological problem, the solution of which is yet to be found.

The author has given a very good and readable account of the development of the scientific method. He has shown that both abstract thinking and concrete experimentation are essential in the scientific method. The biographical sketches of the various scientists have introduced a human touch to what otherwise might have been an exceedingly dry subject. The psychologist may find in these sketches materials for his own study. While the scientific method has been very ably described, the philosophy of it however remains a little obscure. The physicist B. Brown is more in the forefront than the philosopher B. Brown. To present the steps of thinking and the conclusions in the old Dialogue form had been a very happy idea of the author and the illustrations have greatly augmented the charm of the book. While the book can not be a popular one because it needs close and attentive study throughout it is bound to be welcome by all who like to look beyond the limited horizon of their own fields and are interested in questions deeper and more fundamental than what are suggested by the immediate interests of their studies.

S. C. MITRA

LAW, LIBERTY AND LIFE: By M. C. Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay. Published by the Asia Publishing Company, Bombay. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 4.

It was a happy idea on the part of the Asia Publishing House to preserve in a permanent form some of the speeches and broadcasts and articles of Mr. M. C. Chagla, now the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. They are 14 in number, and deal with such diverse topics as Law and Liberty, Crime and Punishment, War and Culture, What I Read, International Court of Justice, Uniqueness of Indian Civilisation, etc. The short essays are profound, but not too pro-

found to be uninteresting to the general reader; neither are they platitudinous to be unattractive and boring to an intelligent reader. The article which has appealed us most is "My Working Faith." We agree with the author when he says, "Every one of us is terribly lonely—infinite spaces separate one soul from another;" and that we "must always pay rent to the ideal." When the author says, "And finally, I believe that in what I have made of my own life I have played a very small and insignificant part; whether you call it the Contingent in life or Kismet or Providence or God there is an outside agency which guides and controls the steps of every one," one is reminded of the following passage in Lord Haldane's *Autobiography* (p. 376): "We are apt greatly to underrate the part which accident and good luck has really played in the shaping of our careers and in giving us such successes as we have had." It is a good little book which every one should read.

J. M. DATTA

VEDIC CULTURE: By Gangaprasad Upadhyaya, M.A. Published by Sarvadesika Arya Pratidinhi Sabha, Delhi. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author of this book is a veteran leader of the Arya Samaj and the distinguished English translator of the *Satyartha Prakash*. Swami Dayananda's masterpiece. He has to his uncommon credit a dozen books in English, more than a dozen books in Hindi and one book in Urdu. In the book under review the author gives brief descriptions of agriculture, cattle, clothing, industry, art and craft, trade, art of building houses, family, caste and the like of the Vedic Society in ancient India.

Sir Gokul Chand Narang, former Minister of Education in the Punjab and an eminent writer on cultural topics, rightly observes in the foreword to this book that the author has clearly pointed out that the Vedas contain positive and ample indications of a greatly advanced civilization and culture as witnessed by copious references to subjects like agriculture, etc., and that the Vedic conception of culture is emphatically theistic and the whole trend of Vedic teaching is spiritual development, not only in one lifetime but in life after life till perfection is attained.

In the very first of sixteen chapters into which the book is divided the learned author, who is a profound Vedic scholar, traces the meaning of culture in the Vedas. According to him, the Vedic synonym for culture is *Krishti* that occurs in the Rig-Veda (1. 4. 6) and means a fully cultured man. The author also points out another Vedic word, *Samskriti*, which conveys the same meaning and appears in the Yajur-Veda (7. 14). But the Vedic culture is certainly not godless, unlike the Western culture. Hence the two cultures of India and the West are diametrically opposite. In the sixth chapter the close relation of God and culture is seriously discussed and the incident of Laplace is pertinently referred to. Laplace is stated to have presented to Napoleon his system of philosophy and when Napoleon asked him why there is no mention of God in it, the scholar politely answered that he did not need God to explain his philosophy. Such is the argument of the materialistic men who hold that God has no place in culture.

The author shows how the Vedic culture is firmly founded on God and supports his statements with original appropriate quotations from the Vedas. A perusal of this book will greatly help us to revise and correct our views about the Vedas, if we have formed our opinions about them otherwise. The readability

of the book makes it accessible and interesting to the reading public of all sections.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANIM

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM: By James Burnham. Foreword by M. R. Masani. Published by the National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 215. Price Rs. 3.

This is one of the latest books of James Burnham, the U. S. A. social thinker who had cut for himself a distinct place among Western thinkers by the publication in about 1947 of *Managerial Revolution*. The author had been a Trotskyite Marxist, differing rather violently from the Lenin and Stalin versions of Communism as applied to practice. We do not know whether or not, he still holds by the same opinions. But from a reading of the present book, no doubt is left in the mind that here is a Western thinker who is sure that so far as a human can prophesy the "defeat" of Communism is "inevitable."

It is an inconclusive book, going round and round the old arguments of *Managerial Revolution*. In that book the author had asked certain questions to which even in the present one he is unable to give satisfactory replies. One of these was—"Why does the moral superiority felt by Democracies result in doubt, scepticism, confusion, unsure about objectives, diffusion of effort, wide-spread paralysis of the will to act, dread, while the Totalitarianisms assert an immoral superiority which they translate into initiative, decision, unity of purpose, invincible organization, victory in diplomacy, espionage, war?"

Prof. Burnham cannot after five years report a better state of things in the Democracies. And though in the first chapter of his book he challenges the theory of "catastrophe" or "crisis," popularized by collectivist writers, there is a contradiction between it and the last chapter. We are afraid that with his earlier aversions to collectivism as enthroned or worked by 'Managers' even under 'New Deal'—the group of administrators, experts, technicians, bureaucrats—who specialized in handing over to Roosevelt "a dramatic new idea," he has been forced to recognize that "modified forms of collectivization" (T.V.A. for example) have come to stay. He is against "a totally centralized economy."

When men like Prof. Burnham has failed to resolve the "confusion" in thought and action, the argument can have no validity except by the adoption of total decentralization which forms a part of the Gandhian experiment. Therefore the Foreword by Shree M. R. Masani of Bombay, the Indian Burnham, leads us nowhere. But the book has value that in attacking Leninism and Stalinism, Prof. Burnham has made quotations from them which should warn the Indian dupes who make a parade of their love for the "Soviet Fatherland."

S. C. DEV

BUDDHIST SHRINES IN INDIA: Issued by the Publications Divisions, Government of India. Pp. 108. Price Rs. 3.

This neat and well got-up illustrated guide-book for travellers is a very creditable production. The entire book has been printed on art paper with care. The pictures are clear and alluring to the stay-at-home reader. The relevant historical facts are given in a concise form, and nothing of importance has been left out. We are glad to possess this book and recommend it to all lovers of India.

B. N. B.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS (India, Pakistan and the world): *Edited by A. R. Mukherji. Published by A. Mukherji and Co., Ltd., Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a valuable addition to the number of Year-Books already published in Calcutta. The Editor claims that it 'is more than a book of general knowledge and more than a mere record of the daily happenings.' It contains 'an intelligent review of the year, and, necessarily, of the times based on accurate facts and figures.' This book is divided into three parts—World, India and Miscellaneous. To keep one abreast of the times, he must know something about the principal political and social issues which sway the world today.

From a perusal of the chapters of Part I, the reader will get a working knowledge of the events happening in the foreign countries. In Part II, we have as many as ten chapters detailing the various subjects, such as, Education, Press, Science, Art, Politics, Economics, etc., which are hastening the birth of a new India. Part III may be taken as an appendix to the other parts, and deals with matters, such as, Sports, Who's Who, etc. This is the third issue of the *Current Affairs* and covers the whole of 1950 and the first four months of 1951. As an individual enterprise it is a success, no doubt.

But while reviewing a good number of Year-Books in these pages in recent times, one thought has occurred to our mind. Cannot the publishers of these Year-Books, by whatever name we may call them, sit round a table, discuss the matters over and bring out one comprehensive and more authoritative volume, like the *Statesman's Year-Book* or the *Whitaker Almanac*? This will save much trouble, time and money. Our national economy demands it.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

EDUCATION IN INDIA—TODAY AND TOMORROW: *By S. N. Mukerji, Reader in Education and Psychology, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Published by Acharya Book Depot, Baroda. First edition, 1950. Pages 248. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review is a comprehensive account of various aspects of Indian education from the Background to the Education and National Movement, stuffed with bon facts and statistical charts showing the number of institutions and pupils and the amount expended under different categories in 1946-47. The volume reads more like a report on the progress of education in India than any genuine contribution enlivened by original research or newness of approach in any particular sphere of our educational system. The author, however, deserves thanks for his stupendous labour in sifting facts from numerous sources and offering them in a presentable form. The book is well got-up.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

SANSKRIT

BHAGAVANNAMASAHASRAM with *Dramidopanishad Sara* and *Tatparyaratnavali* of Sri Vedanta Desika: *Edited by Pandit V. Anantacharya and A. Srinivasaraghavan. Published by Sri Krishna Sabha, Bombay 19. Price Re. 1.*

SRI VISHNUCHARITAMRITAM: *By Swami Lakshman Shastri. Published by the Principal, Sanskrit Vidyalyaya, Wakhatsagar, Nagaur, Marwar. Price Rs. 2.*

We have here editions of works which will be of special interest to the Vaisnavas. The first volume

contains editions of two works—the *Dramidopanishad-Sara*, a small work in 26 stanzas, and the *Dramidopanishad-Tatparyaratnavali* consisting of 130 stanzas. Both the works, attributed to the polymath Vedanta Desika, are based on the Tamil Tiruvaimozhi of Sri Nammazhwar, the Tamil work being summarised in Sanskrit. One thousand names formed with the words used in the *Tatparyaratnavali* are given at the end of the work. These are considered to be immensely useful to the Vaisnavas in their daily worship.

The second volume is a modern poem in 37 cantos with 856 stanzas dealing with the 24 incarnations of Vishnu. A very curious and interesting feature of the poem is that the fourth syllable of every foot of the stanzas of the poem read consecutively would constitute the stanzas of the Vishnu Sahasranamastotra of the Mahabharata containing the thousand names. The introduction of this novelty has resulted in making the text occasionally difficult in following and an annotated edition has been promised to help the reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PANCHKADI BANDYOPADHYAYER RACHANABALI (Vols. I—II): *Edited by Brajendranath Bandyopadhyaya and Sajanikanta Das, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 6 each volume.*

We have through the labours of the learned editors of the volumes under review beautiful editions of collected works of Michael Madhusudan, Bankimchandra, Dinabandhu and Dwijendralal. Most of the works of these authors were, however, available in some form or other, though not so handy and attractive. But there are many writers whose writings, not unoften valuable and important, are scattered over inaccessible periodicals and little known even to interested readers owing to the lack of necessary bibliographical aids in our languages. It is a happy sign of the day that stray papers of these writers are receiving some attention and collections have been published of papers on literary criticism and feasts and festivities of Bengal written by different authors at different times and places. In these circumstances, Messrs Banerji and Das have done a real service and a sacred duty to Bengali literature by rescuing from oblivion and bringing to light the writings of one of these writers, a reputed journalist of his time well-known for his humour and outspoken criticism of men and events. Here we have in two volumes a collection of his papers contributed from time to time to various periodicals—monthlies, weeklies and dailies. But, as the learned editors have pointed out, the two volumes do not exhaust all his papers and a third volume may be published with the remaining ones. Though generally bearing a journalistic tinge there are many papers here which are serious in nature with a scholarly outlook. In fact, his papers on the religion and culture of Bengal deserve to be published separately for the convenience of better utilisation. May it be hoped that the work initiated in the present volumes will be continued in respect of other writers whose memory has been honoured by Mr. Banerji with the help of a few others through illuminating life-sketches in the *Sahityasadhak Charitamala* series?

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ADHUNIK ALOKCHITRAN: By Parimal Goswami. Published by Photographic Stores and Agency Ltd., 154 Dhurumtolla Street, Calcutta 13. Pp. 104. Price Rs. 7-8.

The author has spent thirty years of his life in the pursuit of photographic art, and has produced this eminently practical book on photography in Bengali. The technical side of photography including developing, printing and enlarging has been adequately dealt with. The amateur's principal difficulty, composition, has been described in detail. The commercial side of it including press photography has not been neglected. The book is well illustrated—the number of illustrations and photographs exceed 119; one of them is a colour reproduction of natural colour transparency. The technical execution of the blocks is of high order. A perusal of the book even by a beginner will make him aware of the pitfalls, and tell him what to do and what to avoid in a good photograph. The price considering the excellence of its get-up and the number of blocks is cheap. The author has done a distinct service to Bengali language by publishing it in Bengali and we thank him for it.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

RASHTRAPITA: By Jawaharlal Nehru. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.

BAPU KE CHARNON MEN: By Braj Keshna Choudhury. Pp. 173. Price Rs. 2-8.

SHRADHA-KAN: By Vidyog Han. Pp. 67. Price Re. 1.

All available from Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Place, New Delhi.

The stream of reminiscences of Gandhiji, and of tributes to his individuality, ideals and activities, still continues to flow. And rightly, for he was like an ocean from which the thirsty slaked their spiritual thirst according to their own need and capacity. The first of the three books is a symposium of India's Prime Minister's varied intellectual responses to the many-sided and mystic object of his heart's attraction amounting to adoration. The second is a repertoire of reminiscences of the Great-Souled One by one who had the privilege of being very near the former for over twenty-five years and a unique opportunity of observing the composite character, in action, of his hero. The third is a series of sixty-seven charming "wordy wood-cuts," illustrating the message of Gandhiji's life and how it moulded the people into a pattern in keeping with the true genius of Indian civilization and culture. Each verbal vignette is a little bead of beauty.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KALABHOJ (A historical novel): By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by P. R. Seth and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Keshab Bag, Princess Street, Bombay 2. 1950. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is a production from the prolific pen of one of Gujarat's front-rank novelists. He takes us to a period of Indian history about a thousand years ago to the banks of the Sabarmati, to a period when the Sun-god was still being worshipped, the Bhils and the Rajputs were scrambling for power, and the followers of Islam from Arabia were on the prowl. It is the intolerance of the Bhils for the Arab foreigners that sets the story going; and the reader meets the boy Bhoj who becomes the hero of the novel in due course.

The novel is divided into three parts, but the breath of history is most to be felt in Part I. The style is easy and fluent, the characters numerous, and the Hindu way of life triumphant. The greatness and the essential human element of the hero touches the reader at times. The love and wooing of Bhoj by Meenakshi is pleasant reading and produces an illusion of history.

P. R. SEN

(1) **RASHTRA VALLABH SARDAR VALLABH BHAI:** Cloth-bound. Pp. 164. 1948. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **MAHADEV BHAI HARIBHAI DESAI:** Cloth-bound. Pp. 103. 1948. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **SIR SHAPOORJI B. BILLIMORIA KT.:** Cloth-bound. Pp. 264. 1948. Price Rs. 5.

All three written by Ambalal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. To be had of Sahakari Prakashan, Ltd., Bombay-1, and published by the Brihad Gujarat Publication House, Bombay-7.

All three biographies are the result of a facile pen, and they are couched in terse language, but not omitting a single important detail in the lives of any one of the three. They read more like a narrative than a list of the incidents in the lives of the distinguished three. Mr. Joshi has about six or seven publications to his credit, mostly on topics relating to the Zoroastrian community. He is contemplating publishing the lives of some Parsi Shethias in English. Sri S. Billimoria is a well-known Parsi philanthropist, though an auditor by profession. All three books are worth reading, so replete with information they are.

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London Voyage to Reality

In his article in *The Aryan Path*, R. M. Fox gives a thoughtful sketch of the British Festival now in progress :

Once it was the fashion for literary critics to dismiss the books they did not like as "mere escapism," an easy but unsatisfactory phrase for it dodged the question of what they were escaping from or to. Few people would really condemn a prisoner for escaping to freedom.

Dreams are the usual form of escape and sometimes these can be powerful urges to action as when Napoleon regarded himself as the Man of Destiny. Even the most matter-of-fact men have their dreams. Their lives would be intolerable without them. To know a man you must first know his dream. A banker, one feels, should have a golden dream; a trader his vision of ships laden with ivory, apes and peacocks; a good craftsman should see his finished work in the lump of metal, stone or wood with which he starts, as I am sure Michael Angelo did in a block of marble. When we know what these men dream about we can understand their activities. Emerson expressed this truth when he said that matter is fluid to thought.

Not only does each man treasure his individual dream as he jostles through the crowded city streets but the nations, too, have collective dreams which most of their citizens share. This dream may have the character of hallucination. So it is well to check accomplishments periodically to see if the reality corresponds with the vision.

The dream to which Britain has surrendered—born out of the uncertainty of the war years—is that of social security and the Welfare State.

From this standpoint I found a recent visit to the Festival of Britain a fascinating experience. Not only does the Festival express current ideas and ideals but its declared purpose is to show the rate and the direction of National progress since the Great Exhibition of 1851. Throughout the whole of the twenty-seven acres of pavilions and grounds, bordering the curve of the Thames, one idea is emphasised. This is that immense progress has been made in production, in transport, in all the manifold Arts of Peace. Industry and knowledge have thrown open this Aladdin's Cave to the millions who, formerly, knew only insecurity and want.

If a proud place is claimed for Britain it is not stated in terms of military conquest. The Crystal Palace in 1851 epitomized the Victorian Era with its Kiplingesque condescension to "lesser breeds" and its conscious "dominion over palm and pine." But the modern aluminium Dome of Discovery presents the story of intrepid explorers who fought their way across frozen wastes to enlarge the boundary of human knowledge. Scientists and inventors find a place here. We can follow their story to the South Kensington Museum where Rutherford, the Curies and Einstein will speak to us

from the screen and invite us to share their Atomic dreams.

Turning to the shipping section, I noted that it is not the ships of war which get prominence but the trading vessels and even the smaller ships used in the fishing industry. Utility above all. This Exhibition turns a blind eye upon Nelson and naval glory. A big ship stands ready for the youth of Britain to enter. They can come up to the chart room and the bridge, enter the conning tower and learn how to steer a course while a picture on the screen changes every few seconds to describe the ship's journey from London to Antwerp.

The first object which caught my attention on entering the Festival grounds was a row of flaming torches rising out of the water while the spray from a row of tumbling fountains broke over them.

Fire and water have been pressed into the service of man. This is a fitting memorial to all those Unknown Warriors of Industry on whose work this Festival has been built. It stands like a Pillar of Fire by night and a cluster of weird shapes by day. Charoux's massive piece of sculpture "*The Islanders*" towers above the little people who swarm round it. This represents the Mass Man, all the strength, perseverance and doggedness of the burden bearers of our generation who make roads across deserts, and deserts of cities, who build the mansions and live in "pre-fabs." I missed the gleam of spiritual understanding which might make those burden bearers into the kingly men and women of whom A. E. wrote :

And deep beneath his rustic garb
The herdsman finds himself a king.

The time has not yet come for the kingly revelation to burdened humanity. So the sculptor has probably done well to give his group the cruder and rougher touch. Yet when I joined the stream of men, women and children who, in holiday mood, moved through the Pavilion of Construction I noticed the interest they all had in useful work. Here were iron workers blowing sparks from their forge and beating white-hot metal on the anvils till it took strange and intricate shapes. These men stripped to the waist—for it was a hot day—were talking and laughing among themselves, quite unconscious and oblivious of the wondering human stream that passed by. Not far away spectacled craftsmen bent over their precision instruments as they tested these for drawing, gauging and measuring. Silversmiths were putting finishing touches to gleaming examples of their art. Here were dishes, salvers, cutlery, spoons, some embossed with leaves or figures, others with the dark, plain surface of deep shining water.

Sheets of pure white paper were falling like gigantic snowflakes on a rising heap.

They were made from shreds of pulped rag by the thousand year old Chinese formula. It seemed as though nothing that could be written on this paper could convey the worth of good workmanship so much as when it was left undefiled.

Skilled work has its dignity which was sensed by the spectators. But not all the work was skilled. In the centre of one pavilion I saw a huge oven fed with pails of floury mixture. Out of this, at the other end, in a constant stream, came sheets of crisp, thin wafer to be cut up, counted and packed in tins by girls who acted and moved like automatons. Proceeding down an incline into a gloomy cavern I saw the dull gleam of coal on every side, held up by pit props. This was an amazingly exact replica of a coal mine and—talking in broad north-country speech—a miner with a pit-lamp on his cap conducted us from one stall to another and explained the development of mining machinery from the humble pick and shovel to the coal-cutter, like a mechanical plough, which tumbles the coal straight on to the conveyor belt. Time was when women and children almost naked, bent double and harnessed with chains, pulled the tubs of coal through narrow passages. Later sturdy little ponies were taken down from the sunlight to the darkness, and given the same task. Slowly human savagery is rolled away like a stone from the sepulchre.

This section of the Festival of Britain is part of the miracle of modern industry. But even more miraculous is the fact that tens of thousands drawn from every social strata are going to this exhibition and seeing the actual processes concerned with wealth-making in Britain today. They move on to other pavilions and see what this can mean in terms of schools, of school equipment, of better homes, of travel, thought and cultivated leisure. The material is there and the vision is there too because these things are being shown and demonstrated every day. The doubtful element is the human material. People are still being thwarted and debased. They are not allowed to develop to the point where they could make the best use of all the splendid technical possibilities at their command.

For the Londoner and for the stranger within the city gates this Festival has brought a touch of fairyland to ordinary life. But its chief strength is that it has never abandoned the everyday realities of life and work. Every night thousands gaze from the Embankment, or from the bridges with a fascinated awe at this strange splendour. The Skylon is like a huge golden cigar hanging in the sky. They see the Albert Bridge draped in golden beads of light. I heard people asking why must this spectacle come to an end, for no one likes to relinquish a dream.

The Festival is not only an area; it is an impetus and an influence.

Everywhere people who had accepted as a sad truth that the post-war years must be drab and depressing—an aftermath of callousness, cruelty, conscription and cant—have realized that the world is also a place for peaceful industry and care-free laughter. Walking through London I was struck by the difference in the spirit and appearance of the city since I saw it a year ago.

Britain is fumbling with the idea that there is a glamour in the creation of things of beauty and utility, that the present age has its own precious values. It is escaping from the belief that glamour belongs of right only to those who can destroy and smash, though Red Eye the Atavism still stalks the world with an atom bomb in one hand and a bribe in the other. Up till now all the bugles and the flags have been used to honour the destroyers. It is a strange portent—of largely unintentional significance—that in the heart of London there is a gigantic parade of production in which many skilled workers take a share. People are looking at this and escaping for a moment to reality. Why shouldn't they follow this road?

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Burma in Travail 1942-1951

Prof. S. B. Mookherji writes in *Carriers and Courses* :

Burma, our neighbour across the Bay of Bengal, has been ill, very ill, for the last ten years and more. She was ruled as a Province of Britain's Indian Empire till 1937, when she was separated primarily in the political and economic interest of the ruling race. Within half a decade she passed under Japanese domination.

UNDER JAPANESE DOMINATION

Having overrun Thailand, the Japanese army reached the frontiers of Burma in January, 1942. Rangoon fell to the enemy on March 8. With the fall of Lashio, in the far north, the whole of Burma lay prostrate at the feet of Japan. Britain had relied much on the face-value of the whiteman in the East.

The fall of Rangoon opened the flood-gates of lawlessness in Burma. National life was topsy-turvy. Thakin Tun Ok, organised a government known as the *Bama Baho*. The late Aung San assumed the command of the Burma Independence Army. The *Bama Baho*, however, failed to restore peace and order. The treaty between Japan and the *Bama Baho* (March 22, 1942) which had given a number of concessions to Burma, did not work to Japan's satisfaction. The latter was therefore dissolved. A new Government with Dr. Ba Maw as the Premier took its place on August 1, 1942. No sooner had the new Government assumed office, than began an undignified scramble for the loaves and fishes of office, between the Thakins and Dr. Ba Maw's men in which the victory, more often than not, went to the latter. The organisation of the Thakin party in the thirties, was, by the way, the starting point of Burma's struggle for freedom. The Thakins were "the first to fight for concrete social changes with a revolutionary mass programme" and thus constitute Burma's "first national mass organisation". It might be interesting to recall that Thakin Than Tun, a school teacher once, and now the leader of Burma's White Flag Communists, was a member, the youngest, by the way, of Dr. Ba Maw's Government.

DURING OCCUPATION

On August 1, 1943, Burma declared her independence, under Japanese tutelage, of course. The first thing done by "independent" Burma was to declare war against the U.K., and the U.S.A. The new constitution of Burma, consisting of 64 clauses in all, named Dr. Ba Maw as the *Adipadi* (Head of the State) and "under cover of a few sentences which expressed the heart-felt longings of the people over many years... set-up in fact a system of one-man rule."—(*Sun Over Burma*, by U. Tun Pe, p. 74).

Dr. Ba Maw's Government had to take orders in all important matters from the Japanese occupation authorities. A complete and reliable history of Burma under Japanese tutelage has yet to be compiled. It is clear, however, that the people were not happy. Money, paper money of course, was abundant; but inflation had reduced its purchasing power to an absurdly low level. Prices sky-rocketed in consequence. Governmental attempts at monetary and economic stabilisation came to nought. Discontent was rife. It was freely whispered that the new dispensation had brought only limited freedom to Burma.

The *Kempetai* (Japanese Secret Police) headquarters were the object of universal terror. The people lived in a state of tension. One might be arrested any day on suspicion or the information of enemies and subjected to interrogation and torture by the Japanese police. None felt secure.

EVIL CONSEQUENCE

Burma had hoped that Japan would give her the substance of independence. But, she was soon disillusioned. A huge army of occupation in the country depleted the food stocks. Labourers were forced to work for the occupation authorities. Foreign trade had come to a stand still and many an article of every day use was hard to procure. Kerosene, match-boxes, glass-ware, medicines, textiles, gunny bags, to name a few, practically disappeared from the market. Prices soared higher and higher.

Internal dissensions and bickerings in the meanwhile undermined the foundation of Ba Maw's Government. Thakin Than Tun, the Communist Minister for Agriculture, still co-operated with the Government. But Thakin Soe, a front-rank Communist leader, withdrew his co-operation. The relations between the Thakins and their Japanese allies (?) were strained. Thakin Ba Sein and Thakin Tun Ok tried to organise a constitutional opposition. The Japanese authorities sent them away to Singapore in 1944. The relation between Ba Maw and the Japanese authorities steadily deteriorated. They threatened to drag him down from his exalted position.

The *Adipadi* tried to mend matters by re-shuffling his Cabinet; but the situation had gone beyond control and showed no signs of improvement. Anglo-American victories in the Kohima and Imphal sectors diverted the current of history to new channels. Before the monsoons set in, in 1944, the British 14th Army had advanced to Myiktyina in Upper Burma. A large-scale Allied counter-offensive was in the offing.

TURN OF THE TIDE

World War II and the Japanese occupation of Burma constitute an important land-mark in the freedom battle of that country. The impatient Burmese nationalists had turned to Japan for their country's deliverance. But Japan's policy in Burma only whetted the Burman's urge for freedom. It was this urge which ushered into existence the *Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League* (A.F.P.F.L.) which soon became the common rallying ground of all the leftist elements in the country. The greatest achievements of the League were the awakening of political consciousness among the hitherto apathetic Burmese masses and the creation of a mass political militancy. Anti-Japanese guerillas became active. After the 1944 monsoons they attacked the Japanese army in the rear and wrought havoc. The enemy's means of communication and lines of supply were cut off.

But for the organisation of the Burmese masses into militant units by the A.F.P.F.L., Allied victory in the Far Eastern theatre would have been long delayed.

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Before 1943 was out, well-armed guerillas, organised into well-disciplined units, had taken the field against the Japanese invaders. Many more swelled their ranks in the following year.

Dr. Ba Maw and six of his cabinet colleagues withdrew from Rangoon with the retreating Japanese army on April 23, 1945. The metropolis was given to the law of the lawless. U Tun Pe, quoted above, rightly sums up the average Burmese feeling at the time—"There was nothing for us to do but wait and hope for the future." Within a few days the Allies re-occupied Rangoon.

AFTER THE WAR—INDEPENDENCE

An interim national Government on the lines of the interim Government in India was inaugurated in Burma on September 28, 1946, with General Aung San as the Chief Minister. The London Conference (January, 1947) provided for an elected Constituent Assembly which was to decide Burma's political future. The election of the Assembly boycotted by an important section of Burmese public opinion, represented by U. Saw and Thakin Ba Sein, ended in a complete victory for the A.F.P.F.L., led by General Aung San. He and five of his Cabinet colleagues were, however, assassinated in the Rangoon Secretariat on July 19, 1947. The General's mantle fell upon Thakin Nu, Vice-President of the A.F.P.F.L. and President of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly voted Burma out of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Burma declared herself a Sovereign Socialist Republic on January 4, 1948, and almost immediately afterwards found herself in the throes of internecine internal conflicts. The integrity of Burma and the very existence of the infant Republic hanged in the balance in the winter and spring of 1948-49. Disruptionist forces in the Burmese body politic reared their heads. The consequent insurrections, in the words of Thakin Nu, "are the direct result of decayed conditions when the British handed over the administration." More than half a dozen of insurgent groups—the White Flag Communists under Thakin Than Tun, the Red Flag Communists under Thakin Soe, the Karens under Saw Ba U Gyi (since killed in action), the White Band P.V.O., the Mons, the Mujahids, led by a former Pakistani army officer and the army-deserters—took the field against the Nu Government. They have not yet laid down arms. In the summer of 1949, Thakin Nu's Government had lost control over more than 90 per cent of Burma. Rangoon itself was threatened. Mandalay, Burma's second largest city, passed into the hands of the insurgents. There were troubles here, there and everywhere. Communications were dislocated.

The Karens want a separate sovereign Karen State. The 'Mujahids' are fighting for a Muslim State, comprising a part of Arakan. The Communists dream of setting up a People's Democracy on the Chinese and Russian model. The Karen revolt would have petered out long ago but for the help and encouragement from the British groups, civil and military, with long experience of Burma acquired from residence in the country during British regime. A very limited number of Americans also have been found helping the Karen rebels. Pakistan has been encouraging the Mujahids. The exploits and achievements of Mao Tse-tung and his comrades have been a great incentive to the Communists.

THE ELECTIONS

The first election of independent Burma, which was to be held within 18 months of the declaration of independence, was held in June, last after several postponements. Elections, however could not be held in all the constituencies. Elaborate, precautionary measures notwithstanding, there were cases of attack on voters and of the burning down of polling booths by the insurgents. All these are a pointer that Burma is not yet out of the woods. Thakin Nu himself observed in a recent speech,

"I have freely to admit that conditions in Burma to-day are very little different from those that were a year ago." Comment is superfluous.

A very tough job awaits the A.F.P.F.L., which have won the last month's parliamentary elections. Burma has been rightly compared by Thakin Nu to "a house decayed and eaten by white ants." If she is to be saved for democracy no time should be lost in launching a campaign to re-build her. An all-out effort must be made to make life worth living for the *lude* (masses).

Will the A.F.P.F.L. do it? Let us wait and watch.

Jain Antiquities of Rajgir

Adrisa Banerji writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

One of the gravest error, that has been made, in our assessments of any Indian holy place, is the exaggerated importance that has been granted to Buddhism. Thanks to Asoka and indefatigable Chinese travellers and their records, the claims of other faiths have been lost sight of. To some extent the accounts of early Jaina writers which were not verifiable by scientific researches were responsible for this unfortunate position. Nevertheless, the existence of a Jaina *stupa* at Mathura, the find of large amount of inscribed Jaina images dating from a century before the birth of Christ, have proved beyond doubt the historicity of their claims. The caves Khanda-giri and Udayagiri, prove the existence of Jainism in ancient Odra desa—modern Orissa.

Jainism, is earlier than Buddhism. If, Gautama was a historical personage then we have to admit that his contemporaries were also historical, and in this category



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comes Mahavira. But Mahavira according to tradition was the last of the *tirthankaras*; what about his other immediate predecessors, even if we do not insist on the whole list as accurate? There are archaeological as well as literary evidences to believe that Jainism had great following in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Next in the teachings of Buddha even in sentences ascribed to the 'Master,' we find no half-hearted mention of *Nigranthas*.

There is an instance in *Majjhima Nikaya*, which establishes the knowledge of Buddha about the *Nigranthas* or Jains. While relating the Sri Gupta incident, in the last Buddha's life the Avadana-kalpalata definitely tells us, that his preceptor was a Jain. The late Dr. A. B. Keith tells us: "In one point all these sages agreed; there were Sramanas, ascetics in some degree, and they shared this peculiarity with the Jinās whose leader Nigantha of the Nata clan, was evidently regarded with hostile eyes by the Buddha." This can only be explained by the extreme influence that Jainism exercised over the mass mind by Jainism.

It is undeniable, that Rajagriha, the ancient capital of eastern India, must have been a stronghold of Jainism, as the doctrine arose in Magadha.

How is it then with the exception of few modern temples, no actual remains of the Jaina faith have been traced at or near desolate Gtivrāja, the city girt by mountains, while the followers of its rival faith proudly flaunt before the admiring gaze of the world the questionable *sattapani*, the terraced rocky remains, the 'alleged Ajatasatrus' stupa, the majestic Gridhakuta. The answer is to be found in the lack of retentive power of the brain in the Indian masses. The exaggerated claims of the devout Chinese pilgrims based upon absolutely unreliable folk traditions, which he found almost more than a millennium after the *mahaparinirvana* of Gautama. A stupa has been identified on the authority of the Chinese pilgrim as the identical one erected by Maharaja Ajatasatru. But excavations by the late Raibahadur Dayaram Sahni revealed an image of Jina, below the so-called Mauryan stupa. The question whether it is really a Buddhist or Jaina stupa has not yet been settled. Instances are not rare of later Buddhists erecting their sacred edifices over Jaina remains. King Dharmapala, as the Paharpur Copperplate of 119 Gupta era tells us, erected the Somapura Mahavihara over an earlier Jaina establishment. Therefore at Rajgir possibility of stupas, *mathas* originally holy to the Jains but later on identified with Buddhism exists.

Jaina texts, of both the sects, amply give evidence of the existence of extreme holy places of Jainism at Rajgir. Gunasila Chaitya is a place, which was as holy to Jains, as Gridhakuta was to the Buddhists. According to the Kalpa Sutra, Mahavira resided at Rajgir at this very place. The Uvassgo Dasao locates Gunasila as a *varika* of Rajagriha (VIII,23). The chaitya has been explained as place of tree worship in the Mahabharatam, which is a trait of Indian ritual since the copper age. The *Tri-shashthi-salaka-purusha-charitra* states that Gunasila was *Chaitya-vikshopasobhitam* (X 63.63). The Bhagavati Purana, however, places Gunasila within Rajgir, The *Sthaviravali Charitra* by Hemachandra Suri places Gunasila within (abhyarne) of Rajgir. The Uttara-purana of the Digamvaras places the permanent residence of Lord Mahavira on the Vipula hill. The Svetambara canon places Gunasila on the north-east of Rajgir which is the position of Vipula hill. I therefore think that Gunasila must be located at Rajgir on Vipula hill, and not at Gunave. Dr. B. C. Law suggests the identity of Gunasila with Kalasila rock in the neighbourhood of which Moggallana was beaten to death. But Kalasila according to Pali Suttas was a rock, while Gunasila was a chaitya.

In the third decade of the seventh century. of the Christian era, Hiuenthsang testifies to the occupation of Rajgir sites by Jain monks.

He found Jaina monks practising asceticism beside a stupa on Vaibhara, probably the same site which has been identified by some scholars as the place at which the first Council of Buddhist elders met. Because the *Tri-shashthi-salaka-purusha-Charitra* (X.10.45) states that the great Sramana resided for a time on Vaibhara, the Vaihara of Mahabharatam and Vebhara of Isigilli Sutta. Therefore as late as c. 7th Century A.D., there was a Jain Stupa at Rajgir, on Vaibhara hill.

The existence of other Jain places of worship on the Vaibhara as early as the Gupta period, is proved by the inscribed black basalt image of the 22nd tirthankara Neminatha. It is one of the earliest known Jaina image in Magadha. The brick enclosure in the vicinity of ruined temple containing the above image along with other Jaina sculptures is another evidence. This enclosure contained a series of Jaina images in niches. The Son-Bhandar cave, excavated in Mauryan times but inscribed by later arrivals in characters of the Gupta period, is a Jain cave, like Dasaratha's gift to Ajivikas at Barabar. A revision indeed of our ascription of ancient buildings at Rajgir has become imperative.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Screen—A New “Blackboard” in British Schools

Lessons “come alive” and schoolchildren understand and remember them more easily when teachers can supplement explanations with visual impressions of the subject being taught. Only a few years ago, however, teachers were obliged to improvise nearly all their own visual aids. Many adults can certainly still remember their teachers using an orange, an apple and a lighted candle to give a crude, but effective demonstration of the relationship between the earth, the sun and the moon.

Today, with films, wall charts, filmstrips, models and special maps supplementing or replacing teacher-made devices, one of the countries giving a valuable lead, especially in the field of films, is Great Britain where the development of such visual aids has been going on for many years.

The belief in the value of films as educational aids began to grow in Britain about 1920. Since then, the interest and activity shown by teachers' associations, education institutes and Local Education Authorities has encouraged film makers to produce material suitable for the school curriculum.

Further development is being made possible today through the National Committee for Visual Aids in Education, formed to plan and develop a visual aid policy for England and Wales, and the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids (E.F.V.A.) whose work includes the provision of information and facilities for educational authorities and teachers and help, in an advisory capacity, to sponsors and producers of new educational films.

INDUSTRY HELPS EDUCATION

Educational film libraries have been set up by such bodies as the British Electrical Development Association, the Petroleum Film Bureau, the British Iron and Steel Federation, the International Wool Secretariat and the Tea Bureau. The first of these groups, for instance, has produced over 15 films dealing with the basic theories and principles of electricity. These ten-minute films explain in simple language the why and wherefore of electricity and its different applications in the home and in the factory. They are loaned to teachers together with detailed notes and questionnaires which help them to make the fullest use of the films as visual aids.

In all, 1,000 prints of 15 films are in constant circulation throughout the country today, and in the case of “Generation of Electricity” and “Transmission of Electricity,” 120 prints of each film have been made to meet the needs of schools and technical colleges.

An important contribution to the teaching of science and engineering has been made by the iron and steel industry. Films and filmstrips cover the obtaining of raw materials and the production of iron and steel. Area training officers in the steel industry use them for training apprentices, but they are also available to schools and technical colleges.

Wool has always played a large part in British national life. Accordingly, the industry has for years helped develop the use of visual aids for the teaching of economics, geography, chemistry, biology and domestic science. Similarly, the tea industry has done a great deal

to instruct teachers in the use of visual aids and to provide schools with material which will enliven lessons on geography, history, transport and social customs. In addition to films, exhibitions are organised; cardboard models with sheets of cut-out figures made for children to assemble in the course of a lesson.

ENGLISH IN SIX WEEKS

Every kind of visual aid was mobilized by the National Coal Board in 1947 to meet a thorny problem—the teaching of thousands of foreigners from over twelve different language groups, enough English in six weeks to follow their training course in mining. Although the lessons were based on the “direct” method—the teacher speaking sentences for the pupils to repeat—filmstrips played an important part and were found to be useful because they forced the trainees to focus their attention on one picture at a time as it was projected on the screen. Films were found useful for revision and for dramatisation of normal straightforward conversation. Ordinary documentaries were used, but the sound track was replaced by a commentary which kept strictly to the language level reached by each particular group.

Among recently produced films dealing with language teaching was “La Famille Martin” which enables the pupil to see French characters talking naturally, and acting naturally as they do in everyday life. The tempo of the film is deliberately normal and not slowed up for fear of creating an artificial and erroneous impression.

Such films enable children who cannot hope to go overseas, to see other peoples' ways of life.

An outstanding achievement among films on physiology was “Digestion,” because of its clear exposition of the entire digestive system, and for its painstaking degree of accuracy. Every muscle contraction is shown in animation. Colour is used to make every detail visible and intelligible. It is a fascinating production which makes the subject seem amazingly easy to understand.

OTHER PEOPLES' PROBLEMS

It is perhaps in the geography lesson that the film and filmstrip come into their own. And here remarkable results have been achieved. For example, children have always found it difficult to visualise the world and to understand the meaning of the lines drawn on the revol-

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ing globe. A series of films has been produced describing "Map Projection," "Latitude and Longitude" and "Day and Night." The last named, produced in colour, is exceptionally clever in its use of revolving models and ingenious lighting.

Geographical films, produced from an unbiased point of view, have done much to create a better understanding of other peoples' problems.

Every recent British production of geographical films and filmstrips has tried to do more than teach the children the bare facts. An attempt has been made to show people in other lands as real people, with families and homes. Hence, there is little generalisation. A film-strip on Persian oil-fields, will take a specific Persian worker and tell the story of his daily life against a background of the oil-fields and will thus create an understanding of his problems.

Another pointer to a growing awareness of the international value of education is found in the efforts made to obtain foreign films for teaching in English schools. British producers and British teachers are looking across the seas for available material.

The day is fast approaching when such exchanges will be facilitated by the removal of customs barriers through two international agreements sponsored by Unesco. The first agreement would relieve educational films from licences, quotas and tariffs and the second (described on page 9 of this issue of the *Courier*) would also free the movement of films as well as other educational materials.

Such exchanges are expected to give an added incentive to commercial firms and industrialists willing to undertake the production of films for schools, by providing a wider market for their productions.—*Unesco Courier*.

Affandi—The People's Artist of Indonesia

A report on the exhibition (August 1950) of contemporary Indonesian arts at Delhi would be incomplete without giving some idea about Affandi, the noted Indonesian artist, whose contribution to the show had made the exhibition a great success.

Mr. Affandi, born at Cheribon, Java, is still in his early forties. With his unprepossessing features, glittering eyes and quite, almost timid manners, he does not easily attract attention. Not everybody will expect that behind this unassuming personality, lies a hidden force and a genius. When about eight months ago, he along with his wife and daughter came for the first time to Santiniketan on a Government of India scholarship supposed to learn the principles of art, Mr. Nandalal Bose, the head of this Institute of Art, was quite surprised to find his unassuming would-be student already well developed. Mr. Bose did not expect this at all when he for the first time made acquaintance with him and when he saw Affandi's work, he expressed the opinion that it did not suit Affandi any more to go for lessons in art at Santiniketan. What Affandi needed was to make a study of Indian art, with all its early developments and present progress. This could be done by visiting art centres and coming in contact with Indian artists. That is the reason why Affandi after the Delhi exhibition, intends to make a tour of this country besides making the Indian public acquainted with his work and Indonesian popular art in general. For besides his collections, he has also taken with him some twenty-five paintings, sketches and reproductions of other notable Indonesian artists.

Affandi, like all other notable Indonesian artists of his time is the product of the Indonesian revolution. From his young days, he has displayed great interest and



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talent in drawing and painting and sculpture. But miserable conditions during the alien colonial rule—so familiar in colonial and semicolonial countries—did not give the young promising artist full opportunities to unfold his talents. The only time he could devote wholly to his artistic inclinations was his spare time after a full day's hard work, as house or letter painter or as primary school-teacher or ticket-seller of a cinema house. To improve his talents he tried to come in constant contact with other Indonesian artists, to learn something more from them. His first success was when he could sell his pictures for 10 to 20 guilders. The Indonesian revolution which swept like a mighty, irresistible flood over the Indonesian archipelago opened the way to the discovery of his talents, which led to his fame. Besides being a talented artist Affandi was a true patriot. He readily put his talents at the disposal of his fighting countrymen. Like the gun for the soldier, his brush was his weapon to fight against the reimposition of alien colonial rule. He made war posters and pictures to keep high the fighting spirit of his compatriots (these war pictures of his and those of his colleagues—once preserved in the National Museum and the War Museum in Jogjakarta—were destroyed during the Dutch second "police action"). He and his family were arrested by the Dutch when after the first Dutch police action he tried to cross the border of the Dutch-held territories on his way from Jogja to Djakarta.

Since the once confused condition in Indonesia has now ended, Affandi has again started to devote his talents to more peaceful pictures, though not the least without social significance. The hard struggle for survival in his early life has had a deep influence on his work. His painting "A Dead Bird in My Hand," one of the finest pieces of his work, showing the cruelty of the human being towards the weak, and "The Three Beggars" show the profound humanity in this Indonesian artist. Like many of his colleagues, Affandi is a true people's artist. During the unsettled conditions in Indonesia he rallied other Indonesian artists around him and founded the Pelukis Rakyat or 'People's Artists' Association at Bandung. His colleagues imbued with the same spirit and ideals under the leadership of another noted Indonesian artist, Sudjojono, started another art association called the 'Seniman Indonesia Muda' or 'Artists of the Young Indonesia.' Their aim and object was to break away from traditional Indonesian art and instead, find a new and true national art, as so far traditional Indonesian art had been more or less influenced by the West or constituted the ancient orthodox conception of paintings like most of the Balinese paintings. Salih, the first notable Indonesian artist of the 19th century, received his training in Europe, so did many others, before World War II, get their inspiration from the West. Apart from this aim which has been in the minds of the contemporary Indonesian artists, their main objective has been to popularize art among the common people. This they cannot do by degrading the art, but by making the people art-minded through holding free exhibitions at which the people see themselves pictured in the exhibits.

Affandi is thus one of the pioneers in the new school of Indonesian art. It is, therefore, this motive that inspires Affandi to choose as his subjects, scenes from the real everyday life of the common people,—like the peasant ploughing his field, and the way-side barber or the street musician, whether in Indonesia or in this country or anywhere else. Again it is this motive which makes his works—whether it is a painting, a sketch or sculpture—show lack of the usual sugary sentimentality, present in many works of art of the past and today, but realism which invigorates his art and gives it a deep social significance. One day when in the company of artists, he showed his painting called "People's Feet"—which seemed

to have a rather disturbing and provoking effect on the audience—a friendly critic could not help remarking, "Isn't it odd? The feet seem to grow out of the soil." Affandi's face immediately lighted up. "That's it," he almost shouted; "that's what I wanted to say." His exclamation was revealing, it gives an idea of Affandi, and what he is after.

Today Affandi, practically untutored—and deeply under the influence of Vincent van Gogh—has worked out for himself a style and technique of his own. The strength of his powerful strokes done with impatient quickness is supported by a complete mastery of drawing, which enables him to tackle any subject—human figures, animals, trees, houses—with perfect ease. He has displayed a gift of animation—almost approaching Van Gogh—in making creative use of yellow and green. His portrait paintings are not only excellent likenesses but also full of character, though the brush strokes are laid on with almost violent quickness his paintings can be described as sketching with colour. The average time he needs to make a portrait painting is between 6 and 7 hours only. But Affandi is not free from criticism. One art-critic said that in his over-confidence, Affandi carried the 'vortex painting' (cruel suns) too far, giving the picture an impression of artificiality. While, another remarked, that his two pictures "Gossip" showed failure in impressionism. But whatever his few defects and failures may be, the recent Delhi exhibition has revealed that Affandi—as a notable art-critic of the city remarked—is "a divinely gifted, self-taught genius."—*Merdeka*, August 1950.

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The Bimillenary of Paris

This year, Paris is 2,000 years old. The first written record of its existence appears in Julius Caesar's commentaries on the Gallic Wars which date from 51 B.C. In actual fact, it is impossible to know the exact age of Paris, for its earliest origins are lost in antiquity. There seem always to have been settlements on the Ile de la Cité (Island of the City), an island in the Seine and it is from these modest beginnings that has sprung our beautiful, modern, artistic City of Light.

Paris owes its existence to the Seine on which it stands. It springs from the bosom of the river and it is the river that gives it its particular character. The City of Paris takes its Coat of Arms from the river; it is a ship that never sinks. Its motto *Fluctuat nec mergitur* is more than apt, for its long and tumultuous history has often proved that the city cannot be submerged; it survives all vicissitudes.

If Paris can find no trace of itself in ancient history, legend gives it a most romantic origin. In the days of Mythology when gods and nymphs familiarly walked the earth, the goddess of the Seine was reputed to be the most beautiful of the daughters of Bacchus. Her god-mother, Ceres, gave her as a present the fields of Normandy that lay along her banks, but one day, as the goddess was playing among the reeds, Neptune spied her. Dazzled by her beauty, the God of the Sea rushed to seize her. The goddess fled, but soon she felt that she would be caught. She called upon Bacchus, her father, and the fair Ceres, her godmother, to save her, and just as Neptune thrust his arms out to reach for her, the nymph dissolved, slipped through his fingers and the Seine flowed away from him, her light coloured veils turning into the emerald waves of our beloved river.

The historical record of the city is interesting. A tribe of Gauls known as the Parisii had settled in the

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islands of Lutetia, now known as the Ile de la Cite. It is likely that some of them also dwelt on the neighbouring hills of Montmartre and Sainte Genevieve. In 59 B.C., the Roman Senate entrusted the pacification of Transalpine Gaul to Julius Caesar, the Roman Consul. He was well aware of the experience of his predecessors, Domitius, Marius and Fonteius, in their attempts to subjugate these "frivolous" Gauls, he knew their powers of resistance, he recognized in the hearts of these Celts "the love of liberty and the hatred of servitude." This made him all the more anxious to bring the Gallic chiefs to Rome as prisoners.

The enterprise proved far more arduous and exacting than he had anticipated. From 58 B.C. to 51 B.C. fighting was incessant. Again and again Caesar thought he had subdued Gaul, again and again opposition reared its head, local guerillas sprang up, revolt spread throughout the land, led in 52 B.C. by King Vercingetorix, chief of the Gallic tribes.

Caesar sent his most able lieutenant, Labienus, to occupy Lutetia. In a wild dash, the latter came down the left bank of the Seine, but failed to cross it. Seizing all the boats he could find, he sailed down the river and landed on the right bank facing Lutetia. The old chief, Camulogenus, was leaving and crossing to the other bank of the Seine. The reason was soon obvious. From where the Romans stood, on the present site of the Church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, they realized that Lutetia was in flames.

Nevertheless, the conquerors soon settled down, restored and revived the city. Soon they introduced their own way of life and an important suburb grew up on the left bank. Its ruins and remains still exist in Paris today.

Paris was a flourishing city when in the middle of the 5th century A.D. it was threatened by Attila and his Barbarians. All hope had been abandoned when a young girl called Genevieve roused the flagging spirits of the Parisians, restored their courage and thus averted catastrophe. She became the Patron Saint of Paris.

Later came the Franks, but by then, Christianity had already spread fairly widely and the worst consequences of the invasion were avoided. The Carolingian kings did not usually reside in Paris, and during the invasions of the Northmen, the City was almost completely destroyed. All the inhabitants could save was their honour.

Through its Counts and Dukes, Paris gave to France its Capetian dynasty, and since that time, Paris has been the capital of the country. Churches, convents, markets, hotels were built; in the 12th century, public works were undertaken to improve the city; municipal administration was organized. The city grew and soon had to spread on either bank of the river.

In the reign of Philippe Auguste (1180-1223), the streets were paved, the Palace of the Louvre was begun and the Cathedral of Notre Dame was completed. Later came Saint Louis who endowed Paris with its University, the Sorbonne and the exquisitely beautiful Church of the Sainte Chapelle.

The wars of the 14th and 15th centuries did not interrupt the development of the capital. The Palace of the Louvre was finished, the Bastille was built.

The reign of Charles VI was one of the most disastrous in the history of Paris. The city was betrayed to the Burgundians, and in vain did Joan of Arc besiege it in 1429. Wounded during an assault at the Saint Honore Gate, which is now the Place du Theatre Francais, she was forced to withdraw. Nevertheless, she was instrumental in freeing her country from its invaders, and in 1436, Charles VII was able to return to the capital.

Had there been no Religious Wars, the 16th century would have been a highly prosperous period for Paris. Francis I and Catherine Medici were great builders. In the succeeding reigns, Paris was the scene of one continuous bloodstained drama until Henry IV was able to pacify it after a siege lasting four years. His son, Louis XIII, and his wife Anne of Austria endowed the capital with many monuments.

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The Sun King, Louis XIV, preferred to live at Versailles or Marly rather than Paris, but that did not prevent his developing the city whose population already numbered 550,000 and building monuments worthy of his greatness in it. To him we owe the construction of the beautiful palaces around the Place de la Concorde, planned by the famous architect Gabriel.

The French Revolution took place in 1789 and can be said to have been eminently Parisian for its origins are essentially Parisian, yet it is from this epoch that the history of Paris ceases to be separate from that of the rest of France.

Previously, Paris had been divided into 48 sections, but under the Directory, it was divided into 12 municipal districts called "arrondissements" and the Constitution of the Year VIII of the Revolution gave the capital its present status as a "prefecture."

From Napoleon I date the Bourse, the Vendôme Column, the Arc de Triomphe, many bridges and many other embellishments. The growing prosperity of Paris was only slightly affected by the invasions and resistance of 1814-1815.

Under the Restoration, Parisians fought for the Tricolour in July 1830 and thus decided their future fate. Louis Philippe was keenly interested in seeing Paris develop and he erected its fortifications and its first railway station.

Napoleon III and his counsellors took great pride in beautifying the city, while the Chief Commissioner, Haussmann, opened wide avenues with lovely perspectives through it. From 1860, the suburbs that had grown up within the fortifications were officially included in the city and thus the number of "arrondissements" rose to twenty.

The war of 1870 brought the German army to Paris, and after its surrender it endured humiliating occupation. Then came the civil war known as the Commune, but 1871 saw the establishment of the Third Republic and the ushering in of a period of peace and prosperity, with the development and improvement of the city, and a comfortable and brilliant life that lasted till 1914.

During the First World War, Paris was saved from destruction by its Governor, General Gallieni, who raised the Army of Paris, and transported it to the battlefields of Ourcq and the Marne in taxis. After the war, Paris again took up its schemes for town planning and development.

On the 14th June 1940, Paris was occupied by the Germans and for four years the latter had to contend

with an underground opposition that burst into open rebellion on the 19th August, 1944, following the landing of the Allied troops on French soil. On the 24th August, 1944, the capital was finally liberated by the arrival of the troops of General Leclerc's division.

To celebrate its bimillenary, Paris has not organized excessively elaborate demonstrations. Parisians have tried to pay homage to their city by conjuring up the most striking periods in the history.—*News from France*, August 1951.

Heavyweight Champion Calls on President Truman

Washington, August 20.—"Jersey Joe" Walcott, world heavyweight boxing champion, called on President Truman at the White House late last week.

The 37-year-old fighter who won the title several weeks ago by knocking out Ezzard Charles, came to Washington to referee a boxing show. The show was held for the benefit of the Washington Junior Police and Citizens' Corps sponsored by the Washington metropolitan police in their work to help boys' clubs.

Walcott has always been interested in youth work and is contributing his own time and money to further this type of endeavour throughout the country.

The President praised Walcott for his prowess in the ring and for his interest in youth activities.—*USIS*.

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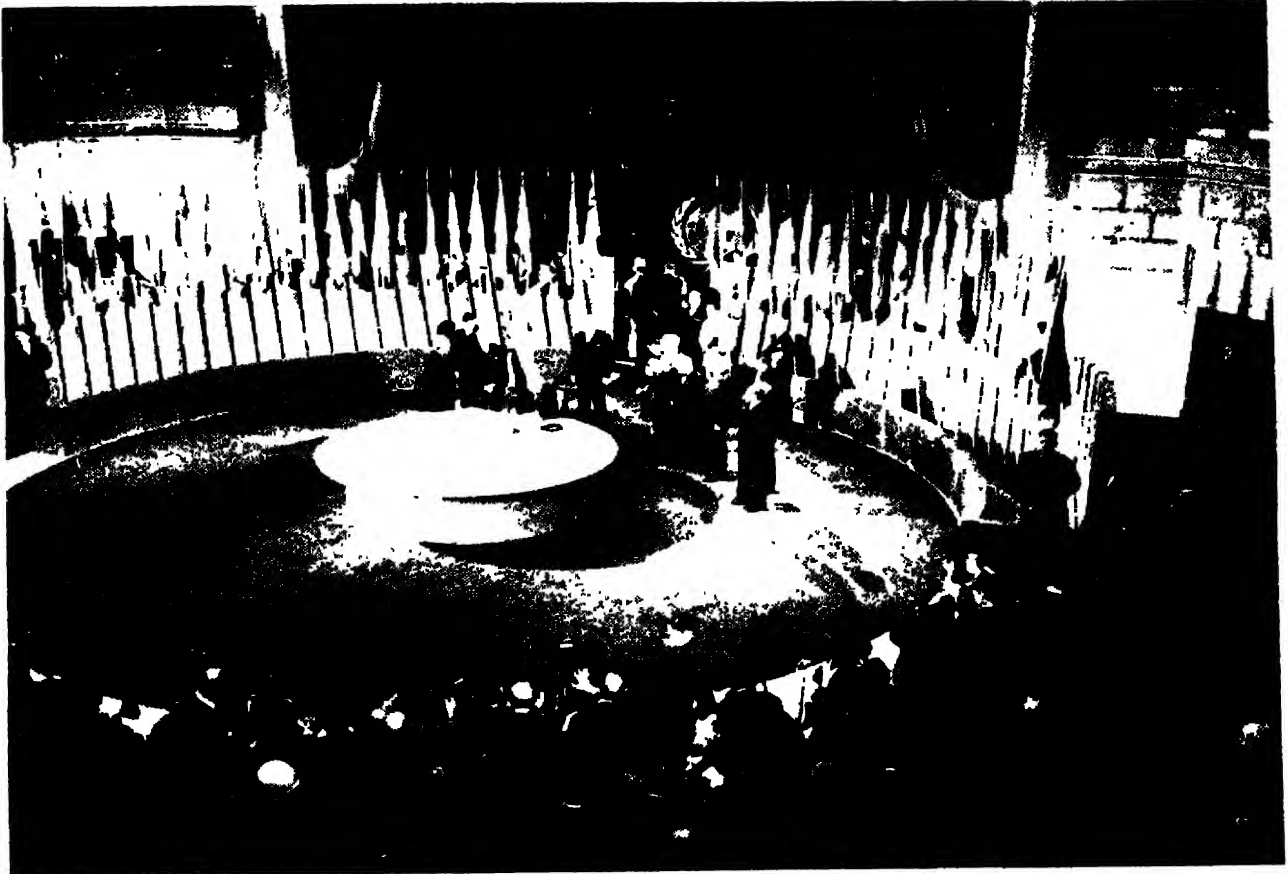
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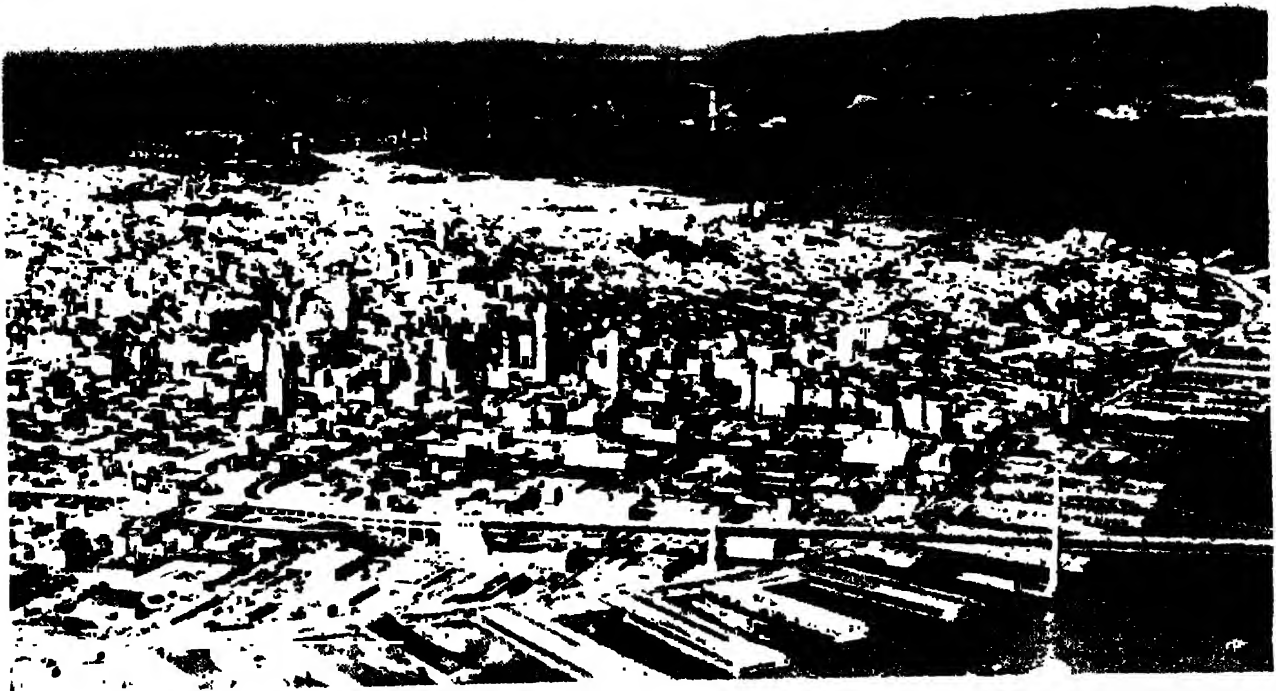
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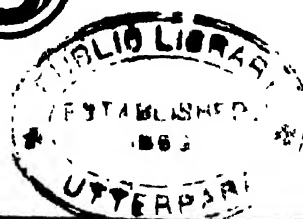
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NOVEMBER



1951

Vol. LXXXX, No. 5



Whole No. 539

NOTES

• The Elections and Pandit Nehru

The country is in the throes of the elections. At a late hour this significant news-flash came through:

"Mr. Tandon, former Congress President, said that he had sent a letter of resignation to the Chairman of the U. P. Parliamentary Board, and had not attended the meeting.

"I cannot say anything more than this", he added."

It is understood that Sri Tandonji had resigned in despair at the crooked and vicious turn Congress politics had taken in his home province. We felicitate Tandonji on the brave dignified stand he had taken all through these days, ever since Pandit Nehru addressed the first letter to him on August 6 last. Tandonji has gained in stature and risen in the esteem of all right-thinking men thereby. We only wish Pandit Nehru would show the same austere adherence to cardinal truths and restore to the nationals of this country the faith that they had placed in him these last fateful four years and more.

We do not know whether Pandit Nehru realizes that he is on trial. We do not refer to the elections. Our nationals are backward in their ideas of exercising the franchise, which is a direct consequence of the low level of literacy—less than 25 per cent—in the country. Elections are a gamble therefore and in this gamble the dice are heavily loaded in favour of the career politicians who as yet dominate the Congress. So it is more than likely that the Congress will win the elections. And, if we are to judge by the lists so far published, in that victory the Congress will "lose its soul," to quote Pandit Nehru, indubitably.

Ever since the elections came to the forefront of

public topics, Pandit Nehru has made speeches galore, in which he has stressed that the Congress must be freed from corrupt practices, that men of integrity and character above question must be brought in, and even if they did not agree to sign fealty to the Congress, they must be allowed to stand for election unchallenged, and even aided, by the Congress. That, in short, people whose aim is service to the country should in every case be preferred to the careerists to whom politics is a means of attaining wealth and power.

We cannot stand in judgment as yet, because the final lists of candidates are not yet ready for our perusal. But from what has been published and from the election news that are appearing in the press from time to time, as for example what is quoted *infra*, our minds are filled with gloomy forebodings. We have always given credit, and so have most right-thinking men, to Pandit Nehru for sincerity and honesty of purpose, however mistaken or misguided he might be in his beliefs and actions. But he has committed himself fully and finally in the matter of elections by his speeches and by his letters to Sri Purushotramdas Tandon. And in this matter he must be aware that sins of omission and commission are equally venial, and no plea of ignorance or of preoccupation can stand, after his displacement of Tandonji as Congress President. The country at large will judge purely by results. And unless good men are returned in majority, the elections will spell disaster, the country being in the disturbed and discontented state as it is.

The Provinces—or rather States—are full of bickering as the following extract will show:

"With the nomination lists from a majority of the States still far from approved, the Congress Central Election Committee is finding itself considerably behind schedule.

Even if most of the States had already been dealt with, however, the seemingly unending disputes relating to Punjab (I), Bihar and U.P. would still constitute three major hurdles.

Their importance has now increased owing to the inability of local election boards to adjust parallel group claims, thereby adding to the responsibilities and worries of the Central Committee.

Opposite reactions appear to have been caused in U.P. on the one hand and Bihar and Punjab (I) on the other to the prospect of arbitration by the Centre as a result of local failure to bring about an understanding among rival factions.

In Punjab (I), where the dispute is too complicated to be comprehensible to an outsider, both sides appear to welcome Delhi's intervention. This is especially true of members of the Bhargava group.

Congressmen in Bihar also seem to place greater reliance on the judgment of the Central Election Committee, particularly that of Mr. Nehru, than on their own ability to settle internal quarrels. Both groups appear to be equally anxious to appeal to Delhi.

Opinion among U.P. Congressmen, however, is said to be sharply divided over the advisability of referring the issue to the Centre. While the former dissidents have more faith in the Centre, others generally resent this dependence.

According to information available at the AICC office here, the majority group in the U.P. Congress never looked forward to the prospect of submitting rival lists of candidates as this procedure was regarded as injurious to the party's prestige.

Apparently, Mr. Tandon's resignation from the State Election Board is connected with this view. Presumably, he felt that the Centre's proposal to entertain parallel lists was an indirect encouragement to malcontents.

Be that as it may, the Central Election Committee is undoubtedly faced with a serious problem. Its decision to take on overall responsibility has given it unlimited power, but has also added to its many and varied difficulties."

Regarding the selection of candidates, at present we can only refer to the list of nominations by the West Bengal Congress Party. We can only say that if that body went through in its entirety in the elections in West Bengal, the Congress will become an unmitigated source of evil to West Bengal and all Bengalis. There are some good names, but there are more who are notorious for corrupt politics, lack of integrity in public life and low moral character. These with their complacent satellites constitute the majority. We cannot say more as the lists are not yet finalized, but in view of what is taking place, we consider it incumbent on every right-thinking man either to take

an independent stand, or to aid those of proved integrity and character to stand in opposition to known corrupt parties. Loss or gain is immaterial in this issue, the most important question being that of giving the country a choice between good or evil. If no good men stand then the corrupt ones will have the excuse that they put forward the best that could be got.

By the same token, every politically conscious and literate person should impress on fellow electors that they should vote for the candidates purely on their personal qualifications and not on their party labels. They can quote Pandit Nehru and many others in support.

But the main issue in the Elections is the question of sincerity and truth of the utterances of Pandit Nehru and his following.

Nehru-Tandon Correspondence

The points of difference on Congress policy between Sri Tandon and Sri Nehru were made public in the Correspondence that passed between them prior to the former's resignation from the Congress. In view of the recent Congress nominations and election bickerings, they have become of primary importance, and so we quote them in detail, in order that we might not be accused of quoting out of context. It will be seen therein what were the factors that motivated Panditji's *coup de main* in the Congress. We shall discuss later as to what results have come out of that. We have italicized the main points.

From Sri Nehru dated August 6:

"Dear Mr. President,—I beg to tender my resignation from membership of the Congress Working Committee and the Central Election Board. I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to accept this resignation."

From Sri Nehru on August 6:

"My Dear Purshottam Das,—I am enclosing a formal letter of resignation from membership of the Congress Working Committee and the Central Election Board. I need not tell you that I have done so after the most earnest and anxious thought. It has been no light matter for me to take such a step. From the purely personal point of view I would have resigned long ago. But I realised fully that this was much more than a personal matter and it might well have far-reaching consequences. So I hesitated and tried to avoid doing so. I thought again and again and considered every aspect, and ultimately came to the conclusion that I must resign. It is no pleasure to me to do so. But I am convinced that I do not fit into the Working Committee and am not in tune with it. Such a position is artificial and unnatural and can do no good; it can do much harm.

"You will forgive me if by resigning I cause you embarrassment. But the embarrassment has been there anyhow for both of us and others and the best way to deal with it is to remove the cause."

From Sri Tandon on August 9:

"My Dear Jawaharlal,—I had gone out of Delhi and

returned yesterday. Your letter of the 6th instant, along with your formal letter of resignation from the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, was handed to me when I reached office yesterday afternoon. I was surprised and shocked to read it.

"I remember when I approached you at Nasik in September 1950 soon after the conclusion of the Congress session and requested you to agree to be a member of the Working Committee, which I had to form, you said that you wished to give a 'shock' to the Congress and refused to come on the Working Committee. To my great joy, however, after the matter was discussed between you and one or two old friends you ultimately agreed and have since then taken your usual leading part in shaping the decisions of the Working Committee.

"It seems to me that something of that feeling of giving a 'shock' to the Congress has come upon you again. I am aware that our course has not been entirely smooth and some minor points of difference regarding the organisational set-up have arisen; but on matters of Congress policy I feel that there has been on the whole general unanimity and the Working Committee has functioned with great goodwill and successfully guided the Congress during the eventful period which has elapsed since the Nasik Congress.

"You have yourself as the leader of the nation appealed to Congressmen and to the country to present a united front to the situation that is facing us both externally and internally. The step that you propose to take, viz., that of resigning from the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, goes directly against that appeal for solidarity and is likely to create a schism in the Congress which has greater potentiality for harm to the country than any that the Congress has yet had to face.

"I beg of you not to precipitate a crisis at the present juncture and not to press your resignation. I cannot accept it. If you insist on it the only course left to me will be to place it before the Working Committee for consideration. I trust that, in any case, you will attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 11th instant.

"If, to keep you in the Working Committee, it is necessary or desirable that I should resign the Presidentship of the Congress, I am ready to do so with great pleasure and goodwill."

From Sri Nehru on August 9:

My dear Purshottamdas,—*"Thank you for your letter of August 9, which I received this evening.*

"As I have already written to you, I have been giving a great deal of thought to this matter and considering all aspects of it. I do not think that I have been influenced particularly by individuals or what happened to them. What has troubled me were certain drifts in the Congress which, I think, are harmful both to the Congress and the country. I have believed, and I continue to believe, that it would be a tragedy for the Congress to fade out or become unimportant. I have, therefore, been opposed all along to any attempts to weaken the

Congress as such or for people to resign from it, even though they might have disapproved of much that was happening. From the same point of view I have long been distressed at the attitude of some persons which indicated that they wished to drive out others from the Congress who did not fit in with their views or their general outlook.

"You will remember that, ever since the A.-I.-C.-C. meeting at Ahmedabad in January last, I have been trying, in my own rather imperfect way, to grapple with this problem. People called it my attempts at unity. That was only partly correct. My attempts have failed and I admitted failure at the A.-I.-C.-C. meeting at Bangalore.

"This has distressed me greatly because I feel that the Congress is rapidly drifting away from its moorings and more and more the wrong kind of people, or rather people who have the wrong kind of ideas, are gaining influence in it. The public appeal of the Congress is getting less and less. It may and probably will win elections. But in the process, it may also lose its soul.

"Because of all this, I thought hard as to what I should do. I could not conceive myself to be a willing party to this gradual decay or even a passive and inert spectator of it. Naturally, I did not wish to do anything which itself would injure the Congress. That was the problem before me not only now but for months past. Ultimately, I came to the conclusion that I could serve the real objectives and ideals of the Congress better by being outside the Working Committee. That first step was quite clear to me. Subsequent steps were not so clear.

"I am fully conscious of the consequences of the step I am taking and even the risks involved. But I think these risks have to be taken, for there is no other way out.

"I have mentioned some wider considerations. Apart from these, or in addition to them, I have felt, as I have already written to you, completely out of tune in the Working Committee. I felt this very much at Bangalore. I am convinced that I can be of no effective service in the Committee at this stage. I come in the way of others, and have a feeling that others come in my way.

"When this is the position, I think we should be straight with ourselves and with the public. A frank approach ought at least to help a fuller realisation of the problems and difficulties before us.

"I am more conscious than anyone else can be of the critical situation which the country has to face today. I have to deal with it from day to day. This situation itself has had a double reaction upon me and, in the balance, it has confirmed the decision I have arrived at.

"There is no reason why you should resign the Presidentship of the Congress. This is not a personal matter.

"I do not think it would be proper for me to attend the meeting of the Working Committee. My presence will embarrass me as well as others. I think it is better that

the questions that arise should be discussed in my absence."

From Sri Tandon on August 10:

My dear Jawaharlal,—“I have received this afternoon your letter of yesterday's date. I shall not now go into all the matters that you have referred to. I shall only say that my attempt as a Congressman has all along been to help in raising the level of the Congress organisation and, through it of the society generally. All else is to me of secondary importance.

“The elections to the legislatures are part of the Congress work, because the Congress ideals have to be carried into practice through the governmental machinery. *But they cannot, after all, be the be-all and end-all of a true Congressman's aspirations. In fighting elections it is necessary that we exert ourselves to the utmost to preserve the soul of the Congress.* It is no use winning the elections if as you say the Congress is ‘to lose its soul’ in the process.

“You will remember that when we were discussing the question of funds recently in a meeting either of the Working Committee or of the Central Election Committee I said to you, ‘I shall not ask you to get any money for the Congress since you happen to be the Prime Minister. I would prefer Congress Ministers not making any collections for our party fund. That work should be done by others e.g., heads of the Pradesh Congress Committees and the Congress President.’

“It was said at the meeting that there were practical difficulties in giving effect to my view. My only point in referring to this is that so far as the question of the standard of Congress work is concerned you can certainly count on my being not less enthusiastic than yourself or any other person in guarding and raising it.

“I propose to place your letter of resignation before the Working Committee tomorrow. But that need not prevent your taking part in some other matters. May I suggest that you come to the meeting though only for a short time and that the matters which concern you may not be discussed in your presence.”

“Bull-Dog Politics”

We feel that no major change would come of Winston Churchill and his politics. He has been a great British politician carrying into mid-20th century the talk of British empire and its good and evil associations. He has, we think, learnt his lesson by the failure of his oft-repeated resolve to prevent the “liquidation” of the British Empire. And, except occasional growls, we are not likely to hear regrets of what had been and what would never occur again in Britain's life, in the near or distant future. Indeed in the main we think Bertrand Russell's analysis, as given below, is correct:

Many Americans who were expecting a total change in the British policy after the return to power of Winston Churchill will be very disappointed, said the famous in view philosopher Bertrand Russell in a recent

broadcast. In reply to a question, he said he did not think Churchill wanted to wipe out all Socialist measures taken by the Labour Government. He considered that the Conservative victory was due more to discontent over home affairs than over Labour's foreign policy.

Winston Churchill may slang Clement Attlee, but he cannot undo what the fates have decreed. In 1939-40, he accepted with calmness the arrangement by which Britain and the United States got “mixed up” in certain of their affairs. ‘This mixing up has helped liquidate the British Empire more effectively than anything the Labour Government have done. Does he not recall that William Gladstone had said that the U.S.A. will replace Britain as the dictator of the world's conduct as naturally as Britain replaced Spain and Holland?’

This prophecy has come true today, since the U.S.A. came to aid Britain and the Soviet Union to fight and beat down Germany's might. The only difference is that the U.S.A. finds a rival in U.S.S.R. and this rivalry is the real cause of the deadlock in international affairs. Winston Churchill could have helped avoid the present tension if on June 22, 1940, he had not all too eagerly promised all-out help to Stalin against Hitler. Many had felt then that the two Totalitarianisms should have been left to fight out their battles and exhaust themselves thereby.

This record should teach us that Winston Churchill is a realist who can “shake hands” with murder,” if need be. His wrangles with Attlee over the show-down in Iran and Egypt is a pose. He understands or ought to that the “Middle East” is lost to Britain in the old way, and we will look forward with not a little interest the outcome of his politics in this region. The Egyptian *contretemps* is the result of Britain's pandering to Arab conceits, of her attempt to halt the arrival of Israel, and the general hatred created against foreign rule. The Sudan affair is complicated by the fact that there is a Sudanese nationalism which objects to Egypt's pretensions as much as it desires to use Britain against Egypt.

These broad features of recent world development have left Churchill hardly any choice but dependence on the U.S.A. It may be true that as an older hand in politics Truman may look to him for advice. To us in India, Winston Churchill's coming to power does not make matters worse, even in Kashmir. We are there by the will of her legitimate Government. And no “bull-dog politics” or “clenched fist” can undo it. We have in Allan Campbell-Johnson's forthcoming book entitled *Mission with Mountbatten*, a vivid picture of Lord Ismay and his going to and from Delhi to Karachi. This military man becomes Commonwealth Secretary which will enable him to renew his old attempts and mediation.

In passing we note the fact that none of the candidates set up by the Communist Party have been

able to capture even one seat. The following news-item gives the details:

"British Communists failed in their bid to secure representation for their party in Parliament.

"All ten Communist candidates fighting the General Election in specially selected areas were defeated, and lost their £150 deposits for failing to secure one-eighth of the total votes."

The position of the Liberal Party is little better. With only six candidates elected, it will have little more than a token existence. Indeed if the following report be correct in its premises, the Liberals in Britain are merely satellites of the Conservative group:

After he had resigned, Mr. Attlee, speaking to workers at Transport House, Labour Party HQ, said: "I do not think there is any reason to dispute that our loss of seats has been due to the fact that when it came to the point, more Liberals were Conservative than Labour.

"Apart from that we would still be in office, and I would still be Prime Minister, which I ceased to be a short time ago."

Mr. Churchill's Problems

On assuming the reins of office Mr. Churchill's main headaches would be the unravelling of the tangled web of issues in Egypt, the Middle East and Iran. In Iran, Labour's failure lay in the fact that the Attlee Government did not talk full stock or rather failed to realize the full import of the legacy of hate and vengeance that was left to it by its predecessors in office, right from the time when Lord Curzon with his rabid imperialism ruthlessly split the old Persia into two zones of foreign domination, handing the less lucrative Northern Zone to Russia and taking the far more lucrative lower Persia for the British. British capital was thus enabled to impose its will on Persia, and this was followed by the merciless exploitation of Persia's oil by British interests.

When this exploitation had gained pace, the British Government itself entered the field of exploitation officially, when with Winston Churchill at the head of the Admiralty it acquired a controlling interest in the old Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Persia was all the time in a helpless condition, unable even to protest to the world. After the first World War, when Britain's hold on the balance of power was somewhat weakened, Iran under Reza Shah Pahlavi, attempted a readjustment of terms on a slightly more equitable basis. This was opposed by the Conservative Government of the day but finally some alterations were made because of the determined stand by Reza Shah. For this attempt, when the opportunity came, during World War II, Churchill's Government exerted the full measure of their venomous malice on the ill-fated Reza Shah, whose sole sin was to try to preserve the

independence of Iran and to get a proper share for his people in the wealth of their own homeland. Reza Shah was exiled and met a miserable death in utter penury. The Labour Government failed to realize that some day or other the Iranians would be in a position to apply the Mosaic Code in return for all these acts of rapacity and malice.

It gives us a curious feeling therefore to read the following news-item which appeared recently:

"Mr. Churchill has decided that a settlement of the Persian and Egyptian disputes must be a priority job for his new Ministry, quarters close to the Conservative leader indicated.

They suggested that his early plans are likely to take this shape: 1. Moves to solve the two Middle East crises; 2. An early meeting with President Truman to discuss the whole sphere of Anglo-American problems; 3. Initiative to secure a meeting of the Big Three—President Truman, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin—to consider the international situation, factors responsible for the present tension, and ways in which general peaceful recovery can be speeded.

Friends of the Prime Minister believe that his authority in world councils will receive fresh emphasis if he is able to take part in the Truman-Churchill or the Big Three talks with a solution of Britain's own Persian and Egyptian problems already chalked up to the new Government's credit."

Mr. Churchill is an experienced politician and he has a much stronger hold on the Permanent Officials at the British Foreign Office which, being conservative to the core, had betrayed the Labour Government times without number in its deals with the oriental nations. But with all his skill he would have his work cut out in fencing with Nemesis.

The latest development in the Iranian oil imbroglio is given in the following news-item that recently appeared in the daily press:

"The U.S.A. has urged Britain and Persia to agree to a stop-gap plan for moving 2m tons of stored Persian oil to the West.

American officials said the State Department had suggested this to the Persian Premier, Dr. Mossadig, as part of a "blueprint" for resuming direct talks between the Persians and the British on the oil problem.

The State Department was said to have taken the stand that Persia and Britain should agree to start moving at least the refined oil now stored in giant tanks on the Persian coast even before they sit down to iron out their dispute.

About 2m tons, worth \$40m on Western markets, is involved. The oil includes high-grade aviation fuel, petrol, paraffin, diesel oil and other petroleum products.

Emphasis on an early "stop-gap" agreement was reported to be based on the belief that, even if the

British and Persian authorities could reach agreement on a detailed plan to operate the Persian fields, it would be weeks or months before it could be put into effect.

Mr. McDermott, State Department Press Officer, declined to comment on the report.

Teheran Radio last night warned "the people in Washington" that they should "understand they have not only to deal with Premier Mossadig now, but with 18m persons who absolutely stand by their decision."

The Government-owned radio, in what it called an 'official broadcast,' referred to the negotiations now going on in Washington between Dr. Mossadig and the American Government on the Anglo-Persian oil dispute. It said the U.S.A. should know that any kind of agreement 'which allows the British to make oil profits' was contrary to the Persian oil nationalization law and, therefore, unacceptable.

'We still insist that we should sell our oil directly to the consumers,' the radio declared."

The Egyptian Tangle

With regard to Egypt, Mr. Churchill will have a somewhat less besmirched record to contend with. But all the same there is the same long chain of frustration of the hopes of nationalists, the same record of evasion by questionable diplomatic tactics of the real aspirations of the children of the soil towards economic liberation. Mr. Churchill's group are far more skilled tacticians but they have now to face the ultimate crisis as the following news-item depicts:

"The Egyptian Government has officially informed the British Ambassador, Sir Ralph Stevenson, in a Note that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and the Sudan Condominium Agreement 'have henceforth ceased to be in force,' thus ending the authorization accorded to Britain to maintain troops in the Suez Canal.

British interference in Sudan affairs should also cease forthwith the Note said.

The Note, addressed by the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Salah el Din Pasha, to Sir Ralph, was released by the Egyptian Government last night.

It said: 'I have the honour to communicate to Your Excellency copies in the French language of the legislative Acts passed by the Egyptian Parliament, which have been published in the official journal, as well as the full text of the declaration made by the President of the Council of Ministers before the two Chambers of Parliament on this occasion and which served as an explanatory memorandum to the said legislative Acts.

'As a result of these measures the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Kingdom of Egypt and Britain, signed in London on August 28, 1936, the Convention relating to immunities and in view of the fact that the Convention was accorded thus far to British forces in Egypt

signed on the same day, as well as the Conventions of January 1 and July 10, 1899, relating to the administration of the Sudan, have henceforth ceased to be in force.

'Denunciation of the Treaty of 1936 necessarily entails, among other consequences, the cessation of the alliance between Egypt and Britain and the authorization accorded to the latter to establish forces in the vicinity of the Suez Canal—forces which can no longer be in Egypt except in opposition to the expressed will of the Egyptian people, Parliament and Government—which undeniably constitutes a forced and consequently illegal occupation of the country.

'Furthermore, denunciation of the Conventions of January and July, 1899, terminates the provisional administrative regime established in the Sudan by virtue of the said Conventions.

'This double denunciation of the 1936 Treaty and the 1899 Conventions once more restores to the Sudan the status which existed before the British occupation and which was falsified by the very fact of this occupation. Consequently, any interference by the English in the affairs of the Sudan must cease immediately and only the natural unity which has linked Egypt and the Sudan since time immemorial shall remain.'

The Egyptian Government simultaneously released the text of another Note addressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the British Embassy.

The Note, dated October 27, was in reply to Notes from the Embassy, dated October 16 and 19 protesting against recent incidents in the Canal zone.

The Ministry refers the Embassy to its own letter dated October 16, which itself protested against parades by British forces which 'provoked the feelings of the population.'

The Ministry does not exclude 'the theory that acts of violence' may have been committed by a populace thus provoked, but stresses that no complaint has so far been lodged with the Egyptian authorities by the persons who allegedly suffered from these acts.

But the Note charges British forces 'with having indiscriminately fired with rifles and machine-guns for many hours on the public in Canal towns, killing and wounding a considerable number of innocent persons, including children and policemen.'

The Note said there were no victims among British military personnel or civilians."

Egypt wants control over the Suez Canal and complete freedom of action in the Middle East. This we can understand. But when the question comes to the control of the Sudan, the position is somewhat complicated. The Sudanese are not Egyptians, at least a large section of the population. It is true that the control of the Nile waters in Sudan is of vital importance to Egypt. But so is the control of oil in Persia to Britain or to Russia. We could understand friendly

bilateral negotiations with the Sudanese, we can hardly relish the demand for the handing over of the Sudan to Egypt. As such we consider the following move, as reported in the daily press, justifiable under the circumstances:

"The Sudan Constitutional Commission has asked the U.N. to send an international commission to the Sudan to supervise the latter's constitutional development.

It has also suggested that the U.N. Commission should advise the Sudanese on setting up a Constituent Assembly to exercise self-determination in or before December 1953, under U.N. supervision.

The request was made in a telegram, the text of which was released here last night.

The telegram referred to the abrogation by Egypt of the 1936 Treaty and the 1899 Agreement and said: 'Although Britain maintains that the Treaty and Agreement are still in force, yet we feel that Condominium rule in the Sudan has virtually ceased to exist and a long-term control by the one remaining Condominium will lay the country open to outside interference, thereby hampering its constitutional development, which may endanger peace and order.

The Sudan Commission consists of 13 members, one of whom did not sign the telegram.

A Sudan Government spokesman today denied report that the Sudan Government intervened to prevent despatch of the telegram. He said these reports were untrue."

Quite apart from Iran or Egypt there are a whole host of other complications in the Middle East situation. Indeed in the light of the following press report the control of the Mediterranean is not beyond question, where the British are concerned:

The Spanish Falange newspaper *Arriba*, which has always sponsored the demand of Gibraltar to Spain, again raised this question when commenting on the British election results.

After asking "what will be the Conservative attitude regarding foreign policy," the newspaper said: "Britain will have to give way to many of her positions she has held during her brilliant past if she wants to keep the same friends in the world."

"Throughout the world the British Foreign Office is confronted with the problem of knowing if the simplest way of preserving its Gibaltars may not precisely be that of abandoning them. 'To do so of one's own accord is more dignified than to be thrown out'."

India and Churchill's Government

Turning to ourselves, we have little more to add to what has been given *supra*. The following press report cabled from London, displays a fairly accurate viewpoint:

* The *London Times* in a review of overseas reactions to Mr. Churchill's return to office today said that the

misgivings which are expressed in India "need to be studied more carefully."

It added: "There is frank disappointment (in India) at the departure of Labour from office, based on the fact that it was a Labour Government that granted the demand for independence, which Conservative Governments in early years had resisted.

"This feeling ought in time to cure itself as it becomes obvious and uncontestable that all parties in Britain desire to preserve the free basis of the Commonwealth partnership."

The *Times* said that not all countries could be expected to welcome the return of Mr. Churchill without reserve. Those that nurse national aspirations against Britain or that have not forgotten aspirations nursed in the past show less enthusiasm.

Referring to Egypt, the paper said the Egyptian Government had "indeed already embroiled itself so badly with the Labour Government that the change can hardly bring any increase of tension."

"In general, the prospect of a more powerful British voice in world affairs does not seem to be unpalatable to the world."

But apart from national aspirations, there are the questions of honouring debts and engagements entered into by the Labour Government. Much of the good will and good faith engendered in this country, despite a record of ruthless exploitation and repression, was due to the readiness of the Labour Government to recognise justifiable claims. Mr. Churchill's party during all its long history has left a black record of broken faith. Mr. Churchill's false claim—how false we all know who are still suffering the consequences of the miserable record of British failures in 1942 and 1943 in India and Burma—for scaling down the sterling balances on the fictitious grounds of "protection," may cause an upsetting of all the good-will accumulated during the past four years. That such an apprehension is not groundless may be seen from the following press comment that appeared recently in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

"Britain and Pakistan's abnormally increased purchases from America have put the entire sterling area in difficulty. There was a surplus of 54 million dollars in the second quarter of the current year, which has been turned into a deficit of 638 million dollars in the third quarter of the current year by enhanced dollar consumption by Pakistan and Britain, thus causing anxiety to the entire sterling area.

But as pointed out above, the change in the Government of Britain is not likely to make a fundamental change in the dollar pool arrangement. Some difficulty might however be expected on the question of India's sterling balances in view of Mr. Churchill's repeated demands in the past for a scale-down on the ground that Britain protected India during the second world war by the debt it piled up.

But even in the sterling balances issue, the Conser-

vatives cannot make substantial change because of the agreements already arrived at while Labour was in power.

It was in 1947, when Indian balance stood at 1160 million pounds, that India agreed to a partial blocking and freezing to help out a prostrate Britain. Now the entire remaining amount of 643 million pounds stands unblocked and unfrozen on account of agreement, yet unsigned, made last month.

Out of the 643 million left, India will withdraw 210 million over a period of six years in connection with the Colombo Plan. 90 million were free balance anyway because they were freshly earned.

310 million are shifted from number two blocked account to number one free account, but India proposes to keep this amount as currency reserve.

Thus only 33 million pounds remain before the whole balance is cleared in coming six years. Mr. Churchill can argue about only this amount, and even that is not likely in view of India's touchiness on the subject."

Vinoba Bhave's Tour

We have been keeping our readers informed of the "walking" tour of Acharya Vinoba Bhave through Central and certain parts of Northern India. Receiving gifts of land and distributing it among landless people is one of the objects of this tour. The land gifted hitherto cannot be more than two lakh acres, about six lakh *bighas*. This is a drop of water in the ocean, adding not much to the ocean's volume. The land problem in India is a bigger thing materially. But Acharya Vinoba's tour is significant of a spiritual renewal that is of infinite value in our frustrated country.

He has taken up the burden which Gandhiji has left unfinished—to make our people self-reliant and self-sufficient in the essential needs of life. His plea for land-gifts expresses in different language what Gandhiji had said that in India the Lord must appear as food, drink and raiment. He recognizes that a revolution in the use of land must take place if modern civilization is to be saved. The Soviet Union has done it in one way; the United States in another. Vinobaji indicates another way, the right way, as he feels, the way that is in consonance with India's spirit and practice. The giving of food is a duty, the man who makes gift of land is a public benefactor; he keeps a family or families satisfied with food for their earthly life. Not by the compulsion of law but out of conviction of the justice of freeing oneself of a portion of land in his possession is the Indian way of life.

This is the gist of the speech that Vinobaji delivered on Gandhiji's birth anniversary on October 2 last at Saugor in Madhya Pradesh. May his labour bear fruit in increasing the people's awareness to the needs of their material and spiritual life!

Egypt and Britain

We are indebted to the British Information Services for the following summary regarding the relations between Egypt and Britain. We have taken excerpts from the brochure, released by the B.I.S., and arranged them in order to give a complete historical and political picture. The present situation is as follows:

"In law, Anglo-Egyptian relations rest at present upon the Treaty of Alliance signed between the two countries in 1936. At the request of the Egyptian Government, negotiations for revision of the treaty's terms have taken place at various times since 1945, notably in 1946-47, but have broken down. On November 20, 1950, the U. K. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bevin, in a statement to the House of Commons declared, with reference to Egyptian demands for a revision of the 1936 Treaty, that the U. K. Government had always desired to settle outstanding differences with Egypt in a spirit of friendship. The United Kingdom however had no intention of agreeing to any measures which would leave the Middle East defenceless, or prejudice the right of the people of the Sudan freely to decide their own future.

The visit to London of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Salah ud Din Bey, in November-December, 1950, to discuss Egyptian sterling balances, gave an opportunity for an exchange of views between the Egyptian and United Kingdom Governments on Anglo-Egyptian relations in general. This was followed in April 1951 by fresh proposals by the British Government for revision of the 1936 Treaty but they were turned down. After a further exchange of notes, Mr. Morrison made an important speech in the House of Commons on July 30 in which he again invited Egypt to co-operate in the interests of Middle East defence and world security. This statement was misconstrued by the Egyptian Government and the Press and despite personal messages sent by Mr. Morrison to the Egyptian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to reconsider their attitude, the Egyptian Premier formally announced the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty and the 1899 Sudan Condominium Agreement."

The historical sequence is given in a concise form as follows:

"From its conquest by the Turks in 1517 until the first Great War, Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire, although its status was profoundly altered during the last century of the period. In 1805 Mohammed Ali, an Albanian soldier of fortune who had served with distinction in two campaigns for the liberation of Egypt from the French, was appointed Viceroy by the Sultan. In 1831 he rebelled against the Turks but complete success was prevented by the intervention of the Great Powers. Mohammad Ali Pasha was, however, recognised by the Sultan as hereditary Vizir of Egypt and Governor of "Nubia, Sennar, Kordofan and Darfur," provinces in the Sudan which he had conquered in 1820-22 on behalf of Turkey.

Mohammad Ali's successors were Abbas I (1849-54), Sa'id (1854-63) and Ismail (1863-80). The construction of the Suez Canal was begun under Sa'id and finished in 1869 under Ismail, who had secured the title of Khedive of Egypt from the Sultan in 1867. The schemes of modernisation which had been initiated by Mohammad Ali were continued by Ismail Pasha but his extravagances were such that, by 1876, he was bankrupt and eventually accepted Franco-British Missions to control his revenues and expenditures in order to secure the interests of Egypt's foreign bond-holders. In 1879 he rebelled against the "Dual Control" and in the outcome his deposition in favour of his son Taufiq was obtained from the Sultan.

Taufiq Pasha was almost immediately faced with a rebellion led by the nationalist military leader, Ahmed Arabi Pasha, which resulted in serious disorders and loss of European and Egyptian lives. At the suggestion of France an Anglo-French naval squadron was sent to Alexandria in early 1882 to protect European interests. Later the French withdrew and, Italy also declining to co-operate, it was left to Great Britain to suppress the disorder. In July 1882, all other means of quelling the revolt having been in vain, the forts of Alexandria were bombarded by the British fleet. Two months later, with the agreement of the Khedive Taufiq, British troops were landed at Ismailia on the Canal, Arabi's forces were defeated at Tell-el Kebir and Cairo was occupied. The Dual Control was abolished in 1883, Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) became Consul-General, the Egyptian Army was disbanded and a new army was organised under British Staff officers.

The conquest of the Sudan under Mohammad Ali had been continued and extended by Ismail. Maladministration, however, resulted in a revolt with a fanatical religious background under Mohammad Ahmad of Dongola, who styled himself the Mahdi, or divinely-appointed Guide. By 1885 the Dervishes under the Mahdi had gained control of most of the Sudan and all Egyptian troops which it was possible to withdraw had left the country. Egypt's dependence upon the Nile waters and the expansionist policy of French colonisation in the direction of the upper reaches in the Southern Sudan were major factors in a decision to reconquer the country, but the financial state of Egypt and the condition of her new army prohibited any attempt until 1896. The Dervishes were completely defeated by a combined British and Egyptian force under Lord Kitchener at Omdurman in 1898, and, in the following year, an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was set up in the country."

The entry of Egypt in world economics was marked by the opening of the Suez Canal. Britain's control came thus:

"The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 underlined and added to Egypt's international importance. In 1888 the status of the Canal was regulated by an international convention under which the principal Powers and Turkey had a general responsibility for the maintenance

of its security. The actual military measures were to be taken by Egypt 'within the limit of her resources,' of failing that by her suzerain, Turkey, whose obligations in this respect were assumed by Great Britain in 1914.

A further asset to the development and prosperity of Egypt was the joint Anglo-French Declaration of 1904. It acknowledged Britain's special position in Egypt and included a Khedivial Decree abolishing the foreign control of Egyptian finances which had been in force since 1875."

Then came the Independence Movement under Zaghlul Pasha. The sequence of events was as follows:

"In 1914, when Turkey came into the war on the side of the Central Powers, the U.K. Government declared Egypt to be a British Protectorate and Turkish suzerainty to be at an end. At the same time the title of the ruler of Egypt was changed from that of Khedive to Sultan. This act was confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

From 1914 to 1917 the nationalist movement remained dormant under the stress of war conditions, but, in the latter year, when the signs of an ultimate British victory became apparent, insistent demands led by Zaghlul Pasha and his new political movement the Wafd, arose for Egyptian independence and for representation at the Peace Conference; demands which eventually led to widespread anti-British disturbances.

A Mission under Lord Milner which visited Egypt at the end of 1919 produced a report in the following year making recommendations for the future of the country, which was not, however, fully acceptable to the United Kingdom Government. In 1922, on the insistence of Lord Allenby, who had become High Commissioner in April 1919, a British Declaration of Policy for Egypt was approved by the United Kingdom Government. This terminated the Protectorate and Egypt was declared to be an independent sovereign state. The Declaration was a unilateral instrument and in it certain matters were reserved for later settlement; they were (i) the security of British imperial communications, (ii) the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression, (iii) the protection of foreign interests and of minorities, and (iv) the Sudan. Although Egypt did not accept the policy, the Sultan Fuad proclaimed himself King on March 15, 1922, and the work of drafting a constitution was begun. In 1923 an Egyptian constitution was adopted on the basis of a constitutional monarchy and a democratic parliamentary regime.

Early in 1924, Zaghlul Pasha who had become the Prime Minister under the new constitution after the elections in January of that year, negotiated without success for a settlement of outstanding questions with the British Government. The obstacle to agreement was the Sudan.

Three later attempts to conclude a Treaty failed before the international situation was changed in 1935 by the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The British garrison

was strengthened and additional troops were stationed on the Libyan frontier. At the instance of King Fuad an all-party "United Front" was formed in December 1935 and a Treaty was signed by a delegation headed by Nahas Pasha in London in August 1936. In May 1937 Egypt, sponsored by Great Britain, was admitted to the League of Nations.

The duration of the Treaty was fixed at twenty years, but after ten years negotiations might, with the consent of both parties, be undertaken for revision."

Since September 1950, a series of discussions have taken place between London and Cairo on important questions regarding Anglo-Egyptian relations, and a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. These were conducted in a cordial atmosphere at the start but tension grew after the last proposal for the revision of the treaty was presented to the Egyptian Government by the British Ambassador in Cairo on the 13th April of this year. Then followed some ineffective moves.

On August 6, Salah ud Din Bey, Foreign Minister, announced the Egyptian Government's determination to abrogate the 1936 Treaty and ascribed to Mr. Morrison the direct responsibility for the breakdown in negotiations. On August 7, the British Foreign Office strongly denied that Mr. Morrison's statement carried the implication ascribed to it by the Egyptian Foreign Minister. On August 18, Mr. Morrison sent personal messages to the Egyptian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister pointing out the dangers of the international situation, particularly in the Middle East, and urging the Egyptian Government to reconsider the whole position realistically while there was still an opportunity for settlement.

Events followed in quick succession and on the night of October 8, the Egyptian Premier formally announced the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty and the 1899 Condominium Agreement.

Control of Sudan and the upper reaches of the Nile is one of the main problems.

"The Sudan comprises just under a million square miles, and contains an estimated population of just over eight million inhabitants. The northern boundary was drawn at the 22nd parallel of latitude in the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of January 19, 1899, which placed the Sudan under an Anglo-Egyptian condominium. The southern boundary, drawn provisionally along a line east to west from Lake Rudolf to the White Nile, divided the Sudan from the British Protectorate of Uganda, and was modified in 1914 by an exchange of territories with Uganda, which gave the Sudan control of the whole stretch of the White Nile navigable from Khartoum.

Geographically and culturally the Sudan falls into two parts. North from latitude 12 degrees stretches a country of Savanna plain and desert, part of the great North African-Arabian Desert, inhabited by Hamitic and Arabic-speaking Muslims and culturally part of the Islamic world; while south is the Sudan proper, inhabited by negroid peoples in a primitive stage of pagan culture,

yet linked by tradition and the Nile to the riverain Arabs of the northern area. Many Sudanese are not racially or culturally akin to the Egyptians, and Islam, the religion of Egypt, is professed by a part only of the Sudanese people.

With the emergence of a militant Egyptian nationalist movement (the Wafd) in 1919 and the declaration of Egyptian independence, the political position in the Sudan changed. From that time onwards Egyptian political leaders of all parties insistently claimed the incorporation of the Sudan in an independent Egyptian State, based on the grounds of:

1. Egyptian political control 1821-1885;
2. The geographical unity of the Nile Basin as part of a single hydrological system;
3. Economic factors, such as the allocation of the Nile Water for irrigation; and the place of the Sudan as an outlet for Egypt's agricultural population."

Chinese Cultural Mission

A Chinese cultural mission, led by H. E. Ting Si-lin, Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs in China, arrived in Calcutta on Oct. 28 by an INA plane from Rangoon on its way to Delhi. The mission, first of its kind, to be sponsored by the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the Government of India, will leave for Delhi.

The 15-member mission, two delegates of which arrived earlier, includes two women—Madame Nyi Fei-chun, Assistant Secretary-General of the People's Relief Administration of China, of which Madame Sun Yat Sen is Chairman, and Miss Chow Shiao-yen, Professor of Vocal Department of the Conservatory of Shanghai. The delegation comprises scholars, scientists, writers and artists. During their six weeks' stay in India, they will visit places of historical, cultural and scientific interest.

Speaking to reporters at the aerodrome, the leader of the mission stressed the ancient cultural and economic ties between India and China. He hoped that the mission's visit would strengthen these links.

He also acknowledged the greetings of members of the Chinese community and said that he would meet them when he returned to Calcutta shortly.

We offer welcome to the mission. Our links with China in the cultural sphere are of two thousand years duration. We hope and the world hopes that this friendship will stand the stresses and strains that the world is undergoing now. Our philosophies, however ignored and effaced they might be by Western materialists, have provided our peoples with solace and fortitude in long-drawn trials over centuries. It is to be hoped that the same attitude towards life and friendship should unite us together in the face of aggression, oppression and schismatic forces.

Catholic Church and Communism

The daily press contained the following news item on October 29:

Pope Pius XII today published a letter to the Catholic Bishops and clergy of Czechoslovakia attacking the country's Communist Government for persecution of the Catholic faith.

"Christian doctrine has been iniquitously altered—that doctrine which alone is capable of cementing and reinforcing the fundamental principles of human society, of safeguarding the liberties of all and of leading the peoples, under the banner of true justice, to the tranquility of peace," he declared.

The letter, written in Latin, was the strongest direct attack yet made by the Pope on an East European Communist Government.

The Pope listed the means of persecution employed by the Czechoslovak Government, regarded here as representing the spearhead of the Communist attack on the Catholic Church.

He added: "It profoundly saddens us to know that you are reduced to such a sorrowful condition.

"It is known to us that the Catholic religion at present is deprived of its legitimate liberty or is so impeded by difficulties of every kind as to prevent it almost entirely from exercising all its functions.

"We know that there are amongst you Bishops who have been imprisoned or flung into concentration camps or confined to their residences or subjected to incessant surveillance and control even in the exercise of their proper functions."

The Pope's Apostolic letter was the first formal Vatican attack on the Czechoslovak Government since last March, when the Consistorial Congregation, one of the principal organs of Church Government excommunicated all Communist Ministers who had taken part in the persecution of Catholics as well as all priests who collaborated with them.

Persecution on the grounds of religion is a mediaeval evil which flared up in the Slavonic countries, in the pogroms of Jews, during the end of the last century and continued till the first World War. Then came the vast-scale genocide measures of Hitler. It seems the virus still remains, though in a modified and curtailed form in Eastern Europe. Else there could not be such a declaration from one whose very station is one of peace and goodwill on earth.

Deadlock in Korea

The U.N. and Communist truce talks delegates began discussing at Panmunjon the actual demarcation of a cease-fire line but their proposals agreed only in part.

An Allied communiqué said that the Communist version of the line of contact between the combatants was at places two or three miles south of the U.N. one—a series of points where Allied troops met Communist fire in the past 24 hours.

In places the Communist proposed demarcation

line was identical with the Allied one but the Communists insisted on Allied withdrawal from 95 per cent of the front as a basis for a cease-fire.

The communiqué said this would require the Allies to give up some defence points on the battle front.

The U.N. spokesman, Brig-Gen. Nuckols, said that there was no sign of any Communist departure from their planned line. When newspapermen asked if the U.N. proposals were final, he replied "no."

He said that the line the Allies proposed was subject to "minor modifications, revisions or refinements."

After 3 hours of talking and examining maps and diagrams, the U.N. and Communist delegations adjourned until 11 a.m. (Korean time) October 29.

The U.N. negotiator, Maj-Gen Hodges, said that the delegations had been unable to agree which side controlled some hills and the river line.

The latest news, at the time of going to the press, was slightly more hopeful, although there is much pessimism due to the unstable nature of the negotiators on the other side and mutual suspicion still ruling high.

Doctor Katju as Central Minister

The appointment of Doctor Katju as the Centre's Law Minister, with temporary charge of the Home Ministry, was an unexpected move on the part of the Nehru Ministry. He succeeds two men—Doctor Bhimrao Ambedkar and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari—whom he does not resemble in any way. Doctor Bhimrao is aggressively offensive having suffered from the obscurantism and narrowness of Hindu society. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari is too subtle for the general public which accounts for his unpopularity. Doctor Katju, gentle by nature and his training, brings to his new position a sobriety and respect for the opposite point of view that have earned him the appreciation of diverse peoples. It may happen that he will be able to ease the uneasiness caused by recent legislation suppressive of what have come to be known as "civil rights," the liberty of the individual and institutions. People are being taught that dictatorship pays immediate dividends in that the Nehru Government have been taking over powers that work towards dictatorship. This reading of the situation in India may be right or wrong. But we have a certain feeling that Doctor Katju will be able to assuage these feelings of fear and anger by his sweet reasonableness, that he will disprove the insinuation implicit in the words—"Nehru's man."

West Bengal's Governors

Since August 15, 1947, there have been four Governors in West Bengal—Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Brojendralal Mitra, Doctor Kailash Nath Katju and Doctor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee. The last-named has taken charge from Doctor Katju on November 1, 1951.

We have often felt that constant changes like these have an injurious effect on the people's interests. Except Brojendralal Mitra who held the post for too short a period and on a *pro-tem* basis, the three others are still with us. The requirements of all-India politics have made these changes look necessary. But we differ.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari managed to live down the prejudice against him as the first Congress leader to accept and publicly support the Pakistan idea and plan. The keenness of his intellect and his insight into India's life, ancient and modern, appeared to have helped this renovation. The pioneers of India's modern Renaissance, as the Bengalis claim to be and are accepted as such the world over, appreciated his sense of values, material and cultural, and he was settling down to helping to make up the loss caused by the partition of India.

Doctor Kailash Nath Katju has held with dignity the post in a problem-ridden province. For three years he has by his easy availability, by his equable temper, been able to make himself widely popular. His intellectual interests are wide, more modern than ancient, and the way in which he expressed these in speeches and articles in the Press, has done not a little to make his position easy with a people who have a respect for things of the mind and spirit.

His successor, Doctor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, shares his immediate predecessor's interests. As an educationist who started life in the City College, built up by Shibnath Sastri, Ananda Mohan Bose amongst others of the leaders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, he has rendered distinguished service to the Calcutta University as a teacher of English and as its benefactor. His gifts of money to it total more than half-a-million rupees. As Deputy Chairman of India's Constituent Assembly, as a member of the Central Legislature, Doctor Mookerjee has done not a little to act as the "member" for all minority interests in our State. As a leader of Christian community he follows the traditions associated with names as notable as Krishna Mohan Bannerjee, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, in Bengal.

These traditions are not easy to follow. But Doctor Mookerjee will be able to face the situation having learnt the skill from his life-long career as an educator of youth. The generation to which he belonged has few representatives left to share his burden. His students, however, are many, and we have no doubt that they will do their best to make his regime as successful as any of his predecessors. Many will cluster round him as the custodian of honour. Many of them will claim his attention to their particular institutions or plans. His wife who had never cared for the lime-light, will have her peace and leisure disturbed. But we have no doubt that she will prove herself equal to the new duties as she was in her domestic life.

We wish success to both of them who, in the evening of life, have been called by Providence to lead a frustrated people to a new self-respect and self-confidence. A point has been raised that the post he holds is or should be generally reserved for public men of provinces other than the natives. For about five years this experiment has been tried. Why not make "a new departure" and test whether or not "a native" prove a better Pradesh-pal? We are for breaking new ground, and have never believed in sticking to the beaten track. We acclaim his appointment.

Shree Achhruram's Resignation

This gentleman was Chief Justice of the East Punjab High Court. He is a "refugee," so to say, and the sight of their sufferings appear to have moved him to agree to take the burden of solving the refugee property problem as Custodian-General. His duties appear to be partly judicial and partly executive. For reasons which Shree Jawaharlal Nehru's skilful advocacy have not been able to explain, Shree Achhruram had been driven in disgust to resign. The Nehru plea was that the Custodian-General had been unwilling to carry out the orders of the Government. And for this crime he was called upon to resign. This Shree Achhruram has done.

But the end of it is not in sight. What has come to be known as the Chhatriwala affair has left a "horrible" taste in the mouth, to quote the *Leader's* words. We summarize from the *Delhi Vigil*, Acharya Kripalani's weekly, the issues of the case:

"Briefly, the Government's case is that the step has been taken not as a result of the particular verdict that Shri Achhruram gave in the Chhatriwala Revision Appeal last month, but because 'the Government feel they cannot safely act upon your advice or rely upon the fair interpretation of orders issued on your advice.' This want of confidence is sought to be traced to an earlier decision in the same case last year when Shri Achhruram dismissed it with an observation that it would have been covered by the clause (a) of the Notification if it had retrospective effect. The Government tried to rescue Chhatriwala not by amending the Act itself but by issuing, while the matter was still *sub judice* in the Punjab High Court, a no-objection certificate which Shri Achhruram has now held, cannot have any mandatory effect on the Custodian."

The Government case has been explained as follows:

"The Minister of Rehabilitation, Shree Ajit Prasad Jain, cited previous cases of the Meos and post-Delhi-Pact beneficiaries returning from Pakistan to whom properties were automatically restored by executive fiat. But what is not mentioned is the fact that while in those cases there was no question of anybody contesting the claims of those returning migrants, in the case of Chhatriwala there are actual parties, including the representatives of the displaced persons so vitally interested in the general pool, who have challenged his right to restoration of his large properties so long as he has

not satisfied the Custodian that he has really settled in India."

We do not believe that the Nehru Ministry is so foolish as to believe that Chhatrivala and his tribe of Pakistanis are agreeable to reside in India and be her citizens. These migrants have made their out-and-in movements into a fine art, and the Nehru plea is being negated almost every day by these people. The ugliest aspect of the affair is the part played by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. In a reception held in his honour by certain citizens of Delhi the ex-Custodian-General made certain startling disclosures which, if true, are "a grave indictment of the way influence, bribery and down-right betrayal of India's own interests operate to circumvent the application of the Evacuee Properties Legislation to those who have chosen to enjoy the secular sun of India as well as make hay under the Islamic sun of Pakistan. Shree Achharam has openly alleged that chits of *Safarash* are freely issued by men in power and even an ex-Razakar, suspected of complicity in six murders, could get away with what was practically a fraud on the State." He further "accused the leaders of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* of interfering in the day-to-day functioning of the Custodian's Department. The *summum bonum* of his contention was that there is a concerted effort to dissipate the general pool of Evacuee Properties."

Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan

Right-minded people the world over has expressed with one voice their sense of loss at the murder of Pakistan's Prime Minister. This has been regarded by many as the second sacrifice to the division of India, the first being Gandhi. We share this grief with the citizens of a State that was but the other day a part of India. Liaquat Ali had and could claim many friends in the State which Pakistanis regard as a rival to their glory and power. But death does for the time being erase all enmities, and it is in this spirit that we tender our condolences to the Lady who shared Liaquat Ali's life and labour, and to her young son and daughter. May her love bring them consolation and strength to fight life's battles!

Whatever his actions were *vis-a-vis* India, there can be no doubt that Liaquat Ali Khan had dedicated himself without any reserve in the cause of his beloved Pakistan. His efforts at the helm of affairs of that State, after the passing of the Quaid-e-Azam evoked the admiration of friend and foe alike. And we have to admit that in the choice of men for key-posts in his government, he had displayed far more ability than his opposite number in India.

Pakistan's New Rulers

Khawjah Nazimuddin has chosen to change places with Pakistan's Finance Minister, Janab Ghulam Mohammad, coming down from the exalted position of Governor-General of Pakistan. We do not read any

motives in this change-over. From certain points of view, the Khawjah Sahib has chosen the post of danger; his successor, a mild-mannered man is thought more fit for the ceremonial post. Speculations have become very busy with the names of Feroze Khan Noon and Abdur Rab Nishtar who, it was feared, might cause mischief to the abiding interests of Pakistan.

But this is a temporary arrangement. The Nawab of Bhopal, an old and consistent supporter of the Pakistan idea, has sought and found asylum at Karachi where his wealth will consolidate his position as a claimant to honour and power in Pakistan which he had helped to create. He will prefer to be Governor-General with its pomp and ceremony, with allegiance to the British Crown; the added inducement being old associations with British Society in capital letters, and the wider political influence that would be available to the Nawab Sahib. Khawjah Nazimuddin's position will remain unassailable as long as the family to which he owes his greatness remains intact in their basic affiliations to the forces of East Bengal's rising middle class. This consideration alone strengthens the position of East Bengal Muslims in the sharing of the profits out of the new State.

Experts say that Liaquat Ali has been assassinated owing to the "restraining" influence that he used to exert. Khawjah Nazimuddin possesses the qualities of sobriety and patience that have made for his success in politics. These would not fail him now. So, his appeal to India's Prime Minister has struck the peaceful note. But his reference to Kashmir has marred the object in view. It constitutes a problem that would baffle all human attempts at settlement as long as Pakistanis swear by the "two-nations" theory and all the abominations that have followed its trail. When they cannot accept even the Graham recommendations, we must be prepared for a continuance of the stale-mate.

Even the support of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar will not help them. Our ex-Law Minister has said nothing new in his election-eye proposal that Kashmir be divided. There has been his long-cherished belief that Hindus and Muslims cannot long remain contented citizens of one State, and in his pre-partition book, he had suggested more in disgust than out of conviction of its sanity that the Muslims of India should be allowed to have their State.

Khawjah Nazimuddin will have to find out other solutions. And we hope that his colleagues, Bengali and non-Bengali, will help him find these. Lord Mountbatten had sported with the idea of "association." The great Quaid-e-Azam had rejected it out of hand. There are other variants of inter-State relation that it is possible to suggest. But these can be made only when the new rulers of Pakistan learn to cultivate a spirit of accommodation, the spirit of "let live" which foreign observers have credited the mild Hindu with. We wait for its dawn.

Racial Conflicts

The *Theosophist* of October last has an article that attempts to explain the genesis of the present tension between races, between States which are the organized expression and instrument of these races. The article is entitled—"Fifth and Sixth Sub-Race conflicts." And the writer takes the help of Theosophic terminology to press home his argument. In Mrs. Besants' writings we remember to have read of the coming dominance of the "Yellow" races before which "White" supremacy would go down. The opening lines of the article are a variant of that language—"Qualities of the coming sixth sub-race are already much in evidence--those of the creative imagination and intuition. They are developing quite numerously in the United States, as well as other countries."

Further, Dr. Annie Besant notes some of the qualities of the sixth sub-race types. ("Sermon on the Sixth Sub-Race," printed in the *Liberal Catholic* of June, 1927). "They are very quick to appreciate a truth, rather impatient of explanation and argument, but with clearly defined ideas of what he or she ought to do, or ought to permit. It is not reached laboriously through meditation unselfish service, reverence, devotion, etc. In other words, the qualities mentioned are all present but are transcended by a superior co-ordination which seems to be second-nature and spontaneous. Even in extreme youth these types have an extraordinary capacity to distinguish right from wrong and are able to guide themselves in a way which at times are disconcerting to their elders, parents, teachers and associates. These types do not seem to follow logical procedures but assert direct vision against the slower logical processes."

If there be anything in this statement the present struggle is a decree of Fate against which human wisdom is of little value.

East African Prospects

The sinister shadow of Dr. Daniel Malan's racist policy, as directed against all non-white peoples in the African Continent generally and against peoples living south of the Equator, threatens to make itself felt in East Africa. There also as in the South African Union the Indian community serves as the point of attack. Not because they are vicious but because they are successful, and because the whites are afraid of their competition; they are afraid that the native Africans will follow their example and claim equality with the whites in their home-lands also.

Lord Tweedmouth, better known to us as Wedgewood Benn, Secretary of State for India in Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour Government, was responsible more than any other British Labour politician for the liberal and democratic principles in the India Bill (1932-35) which later on were sabotaged by the

Conservative Party-dominated National Government. Wedgewood Benn made room for Samuel Hoare. With this political tradition we are not surprised that he should be found backing the claims of Indians, resident in East Africa, and we gladly make room for his words:

"Numerically far the fewest are the Europeans. But it is by their efforts that the vast proportion of the development has taken place, and to them is due in great measure the standard of living which the African enjoys."

Then there is the Asian community a good deal larger in numbers, who cover an enormous bracket of commerce and Government service. And then there are the tribes of Africa, vastly larger than the other two communities put together. All these make up the people of East Africa.

Of the three territories, Kenya is the longest settled by Europeans. Because the majority of the European community live together in one big tract of land and derive their living, directly, or indirectly, from the soil, they have a close identity of outlook. It is a far more moderate outlook than when I visited the country previously.

Uganda, by comparison, has but a handful of European planters. The European in Uganda is engaged on the work of Government or commerce. He does not own land and the territory is not home to him in the same sense that it is to the Kenya settler.

In Tanganyika, the European settlers, deriving from half the races of Europe, are numerous, but their areas of settlement are widely scattered. Thus you do not get the same identity of European outlook that you find in Kenya.

A curious prejudice and misconception surrounded the word "settler" or "planter." The sympathy that is felt for the British farmer in Britain is strangely withheld from the British farmer in the tropics. As regards the European settler in East Africa, he is only too often regarded in Britain as a man who snatched his land from a large and thriving native community.

In sober fact, the vast majority of the European farmers were settled many years back, when most of the land had few, if any, African inhabitants. That the land is now productive is due to the toil of the settler and his predecessors. There is no farmer in the world who makes a good living without hard work.

But now the farmer and the planter are coming into their own in East Africa. By contrast, it is, with the mounting cost of living, a hard time with the salary-earner. In the three East African capitals the wives of nearly all the members of the European commercial community and of all but the highest-paid Government officials have to take jobs unless they have private means.

The Indian community is firmly and prosperously entrenched in East Africa. More and more its members are tending to make their homes there, and not to look to retirement in their mother country.

They cover an enormous spread of commerce, all the way from the ubiquitous retail shopkeeper, a trade in which they possess a virtual monopoly, to such a large-scale enterprise as the Kakira sugar factory in Uganda. Some Moslem families have been settled for more than a century in the coastal belt.

The African, on his part, steadily increases in numbers. In the sphere of Government, Kenya and Tanganyika have notable African debaters on their legislative councils. In Kenya, Mahtu (educated at Balliol) leads the African members, and is an adroit Parliamentarian. In Tanganyika, another Oxford-educated African, the young chief Kidaha (of Lincoln) shows promise of being not only an able Parliamentarian, but a remarkable leader of his own people.

Lower down the pyramid of African Government the chief in many tribes is poised at a difficult point in a period of transition. He has a role somewhere between the old traditional idea of paternal African chieftainship and the status of a Civil Servant.

High commodity prices have made several tribes extremely rich. The people of Begishu, in Uganda, and Bukoba, in Tanganyika, are making large sums out of coffee. On the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro the Chagga tribe have a well-organised coffee marketing scheme. Sisal and tobacco have brought wealth to the people of Mwanza and Songea.

In the garnering of this wealth several peoples, like the Chaggas, have neglected the growing of food crops. They buy their food from the European farmers in the area.

In fact, in many parts of the territories you find the strange pattern emerging of the African growing the valuable export crop and the European farming the land and growing food for the African.

Fourteen years ago there was hardly such a thing as an African public opinion. No mechanism existed to make it possible. Now there are many African-language newspapers. The radio is also making its appearance."

"Problems of a Sub-Continent"

Under this title appeared an article in the May Number of *Courier*, organ of the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization. The writer Andre Siegfried is an outstanding interpreter of national cultures.

In this article this great French leader has confined himself to India's material deficiencies which requires a transformation that is "less urgent for Pakistan." It can not be delayed long by us, although our country

is already "great" in the industries of the modern world. The India of Gandhi has before it an insistent question. We will put it in his own words:

"Is the vitally needed technical revolution compatible either with the peasant and handicraft tradition, or with the requirements of the Hindu religion (or, in the case of Pakistan, with those of the Koran)? The tractor will bring into India's 700,000 villages methods of work which may profoundly disrupt rural life. And what of the handicraft worker on whom Gandhi, with his symbolic spinning wheel, had founded his entire patriotic and mystic resistance to the mechanical inroads of the West? Can we, moreover, disregard the fact that many reforms in hygiene and technology only too obviously contradict a ritual tradition to which the people are, for the most part, deeply attached?"

We may be tempted to see in this dilemma, thus put, a hint of superiority. But Siegfried is careful to deny the imputation. He is careful to say that "there is no question of superiority, since there is no proof that the West is superior, but rather one of efficiency" in the modern sense.

In the same number appeared an article on our neighbouring State entitled, "Pakistan—Spiritual Home and National Reality." The writer is Claude Levi-Strauss of the Sorbonne University. He refers to Pakistan's "most unusual characteristics"—a "spiritual home for all members of a single religious community regardless of their national origin." These explain "certain paradoxes"—bound up with Pakistan's "hope"—to bring together all the Moslems of pre-partition India, 40 million Moslems, scattered in other parts of the Sub-Continent. He did not bring the logic of this "hope" which lies at the roots of Indo-Pakistani conflict, that two philosophies are locked in a deadly embrace.

Pakistan's source of material wealth, Jute, the "golden fibre," is referred to as a monopoly of East Bengal which has to be exported for the world's use in its various forms. And Pakistan has other handicaps:

"A young nation founded on an ancient civilization, Pakistan like other nations of Asia or America, synthesizes in its problems the whole of human development. At one and the same time, it suffers and lives in our Middle Ages which its villages perpetuate; in our 18th and 19th centuries which its first attempts at industrialization reproduce; in our 20th century whose advantages it is determined to secure. . . ."

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's article in the same Number entitled, "The Culture of India," takes us to the past:

"For the greater part of a millennium, Indian culture and thought formed the guiding spirit in the intellectual and spiritual aspirations of the greater part of Asia—in what have been well called the lands of Greater India—Ceylon, which culturally is but a projection of India; Burma; the lands of Indo-China—particularly Siam, Cambodia and

Campa or Old Cochin China; and the islands of Indonesia; besides ancient Eastern Iran, Central Asia, and Tibet.

"The sister-civilization of China (supplying, with Indianism and Islam, one of the three main-springs of civilization in Asia), also received its full share of the Indian spirit through Buddhism, and passed it on to Korea and Japan and to Giao-Chi or Viet-Nam. Tibet developed the elements it received of Indian culture in her own way, and passed it on to Mongolia."

He takes care, however, to draw attention to the way in which India has reacted to the doings of the West during last two hundred years.

"Indianism has now entered a new phase—a force in 'the development of universal civilization and of man's humanistic conceptions.' Contact with the European mind at the beginning of the last century quickened the Indian intellect and brought about a renaissance of the Indian spirit. The scientific curiosity of the West established Orientalism Studies as intellectual disciplines besides the study of the Classical Humanities, and the attempt at a just estimate of the Indian contribution to human culture on the part of European savants filled Indian scholars with a spirit of emulation in understanding and appraising the bases of their own civilization. . . ."

The writer thinks it as an omen that in the West "the heaven of Indianism" is at work, and the "imaginative and emotional rationalism of Hinduism" will make contributions for which "both the heart and the intellect of the Modern Man everywhere is craving for."

"Cracks in the Kremlin Wall"

Dorothy Thompson, the famous U.S.A. columnist, has reviewed the above-named book in the *Reporter*. She has summarized the arguments and facts of the author, Edward Cranshaw. He is a historian, his first book was *Russia and the Russians*.

Dorothy Thompson uses a word—"empathy"—"the capacity to put oneself into the opponent's shoes"—a peculiar Americanism.

In the manner of modern historians, Cranshaw indicates the "historical experiences, geographical factors, religious influences, myths and folk-lore" that have contributed to make the Soviet people, "the way they are."

Cranshaw is pro-Russian, but anti-Communist, and in pressing home his points he traces beyond facts and ideologies, the "instrument, always a national character, which inevitably determines a nation's destiny—something rooted in unconscious and irrational forces." This has built up "a natural Russian way of life as there is a natural French, English, or American life"—"a way which, in Russia, has always accepted autocracy as the price of freedom."

"... Cranshaw finds Russians disposed toward anarchy. Because this is so, they accept autocracy. Anarchy is the absolute of freedom, and

the Russian is an absolutist. If he cannot have anarchy, which is absolute freedom, it does not matter what he has. And he cannot have anarchy; the Russian knows that as well as we do. So he washes his hands of the whole business of freedom and has an autocracy instead."

Cranshaw dissipates the popular impression that the Soviet rulers have been "operating according to a gigantic carefully blue-printed master-plan." The history of Russia's "expansionist" traditions are, however, of more immediate concern to the modern world. Here also there is a paradox:

"One of the many Russian paradoxes is that the most expansionist power in the world is also one of the least belligerent . . . Russia (has not) moral scruples about going to war" (hence the lack of any audience for our complaints of "aggression"), but "she does not like going to war."

And this "expansionist drive" is explained thus wise: "The Russian expansionist drive, Cranshaw finds, can be broken down into three aspects: the strategic, the economic, and the Messianic—the last having found a new expression in Marxian revolutionism. Russia's strategic expansion has been fostered by its physical occupation of the world's greatest plainland, and its birth in the small state of Muscovy in the midst of wide-open and highly vulnerable territory. Fear of encroaching peoples on the south, west, and east has led Russia to keep up a ceaseless outward pressure and "created the peculiar Russian method of defense by attack." In its central position on the vast Eurasian plain, the fear of encirclement was always a real fear, justified by much historical experience, to which Stalin (no less than other Czars) can expect a positive response from the Russian people."

The Cranshaw interpretation should assure the world that the Soviet rulers are not satanically inclined, that they do not possess "satanic powers." They are just human beings. It is Anglo-Saxon propaganda that have made attempts to represent them as devils.

"Great Mistakes of the War"

Mr. Hanson Baldwin is a noted U.S.A. commentator on military policy and tactics. During the last great war we used to read with profit his observations on the various war-fronts in the pages of the *Quarterly—Foreign Affairs*.

In these articles Mr. Baldwin has succumbed to the usual human failing of being wise after the event. His present thesis is like this—"... it would have been to the interest of Britain, the U.S. and the world to have allowed—and indeed to have encouraged—the world's two . . . dictatorships to fight each other to a frazzle." But why did they not do so? Public opinion would not have tolerated it, say they. We can well believe this when we found that Mr. Churchill promised help to the Soviet Union before she sought it, forgetting his prejudices.

But even detached observers have felt that the two dictatorships were alike in spirit and the "democracies" should not have had anything to do with their family quarrel.

Mr. Baldwin has developed doubts of the wisdom of Potsdam decisions. Concessions were made to Stalin to buy his help in knocking Japan out; he is sore that atom bombs should have dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. As a military expert and adviser who had access to the highest authorities in the great republic, Mr. Baldwin could have advised them. In a former issue of *The Modern Review* we have quoted from the *News-Week* of New York that President Truman ordered the use of the bomb for "political reasons." Did the military, either in the USA, or in Britain, oppose it? These questions should be answered before we can accept Mr. Baldwin's verdict.

The MacArthur Affair

In the last week of June, the world was rocked by the news that General MacArthur had been dismissed by President Truman. The political opponents of the party in power in the United States, the Republican Party, tried to make a mere party issue of this sensation. The Senate and the Lower House held elaborate enquiries, and the world's Press had the best news since the defeat of Germany and Japan. Even the public in Bharat took sides, and the majority feeling was reflected in such expressions as MacArthur was a war-monger, bent on starting a new world war; his long-looked-for excuse came during the Korean Affair. We had our doubts of the sanity of these frenzied peace-makers. And, John Gunther's *The Riddle of MacArthur*, published in January last supports these. The "Foreword" was written in December, 1950. The dead-lock in Korea proves that MacArthur's personal view and attitude counts for little in this particular matter.

The world-famous publicist settled down to disprove the general impression. He quoted MacArthur's words to do this necessary work. In his birth-day message, January 26, 1950, the Supreme Commander announced: "Modern war is so destructive that it must be out-lawed completely . . ." Six months later, in May, 1950, he told a *New York Times* correspondent: "I don't believe that a (major) shooting war is imminent. The Russian masses are probably just as opposed to a shooting war as the Anglo-Saxon masses. The public realize that there can be no real victor in a future war. The Russian is doing so well under the present no-shooting war that he would probably and logically wish to continue the existing successful system."

But on June 25 started the Korean war putting "his whole magnificent record in Japan in jeopardy." This testimony should be enough for reasonable people. But Communist propagandists have developed a way of misleading people and we think it necessary to present the other side of the story.

"Doubling the World's Food-crops"

Even scientists have become food-conscious, so dangerous has grown the situation presaging the overthrow of the existing world-order by hungry men and women. A news-item sent out from New York in September last told us that the world's food-crops can be doubled. This reassuring news was given by Dr. Artturi Virtanen, a Finnish Nobel Prize winner who stated his belief that crops "sufficient to feed 4,000 million people could be produced on the basis of our present knowledge."

"It is possible to double the world's crops without making any new discoveries," he declared. "I think there are very great possibilities of raising crops so that many more than the 2,500 million people now in the world could be fed."

Dr. Virtanen is an agricultural expert; he was speaking at a Press Conference, given by the Nobel Prize-winning scientists attending an international Congress of chemists at New York.

Sir Robert Robinson, British prize-winner and bio-chemist, suggested that peace might be brought nearer if men could find out how to use the world's second class vegetation—"bush crop."

Dr. Virtanen, however, does not appear to believe that "war or peace depended on food. People who have been in the best position to get good food have gone to war."

The last statement of the Finnish Nobel Prize-man shows that Communist philosophy has left many people unconvinced that food is the first and last word in individual and social morality.

Non-cereal Foods

Srimati Lilavati Munshi, our Food Minister's wife, has been trying to imitate her husband in his passion for dramatizing our weakening food position. The latest of her enthusiasms is the "Annapurna" cafes which supply non-cereal food to our ration-bound citizens. India's Prime Minister appears, as in duty bound, to have been infected by this fashionable foible. He has thrown his weight on Srimati Munshi's side.

To all of them we offer the following from the *Behar Herald* of October 20th last, exhibiting a section of our ladies who cannot agree even on a life-and-death measure:

"The women of Bihar have not been able to make any progress on the Food Front because their ranks are sharply divided into two hostile camps led by Srimatis Sundari Devi and Kamal Kamini Prasad. Mothers have been estranged from daughters, sisters from sisters, by their being in the opposing camps. Sundari Devi has the backing of the Government of Bihar, while Mrs. Prasad claims the support of the Government of India symbolized by Mrs. Lilavati Munshi. The rival commandresses-in-chief have been fighting pitched battles for some time in the hospitable columns of the local news-

papers. The women's Food Front in Bihar must perforce wait till it is finally decided who should lead the women of Bihar to the promised land of substitute cereals. As far as we can see the two combatants are fairly evenly matched. The Government of India is mightier than the Government of Bihar, but the superiority is neutralized by the distance. As an occasional distributor of sugar, Srimati Sundari Devi scores over Mrs. K. K. Prasad, who can claim no such distinction.

"It is said that many men (and that substantive includes women too) are not particularly anxious that the rival camps should come to an agreement. They want a sort of interminable Korean war to continue in the Bihar women's Food Front, as they apprehend that as soon as their Versailles is signed, there will be no rice or *chapati* on the *Thali* but only mysterious concoctions of soya beans, tapioca, potatoes, *sakarkand*, *soothoni*, *ol*, *katchu*, groundnuts, *et hoc genus omne*."

Register of India's Scientific Personnel

The chief editor of the Register of Scientific and Technical personnel in India has got published such a book, part of a more comprehensive volume entitled *The Wealth of India*. George Watts' book in this line has become a classic, and Major B. D. Basu's booklet needed to be added to considering that about 50 years separate his publication and the present attempt. The credit of this venture goes to the Council of Scientific Research whose first volume was hailed "as a monumental work assembled by a number of Indian scholars" superseding and improving Watts' work. This is praise indeed. The second volume comprises articles beginning with the letter C and deals *inter alia* with about 230 genera of economic plants with their numerous species, eight important minerals and seven animal products. The following classified statement gives the subjects on which information—production, processing utilization and trade—has been thus presented

Beverages: Tea, Coffee.

Fibres: Cannabis, Sann Hemp, Silk Cotton Tree
Caryota, Jute, Calotropis.

Fodder: Cenebrus, Cyperus.

Fruits: Papaya, Citrus, Cucumis.

Gums and Resins: Guar gum, Indian Bdellium,
Katira gum, Black Dammar.

Medicinal Plants: Senna, Chenopodium, Pyrethrum, Ergot, Bhang, Cinchona.

Oil Seeds: Coconut, Safflower.

Perfumes and Essential Oils: Camphor, Civet,
Lemongrass, Palmarosa.

Pulses: Bengal gram, Red gram.

Root Crops: Chicory, Turmeric, Colocasia.

Spices: Chillies, Coriander, Cumin, Tejpat

Tans: Avaram, Dividivi.

Vegetables: Canavalia, Cucumis, Cucurbita.

Wood and Timber: Deodar, Casuarina, Cane,
Chikrassy.

Minerals: Coals, Clays, Copper ores.

Animal Products: Cochineal, Camels, Crocodiles.

Bethune School and College Centenary

The centenary of these two institutions was celebrated with due solemnity in 1950 and early 1951.

The Organizing Committee of the Centenary Celebration appointed an Editorial Board to bring out a Souvenir Number. We are thankful to it for sending us a copy. It is a superb specimen of the printer's art; the Saraswati Press deserves praise for this.

The contents of the Volume are rich with the history of the institutions. The School was founded in 1849, and the College developed from it in 1879. The gift of land made by Dakshinaranjan Mukherji was exchanged for the present site; with the extension of their activities new buildings have been added to the old-style pillared structure.

The Editorial Board invited co-operation of scholars and historians who have made a special study of the Renaissance in Bengal at the threshold of which stands Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It was pioneer work for the uplift of Indian women that has made possible the awakening amongst them which is the most outstanding feature of modern developments in India. The place of honour has been given to the article by Shree Jogesh Chandra Bagal who has traced the history of the institutions in their unchecked progress. In the Bengali portion, are articles by Shree Brajendra Nath Banerji, a direct disciple in historical research of Acharya Jadu Nath Sarkar, and by Shree Jogesh Chandra Bagal.

We wish very much that this Centenary Number had been made the record of all-India activities in the field of women's education. We understand that the Editorial Board approached various women's organizations in India, specially in Madras and Bombay. But there was no response—a failure that is no credit to the conductors of these more extensive organizations as old as the Bethune School and College, and some of them more modern; the one at Poona commemorating Lady Thackersey, is endowed as an University. What a fund of experience and inspiration their conductors could have revealed!

But the Editorial Board working under this particular handicap has made a notable contribution to our knowledge on the subject. It will have a permanent place in India's modern history. The strenuous work of its members, specially of Miss Lotika Ghose, needs mention, and deserves commendation. We wish the School and College better success in the century of their existence. Let the students keep the memory of their indebtedness to them ever green! Let them not forget that they are destined to be the makers of the India of the future,—India whose heritage has been described as "the tolerance and gentleness of a mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying love for all things."

Education in India

There has been continuing controversy and argument as regards the ideals and methods that should

be adopted and followed in India in the pursuit of education that would befit the citizens of a free State equal to the task of sharing the burdens of a world shattered by two World Wars and threatened by a third. Even deservedly cultural institutions have been found exercised over the matter not to speak of all-India Commissions and State Committees.

In this atmosphere the diffident members of a Study Circle meeting every Thursday in a room at the Ram Mohun Library, deserves more than passing notice, not by its intrinsic worth but by its representative character, all contributing their thoughts and anxieties on the subject. From discussions of more than three meetings something like a symposium has emerged out of the discussions. Srimati Latika Ghose made certain suggestions that follow the lines indicated by Gandhiji in his Basic Education.

Two schools of thought are represented in this small circle—reminiscent of the "Orientalists" and "Liberals or Progressives" of the thirties of the last century. The latter are for scientific education—vowing by the methods that have made the United States and the Soviet Union leaders of the modern world. The upholders of this school contend that without the methods followed there we cannot maintain our independent existence as a modern people; they appear to bank on centralization in schools and colleges and expect that the "filtration" from these will do the rest. With our limited resources in trained teachers and money, we cannot go in for the luxury of "decentralized" education spread amongst the widest commonality of the realm.

As against these arguments the former press the view that Primary or Mass education should have preference. They accept the contention that we have to work with a few thousands of trained teachers and a few crores of rupees whereas the necessity is for millions of trained teachers and hundreds of millions of rupees. The three hundred millions required to give a start to compulsory mass education is wholly inadequate; and even this little is not forthcoming. In this deadlock of opinion there appears to be no way out. Srimati Ghose suggested one which we find embodied in a 20-page pamphlet entitled above.

We have to content ourselves with quoting from one or two of the central ideas of the pamphlet:

"... No education can flourish in a commercial atmosphere ... we are averse to craft work except for purely educational purposes ..."—(Pp. 6-7).

"... It was because Mahatma Gandhi knew the conditions of his country and the Indian masses that he was keen on decentralizing; and giving the first place to rural economy. ..."—(P. 17)

"Educational colonies consisting of the last four classes of the present high schools and colleges. —these ... should be co-educational and residential producing with some agricultural help their own necessities in the form of food and cloth. ..."—(P. 18).

"In the post-graduate stage the students should devote their lives entirely to higher academic studies and research, physical exercise being taken in the form of games, P.T. drill and gymnastics ... the State should completely subsidize education the admission to this stage being exceedingly restricted ..."

The writer of the pamphlet builds her whole scheme on the Village Panchayat whose duty it would be to oversee the whole life organization of their commune. Thereby centralization is avoided, and the need for Central aid becomes unnecessary. This is a tempting prospect. Who will work for it?—to build up this India of the free and the enlightened. Men and women with vast faith in their own people can do it. Their number is not inconsiderable even in this commercialized age.

Sayaji Rao's Oriental Institute

We have received the first number of the journal of this Institute. The Institute was started in 1915 and the Series published under its auspices have won world-wide fame. A new venture is the Ramayana Department and it attempts to do what the Bhandarkar Institute has been doing in the matter of the Mahabharata. The editor, Shree G. H. Bhatt, has, therefore, called upon "all rival attempts" to be "given up," so that concentration of resources may bring the work to fruition.

The articles in this number of the journal cover a vast field. Naturally enough the Ramayana occupies the place of honour, and Doctor Kane's article on "Some Ramayana Problems" is there. By a study of the horoscopes of Sri Ramachandra, Bharata, Lakshmana and Sathrugna, the episodes in their life are supported in their main outlines. About additions and alterations by later bards there is no doubt, and Doctor Kane says nothing new when he asserts that "there were only three Kandas in the Ramayana, while present text of the epic has 7."

"Sri Krishna's Family—Solar or Lunar?"—reviews the old argument in support of the theory that the "Jadavas had come from the West." We have heard the opposite story that the Jadavas, the remnants that survived the destruction of Dwarka, left for the West headed by Balaram, Sri Krishna's elder brother.

Articles on Jaina and Buddhist religions are there, and the story of "Sita's Repudiation" by Father Bulcke of Bombay St. Xavier College, shows that it finds its first mention in the Jaina Ramayana of Hem Chandra (12th century A.D.). These and various other articles indicate a wealth of scholarship in the service of the journal. We wish it success.

West Bengal's Khadi Board

We are thankful to the Secretary of the Khadi Board, an organ of the West Bengal Government's constructive work, for sending us his report of the year ending in March last. We summarize it below:

"The Khadi Board completed its third year of activities with March, 1951. The objective of the Board is well-known—to utilise the leisure hours in the countryside by giving employment through spinning and to make the villagers self-sufficient in the matter of their clothes, so far as it is possible. The achievements during the period have been steady and progressive. Villagers who had taken to spinning have regained their confidence and been able to improve their condition by adding a little to their little income.

"*Results:* During the period under review work has been carried on through 20 Village Centres as compared to 18 of the last year in the districts of Hooghly, Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore, Nadia and 24 Parganas. The total number of villages covered by these centres was 692, 230 new villages having been added during the year. 28 new workers had been trained bringing the total number of trained workers to 228. These workers have themselves settled in the villages and have been moving about, training the villagers in carding and spinning. The number of such villagers trained during the year was 4,583 compared to 4,086 during the previous year. Altogether 13,594 villagers had so far received training during the last 3 years and have more or less been depending for their cloth on their self-spun yarn. In the current year 2,429 Charkhas and 1,035 Taklis had been introduced, thus bringing the total number of Charkhas and Taklis, plying in the villages, to 10,064 and 6,093 respectively. The output of self-spun yarn by the trained villagers was 194½ mds., the corresponding figure for the previous year being 176½ mds.

"In terms of the equivalent cloth produced by this yarn the yardage was 60,000 sq. yds., and 50,000 sq. yds., and in terms of money value the price of this quantity of cloth came to Rs. 2,33,000 compared to corresponding mill-price of this amount of cloth, at least Rs. 1,25,000. To this extent the villages had been enriched. The earnings of leisure hours of about 12,000 villagers in the course of the year were Rs. 50,000 this amount being the wages of their output of yarn, and in the course of the last 3 years such earnings came to Rs. 1,30,000.

"The introduction of the Charkha in the villages came to rescue to a certain extent another important but dying rural industry—namely, handloom. Village weavers have been unwilling to handle the Charkha yarn, although it has been a patent fact that the weavers were idle for a considerable period owing to the supply of insufficient mill yarn. Such weavers who had taken to Khaddar weaving have, however, been supplied with sufficient yarn for their full-time occupation.

"*Social Activities:* The introduction of the Charkha into the villages has evoked social consciousness among the villagers. They take active interest in village sanitation such as, cleansing of ponds, taking preventive measures in case of epidemics and setting up

trench latrines here and there. The 'Grow More Food' campaign is being carried on by encouraging the people to prepare compost manure for better cultivation and to grow their own vegetables. The Board has also undertaken to change the outlook of the people in their behaviour towards the 'Harijans' by propaganda and also by opening a few Day-and-Night Schools in the 'Harijan' bustees.

"*Katai Mandal:* With a view to decentralise the Khadi work so that the spinners could carry on their activities among themselves the All-India Spinners' Association devised the formation of Katai Mandals or Spinners' Clubs in as many villages as possible. The Khadi Board pursuing this policy and programme set up during the year 116 such Katai Mandals having in their rolls a total of about 1,000 members of whom 580 were self-spinners and about 800 Khadi-weavers including the self-spinners. These Mandals in course of last 9 months produced 22,804 sq. yds. of cloth valued at Rs. 35,000.

"Village welfare work has also been undertaken by the members of the Mandals. During this period they cleansed 213 tanks and repaired 13 miles of village roads. About 1,000 mds. of compost manure were prepared and 546 trench latrines were set up in village corners. 13 Night Schools were started for adults.

"*Other Activities:* During the year the Board organised a seven-day Women's Camp at one of its Centres, Tajpur in Midnapur 80 lady workers, including 55 of the Board, participated in the programme of the camp. The Vana Mahotsab celebration was observed at all the Centres of the Board. It has been estimated that about 11,000 plants were sown; the survival might not be more than 30 per cent. The Charkha Jayanti or the Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi on 2nd October and his death anniversary on the 30th January were solemnised by organising mass-spinning and prayers at the Centres. The Independence Day on the 15th of August and the Republic Day on the 26th of January were celebrated according to the All-India programme."

Recalling the Forgotten

The Calcutta Section of the All-India Radio has started a notable venture, that of recalling to the present generation the deeds of poets, editors, and public men who have been all but forgotten by them. The "talks" are in Bengali, and we understand that more than two dozens of these have already been delivered. We do not know if there is such a programme in other language areas. If there is not, there ought to be. Another fact we would like to suggest is that talks on Balwant Phadke of Maharashtra, on Seetarama of Andhra-Desa, on Basudhan of Cachar should be arranged for. Such homage to the memory of modern India's fighters of freedom should be increasingly paid as lost records be rediscovered by research. The Central Information Minister should look into the matter.

A FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR INDIA

By B. K. GOSWAMI, M.A.

THE National Planning Commission, after their month-long researches, have published the Five-year Plan for the economic development of the country. Planning as a concept and technique of economic development was first introduced to the world by Soviet Russia in 1927, when she launched her First Five-year Plan. Thereafter, many of the countries had to accept planning as a result of unprecedented economic crisis of the thirties, when falling prices and unemployment began to affect almost every economy. Today, the need for planning is still greater, since the war has almost completely shattered the world economy. In India, Congress, in its 1937 session, had appointed a National Planning Committee to prepare a plan for the building of the nation according to the Congress ideal.

Now, this Plan, presented as an outline, will surely throw some ray of hope in the people's mind. It will necessitate a sum of Rs. 1,793 crores for the Plan to be worked out in the coming five years. This huge amount is no doubt an appalling sum, but no nation-building programme of such a character can be achieved without money. Ours is a country having problems of diverse types, and our needs and requirements are also varied. To satisfy this growing need, a plan based on modern scientific lines, is imperative. Unlike a plan which could bring about revolutionary changes affecting the entire structure of our economy, the Commission have formulated their Plan purely on democratic principles so that "every citizen can co-operate and offer his best for the common good."

The Plan is divided into two parts, the aim of the first part being that by the end of 1955-56 consumer goods would be as plentiful as they were in pre-war days. The cost of fulfilling this aim has been calculated at Rs. 1,493 crores. The second part of the Plan requiring a cost of Rs. 300 crores, would be taken up later on, if and when sufficient foreign assistance would be available. The Commission have suggested that improvements be made in all aspects of our national life and have laid emphasis on agriculture, industry, transport, irrigation and commerce.

Regarding financial resources to materialise the Plan, the Commission have expected to tap the following sources:

- (1) Surplus on revenue account—Rs. 130 crores;
- (2) Revenue account—Rs. 118 crores;
- (3) Public loans—Rs. 35 crores;
- (4) Surplus savings—Rs. 250 crores;
- (5) Other sources—Rs. 78 crores;

(6) Railway revenue—Rs. 30 crores; and

(7) The states along with the Centre—Rs. 691 crores.

The remaining Rs. 372 crores, the Commission said, will have to be borrowed from the foreign capital market, and failing that, have suggested to make up the deficit by created paper money. Although it will mean a definite rise in the price level, or set in inflationary conditions, the remedy has been suggested by levying additional taxes upon the people to cope with the evils of high prices. But we are in doubt if our countrymen are in a position to bear this additional burden of taxation, particularly at a time when per capita income is getting less and less, and the volume of unemployment is steadily on the increase. Although the whole scheme has been prepared in view of the immediate and ultimate needs of the country, it seems that the condition of the common man and his capability has not been taken into consideration. One can sacrifice only when there is a definite indication of improvement of his lot. Moreover, people may ask if the return from the Plan would be in keeping with the amount of their sacrifice. The Commission have frankly stated that the Plan is not of such a character as to lead us to our desired Eldorado. If that is so, it is idle to think that people will spontaneously find an incentive to entertain any hardship.

Four years back when India became free from foreign domination, our administrators presented a very huge multipurpose development programme before the country. But our past experience has shown that the Government have neither the financial resources nor the equipments necessary to work out such a scheme, inasmuch as the actual expenditure of many a project seems to have far exceeded the estimated costs. The Damodar Valley Scheme is a painful instance. In the initial period, the cost of the Scheme was estimated at Rs. 55 crores, but now it seems that it would require an expenditure of more than Rs. 100 crores for its completion.

For a long time, everybody had cherished a wrong idea that India would never be lacking in experts to undertake her nation-building activities, and, really speaking, she has made a name and fame by her talented persons in U.N. and other world organisations. But in the field of India's developmental work, she has miserably failed. One would really look with wonder how for the last four years, she has committed painful blunders in the administrative field. None could foresee that neither the Centre nor the states

had the requisite resources to finance developmental programmes. Perpetual budget deficits of the governments have resulted in abnormal rise of prices, and the question of rehabilitation of displaced persons is unsettled as yet. Our leaders expected that they would get the full and whole-hearted co-operation of the people which they had received during the struggle for the country's freedom. But unfortunately, very little of such co-operation has been available.

It is known to everybody that the National Planning Commission was formed to find out how best the resources of the country could be utilised in the shortest possible time. But the Plan, as presented as an outline, is no better than a new edition of so-called traditional plans. It will be clear from a study of it. The Commission have stated that in the course of the next five years, the living standard of the people would be as good as what it was in pre-war days, in 1938-39. Let us now try to find out the significance of this statement. People in our country do not comprise a single class. They are divided into three distinct classes, namely, the wealthy, the middle class, and the lower class. During the last 20 years, the living standard and economic condition of these three classes have undergone a dramatic change. Those who were wealthy before the war, have become richer still. On the other hand, the economic condition of the middle class has deteriorated to an unbelievable extent, since their money income remaining more or less fixed, living cost has increased by more than 20 times during the last 20 years. In the same way, the economic condition of the lower class people has also deteriorated in recent years. The rate of wages has remarkably increased in the meantime, no doubt, but they are negligible in view of the abnormally high cost of living. Moreover, a section of people engaged in agriculture have been able to derive the benefit of high prices, as they could dispose of their surplus products after satisfying their own needs.

Now, it may be asked, whose living standard the Commission have taken to be the criterion? Certainly it cannot be that of the richer class of people, since it is not only impossible but an absurd thing. Also it is not that of the peasantry, whose usual practice is to dispose of their products always at a very cheap rate. Then, what is to be meant by the 'living standard' of the people in pre-war days? Is it the standard of the middle class people? Even if it is so, we shall have to face another difficulty. Before the war people whose money income ranged from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 a month, were all regarded as belonging to middle class. Now, we are to know who would be our standard, the man earning Rs. 50 a month or another earning Rs. 500 a month. It is essential to know this because otherwise we won't be able to ascertain how much addition to make in each case, unless

we know the amount of food, clothing, housing, education and medical facilities each would get on the completion of the Plan. Of course, there is an indication in the Plan as to how to increase the production of certain consumption goods. For instance, for people belonging to the lowest strata of the middle class, an increase of 7.2 million tons of foodstuff and 6100 million yards of cloth has been aimed at, at the end of the fifth year when India will have a population of 380 millions.

It has been stated before that planning for economic development with a definite objective behind it, was first introduced in Soviet Russia. On the success of her Plans, Germany, U.S.A., and some other countries of the West adopted planning as an economic programme. In each of the cases, the part of the work to be completed within a particular year, was clearly defined. Such a process helped the personnel in charge of the scheme to know how the work was going on, and they had not to wait uselessly for the end of the whole period to detect any error. If a part of the work allotted to be completed in course of the first year remained unfinished, it could be speeded up along with that scheduled for the second year, and the whole thing could be completed within the specified time. The Five-year Plans of Soviet Russia had adopted this process all along. But in our Plan, there is no such indication. As a result, it is quite likely that the officers upon whom the work would be entrusted to finish, would feel less inclined to devote their full time and energy, and the Government also will not be able to find out the defects, if any. During the last four years, the progress of our developmental work was very 'slow,' simply because there was no programme of supervision of work to be completed in each year. The present Plan is also suffering from the same defect.

Again, the living condition of the people can be improved either by giving people more purchasing power, or by a reduction in the level of commodity prices, or by both. But where there is a scarcity of essential commodities in the country, more purchasing power would also fail to achieve this end. The way by which scarcity can be removed is firstly, to increase the production of essential commodities, and, secondly, by making larger imports. The success of this policy depends upon the stability of prices, both home and foreign. But is the present world condition normal to ensure a stable price level? Although the Korean crisis is almost at an end, other parts of the globe are busy with military preparations. U. K. and U.S.A. have, in their budgets, set aside larger sums of money for military operations. This will eventually give rise to inflationary conditions leading to an enormous rise in the price level. Such conditions are already in sight in some Western countries where strict control measures to

keep down prices and wages, are being followed. In short, world condition will help Indian prices rise inevitably. If inflationary conditions accompanied by even a 10 per cent rise in prices happen in the coming years, when the Plan would be at work, the whole programme would be upset, involving an additional expenditure of about Rs. 150 crores. It has been stated that the whole amount of Rs. 1,493 crores would be spent for the development of agriculture, irrigation, transport and industries. Still then, the effect of increased production would not be felt before two or three years, although people will have more money in their hand by this time. The portion of the Plan stated to be financed by paper money, will also help create inflation. Thus, it seems that rise in the prices would be dangerous for the success of the Plan, though the Commission have advocated for strict measures to be observed for keeping prices stable. Both England and America have had the benefit of such measures, in spite of their heavy expenditure on military account. But it is painful to say that control measures in India are a sad failure. Corruption and malpractices have struck their roots in every sphere of the society. The wilful co-operation of the people which is at the root of success of any Government plan, is practically absent and there is a wide gulf between the people and the Government which is yet to be bridged.

According to one section of people, the scarcity of essential commodities in India is more artificial than real. A group of people accumulating enormous war wealth are responsible for such a state of things. If such malpractices could be effectively checked, it will lead to a fall of prices, by 10 or 15 per cent, even in spite of the scarcity. Blackmarketing and profit-making, when checked, would help reduce the high

cost of living. But during the last four years, our Government have done nothing of the kind. Russian experience would say that during the initial years of the Five-year Plans, Government took up, in their own hands, the task of production as well as distribution, and a quota system was introduced in respect of practically every item of goods.

Above all, the ideology of the Commission is not clear. The estimate of the increased production do not show that even in the success of the Plan, the living condition of the people, particularly of the middle class and the wage-earners, would improve considerably. The Commission should define clearly the exact nature of the living standard as envisaged in the Plan. There is little chance of success where the ideology is vague. It is needless to say that the whole scheme will end in smoke if the Government fail, within the coming five years, to make additional production and proper distribution thereof. To realise this objective, the first essential is the full co-operation and honesty of those who would materialise the Scheme, those engaged in private concerns, and, above all, the people. But, to-day, everybody is busy with his own ends. The whole structure of administration has become leaky on account of corruption, bribery and nepotism. In the circumstances, it is idle to expect too much from the Plan.

In spite of the defects of the Plan, it is welcome, no doubt. But the traditional way of working it will not give us the desired fruit. The main task to-day is to create an incentive in the Government officials, the factory operatives, and the people at large who would give shape to the Plan. Without their sincere co-operation, the Plan is of little significance. If the feeling of frustration in the people could be removed, one would find in them a high sense of loyalty.



LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE coming of autumn is generally held to be conducive to melancholy. From time immemorial men have seen in this season of falling leaves and shortening days an image of the vanity of human hopes. But this autumn is not conforming to pattern. There is a most unseasonable optimism in the air.

Doctor Johnson, when approached by a poor unknown woman who wished him to use his influence on behalf of her son, sent her a most ponderous refusal. But it is remarkable because in it he distinguishes between justified and unjustified hope. (He calls it 'proper' and 'improper'). 'If it be asked,' he wrote, 'what is the improper expectation which it is dangerous to indulge, experience will quickly answer, that it is such expectation as is dictated not by reason, but by desire. Well, our present optimism is not improper. Reason is on our side. We are full of hope because we see that the initiative is passing from Russia.'

The Russian debacle at San Francisco has surprised the world but most of all it must have surprised Russia. She can never have guessed that the tables might be turned on her. M. Gromyko arrived with a retinue of military, naval and 'geopolitical' advisers. He took a house for three weeks and expected to remain for four. And all that happened was that he who in the past had so often frustrated the United Nations by invoking a rule of procedure, was himself frustrated in exactly the same fashion. He was eclipsed like an opera hat that has been sat on unexpectedly.

But do the Russians still laugh at themselves? If so, M. Gromyko must have had more than one satirical laugh at this unusual conference. It is his custom to walk out of conferences and for his satellites, the delegates from Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, to follow him. On the present occasion at one point in the proceedings he walked out, seemingly as usual. And as usual the satellites padded after him. But soon they returned. M. Gromyko had merely escaped for a few minutes in order to enjoy a cigarette! Such a trivial thing but so revealing to everyone concerned.

But to return to this unseasonable optimism. Another reason for it is that the times are generally stirring, and nothing generates hopes so much as positive action. Peace has been made with Japan and is being made with Western Germany. Agreement between Italy and Jugo-Slavia over Trieste is being promoted. On the continent a European Army is arising under General Eisenhower. (You cannot sell the idea of democracy to Germany, someone has

pointed out, but perhaps you can sell her the idea of Europe). The whole scene is crystallizing. Even our laggard handling of the Persian oil dispute is affected: Persia will receive no more aid from sterling. And on top of all this we are getting ready for a General Election. No wonder there is zest in the autumn air.

Wherever one goes, the approaching Election is the first topic of conversation. Most people believe that the Conservatives will be returned, an opinion which is backed up by the Gallup polls. But a surprising number anticipate stalemate and a Coalition. Either way we should have Mr. Eden at the Foreign office. Mr. Churchill undoubtedly is ready to be Prime Minister. But can even his most unthinking followers really desire this? Could he stand the strain? Indeed I think the time has come for an innovation, or rather a return to former days. If Mr. Churchill is to be Prime Minister, let him go to the Lords. In the Commons, Mr. Eden could be Leader of the House.

The General Election is expected to take place not later than November. In the intervening weeks both the principal parties will be holding their Annual Conferences. So there will be a big bid for the floating vote, that undiscovered margin which tips the scales in these days of closely contested elections. The Labour Party is making Peace the first point in its programme. The Conservatives have followed on with a pamphlet entitled 'Pattern of Peace.' All parties in fact are pursuing rearmament and calling it peace. But it is not on this issue that the Election will be decided. Nor on any other that may be put forward. To the man in the street there will be only one issue: have we or have we not had enough of the Labour Government?

I do not think there is any doubt that the Labour Government has lost the floating vote. And it knows it. If it had had any confidence in its future, why all this hesitance in fixing the date on which to go to the country? Plainly it has been hoping to clutch at some lucky straw—a settlement 'with Persia, perhaps, or some easily publicised fall in the cost of living. Indeed it has been making some play' with the fall in the price of wool. Housewives are being told to hold back from buying until these prices fall still further. But this is a cock that has not much fight in it. Because the Governments of the world have stopped bidding against each other for wool, the price of wool is falling. But the price of coke and many other necessities is going up.

Intolerable anxiety at the rising cost of living is

putting the Labour Government out. But after that, what? Will a Conservative Government, swept into office perhaps on a tide of general relief that at last things are going to be better, have the courage to introduce the unpopular measures which are inevitable if the cost of living is to come down? They are going to have a very difficult time. The Trade Unions, as they showed at their recent Conference, are in unregenerate mood. They rejected out of hand the advice put forward by Mr. Gaitskell, a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is it likely that they will listen to the Conservatives? Not long ago the Miners' Leader was threatening a national strike if the Conservatives were returned to office. And at the moment of writing the Railwaymen's Union is threatening to strike immediately for higher wages. Coal and transport, the two most important factors in our economy. What can the Conservatives do to gain their co-operation?

It was an evil day for themselves and most of all for the country, when the Labour Government decided to toss to the Trade Unions the marrowless bone of 'limitation of profits.' The Unions have been gnawing at it ever since. The Government knows—and have admitted—that limitation of profits cannot affect the inflationary situation in the very least. It was only put forward to placate the extremists on their Left wing. A bit of cowardice in fact. But it has had night-mare consequences. The Unions are farther than ever from agreeing to a restraint on wages as a parallel to a restraint on profits. Instead they are stretching out their hands to grasp these manacled profits. (At their Congress one of their members suggested an additional tax on profits, to be distributed as family allowances).

How heartily sick of this war between capital and labour most reasonable people are becoming. Have the Conservatives any hope of transforming the situation? They are going to make a very strong bid to do so and Sir David Maxwell Fyfe is to broadcast on this subject. Meanwhile the Conservatives have issued a statement in which they say that 'Incentive must be restored in industry by freeing it from unnecessary restrictions and by a fiscal policy designed to encourage enterprise.' Trade expansion, rather than restrictions on trade, is evidently the line which the Conservatives are proposing to take. It is an attractive programme to put before the country—but have they thought out all the implications?

In this connection a most interesting article appears in this week's *Economist*. It is packed with food for thought, and washed down with a lot of cold water! It is concerned with the problem of paying for rearmament which is in fact the problem of paying our way. And it begins categorically with the statement: 'The two ways of finding resources for rearmament are either to produce more in total and

rearm out of the surplus, or else to divert some production from its civilian purposes.' And its conclusions, if I have read the article aright, are that we shall have to do a bit of both.

I wish I had time to analyse this article. It is an amazing feat. In little more than two pages it surveys the whole tangled scene. And it shows how expansion comes naturally to a country that has a successful economy; but is far more difficult for a country that 'has seen its industrial supremacy pass and its basic industries rot.' It is more difficult for the second kind of country because, in the lean years, deeply defensive attitudes have grown up. But if industry is again to expand, these protective restrictions will have to be swept away. And a Government cannot do this without doing a number of unpopular things. So the vital question is: Will the Conservative Government face up to this? Will it, for instance, tackle the matter of price rings? It is pledged to legislate for more and fair competition. But as the *Economist* points out, 'It will mark a complete revolution in Conservative thinking if such legislation in fact breaks up all the price rings and restores the sort of vigorous competition that would quickly and greatly increase industrial efficiency.'

The *Economist* is of the opinion however that in pinning our hopes of economic salvation to an economy expanded as the result of Conservative legislation which is still to come, we are putting the cart before the horse. The gap in the balance of payments must come first. We cannot wait to close it: or we may run into greater inflation, with higher wages consuming the increasing amount of goods. We must begin with disinflation 'And disinflation means reducing the claims on the national income to those that can be met from the present income. . . .'

This may be the right end of the stick, but it is a very thorny one. What are the claims on the national income that can be reduced or rather, what chance has a Conservative Government of making these reductions acceptable? Every reasonable person will at once think of the Health Service as a field in which there is plenty of room for economy. We all know of dentists who scramble their work in order to pull in more patients and more fees; of people supplied with glasses which they never bother to wear; of chemists who supply a huge roll of cotton wool when one twenty times smaller was all that was needed. And every specialist will tell you of the expensive 're-organization' imposed upon the hospitals. But what kind of storm will the Government run into if it lays its hands on Bevan's jealously tended Health Service?

Altogether it seems as if a Conservative Government, if it is returned, will meet with trouble on a tremendous scale. But what is the alternative? No Government can get rid of inflation without first

clearing the ground. To put off doing this can only lead to 'Gadarene disaster', to use a phrase borrowed from the late Mr. Garvin and one altogether too appropriate to our present situation!

Apart from the General Election the most discussed topic at present is the exciting subject of Space-Travel. It has captured the imagination of all of us. It is wonderful to be assured, on the authority of several prominent scientists, that 'a lunar landing may reasonably be expected about 1980, and the nearer planets should be reached before the end of the century.' Oh that one might live to take part in such landings.

This is certainly the most stimulating news that has been vouchsafed to mankind for centuries. It is far, far more exciting than the discovery of the New World in the fifteenth century. And when we think how that discovery reacted on the Renaissance, what throngs of poets and painters and philosophers we may expect when men begin to explore the planets.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago H. G. Wells foretold the arrival of space-travel in his film "Things to Come." In that film men were projected into the heavens by means of a space-gun. In actual fact the method will be by rocket. And how right it is, how appropriate in expiation, that the scientist most deeply engaged in the coming venture should be Dr. Wernher von Braun. He was responsible for the V.21 rocket and

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he is confident that 'even with existing chemical fuels it would be possible to send an expedition to Mars.'

Thank God for these opening horizons. Soon we shall be exploring the universe—embarked on an exploration to which there will be no end. Just when we had been getting to the end of *ourselves*, this prospect opens ahead. No longer need we feel disturbed at what the Psychologists have done to art and literature and morals. All this delving into the subconscious will soon be stuffy and out of date. As out of date as the people who thought that the world was flat.

Lest these seem but wild and whirling words (I nearly wrote 'whirling worlds'!) here is the same theme in a more sober guise. Mr. A. C. Clarke, Chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, concludes an article entitled "To the Moon by 1980" with the following: 'Is it too much to hope that the exploration of the solar system may provide mankind with the new horizons it so badly needs, and give an outlet to those impulses which, in a closed culture, lead inevitably to conflict?'

Think for a moment. No more closed culture. How much longer will it be before the world brushes off such petty irrelevancies as dictatorships?*

* Since writing the above the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, has announced on the wireless that Parliament is to be dissolved and a General Election held on 25th October. The result of that Election, and its consequences, will be interesting—to put it very mildly.

Westminster, London, 21st September, 1951

TIME IS FLEETING

By CYRIL MODAK

Yes, the *Shravan* Moon is waning fast,
And my hair is turning gray,
And the festival of youth is past,
Hope has changed his garments gay.

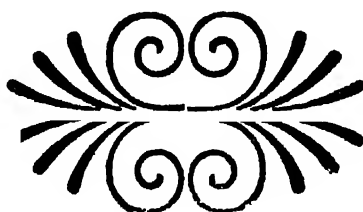
All the flowers are fallen from the trees.
Lo! the garden's all but bare;
There's no hint of perfume on the breeze
Saying, "She comes, your Love, your Fair!"

Yet my soul will take no hermit vows,
Nor renounce the poet's quest

For the loveliness of crescent-brows,
Star-kiss'd eyes and dawn-drench'd breast.

All the hunger of a lifetime still
Throbs within my head to make
Out of joy and pain a song to thrill
Love's lone heart that else might break.

Out of deeds and words and melodies,
And the colours of the Spring,
Make a thing of beauty that will tease
Death to stand admiring!



THE GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MODERN CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

A political party in the sense of the nineteenth century European society never existed in the history of China, for a modern political party is based upon the rights of the individual and upon the principle of individuals working together under a common platform; such principles are foreign to the Chinese mind.

The first political party in China was formed by Kang Yu-wei in 1897. Gathering together nearly one thousand aspirants for the Imperial Civil Service examination in Peking he organized a society called the "Association for Country Protection". In his platform he advocated such reforms as the abolition of the old examination system, the formation of a constitutional government, the establishment of schools and universities, reform of national defence, and the development of agriculture. Actually this organization was the forerunner of 100 days of reform movement, and we remember that because of General Yuan Shih-kai's betrayal the Emperor Kuang Hsu was imprisoned and Kang Yu-wei and his followers had to flee from the country.

When Kang Yu-wei fled from China and went to the U. S. A. he converted a number of overseas Chinese there to the idea that the Emperor Kuang Hsu should come to power again, and he thus organized a "Preservation of the Monarch Association." This monarchical movement was directed against the Empress Dowager and at the same time it advocated a constitutional monarchy.

The most favourite disciple of Kang Yu-wei named Liang Chi-chao who was one of the ablest writers in modern China, started a chain of newspapers and magazines in China and abroad while he himself took refuge in Japan where he formed in 1906 a movement called the "Society for Political Participation," emphasizing the importance of a constitutional government rather than the restoration of Kuang Hsu as Emperor of China.

This organization sent petitions to the Peking Court demanding the creation of a Parliament and the formation of provincial Assemblies. After fluctuating greatly between a monarchical and a republican form of government Liang Chi-chao returned to China after the revolution in 1911 and expressed well his political philosophy in a speech that he delivered in Peking. He said:

"Before the revolution we demanded a political rather than racial reform stressing the political aspects of the government rather than the head of the government, not caring whether he is monarch or a president. Before the revolution we were afraid that the civil war will drag on indefinitely if we quarrel about the question whether China should be a republic or a monarchy. So we attached more importance to the political reform movement rather than the problem of who should head the country. Now that the revolution

has been accomplished I might drag the country into civil war again if I should open up again the discussion centering around the problem of monarchy versus a republic. Since a republican form of government has been established the opening of such a discussion would be meaningless and foolish."

In short, after the revolution Liang Chi-chao pledged his loyalty to such a form of government.

During the first historical period of party development in China we find on the one hand Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, and on the other Dr. Sun Yat-sen firmly believing in a republican form of government. The *Tung Men Hui* or the "Alliance of Sworn Brothers" with its aim directed towards the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a republican form of government, although it included also such principles as the nationalization of land and the co-operation with other international powers, principles that later were further developed in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's book *The Three Principles of People*. After the revolution in 1911, Dr. Sun's party was very loosely organized and therefore Dr. Sun was forced to withdraw from the presidency in favour of Yuan Shih-kai who was once a representative for Imperial Court to negotiate with the revolutionary group. After the death of Yuan in 1916, the first parliament was restored in Canton led by the Kuomintang; but the majority of members of Dr. Sun's party went to Peking to join the northern government and so the party was further weakened.

The second period of development of political parties in China started with the end of the First World War and came to a conclusion with the outbreak of Sino-Japanese war in 1937. At this period Chinese people were looking towards social reconstruction rather than political problems, as they were very much influenced by Russia. For example, the first Russian Government sent an envoy named Jaffe to China to make contact with the Kuomintang and later on Borodin, the most important Russian adviser for the actual organization of the Kuomintang. With the effective advice and guidance of the Russians the Kuomintang got ready for the northern expedition, that resulted in 1925 in the split of the right and the left wing factions of the party, for when the Kuomintang was first re-organized in 1923 the Communists were allowed to join the party and soon became a domineering influence within the organization.

After the split between the Kuomintang and the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek formed a government in Nanking and Mao Tse-tung established a Soviet government in Kiangsi province where he controlled about more than ten districts. The idea of a one-party rule by the Kuomin-

tang was persisted. The Kuomintang did not only control the military arena but also controlled the country in every respect, politically, socially and culturally. Though they called the period of political tutelage as directing towards the education of the people for the responsibilities of a democratic government, actually they used it to strengthen the totalitarian government in power.

At this period the Kuomintang founded its counterpart in the China Youth Party which was formed in Paris where Chinese students studying in France were deeply impressed with Mussolini's march on Rome, and on the other hand they saw the growing popularity of the Russian revolution which they feared. Inspired by the French Revolution of Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, and the movement that took shape in Italy of Unity, Freedom and Independence, the China Youth Party had as its aim—Nationalism—Nation is above all. Considering the Russian Revolution of October 1917 as standing for internationalism, taking the political revolution in China as a ring of the world revolution, this party stood for nationalism, preaching that the national independence and liberty should be obtained by the effort of the Chinese people. They were also opposed to the theory of class struggle and the interference in Chinese national politics by the Third International through the Chinese Communist Party; and while they did not advocate a socialistic economy they stood for modified social reforms.

The third period, starting with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, modified somewhat this totalitarian one-party rule. For fighting with the common enemy Japan, the Kuomintang and the Communist forces did unite. From the beginning of war until 1945 nominal concessions were made to the minority political parties. An Advisory Council of National Defence was being established which included representatives from the China Youth Party, the National Socialist Party as well as the Communist Party. After the loss of Shanghai and Nanking and after the capital had been removed to Chungking from Nanking and Hankow in 1938, the People's Political Council was instituted, in which the minority parties again were represented. It means that a new democratic trend was in the process of being born; the movement striving towards freedom and democracy was known under the name of the Democratic League, which consisted of the National Socialist Party, the China Youth Party, and the Vocational and Educational Association, etc.

The most important work of the Democratic League occurred at the end of the War until the convocation of the National Assembly. In the light of President Truman's statement in December 1945 emphasizing a united

Democratic China, and in the light of Marshall's mission to China, the burden fell upon the Democratic League and other parties to act as co-ordinator in attempting to bring together the two extremist factions, the Kuomintang and the Communists. It was the work of this organization that paved the way for the convocation of the Political Consultative Conference, and it was because of the incessant effort of this organization that agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communists was brought about so close in the summer of 1946.

Aside from the work of the Democratic League, the work of a second big party should be mentioned, namely, the Democratic Socialist Party. The party is the result of an amalgamation of two earlier parties, the National Socialist Party and the Democratic Constitutional Party. The former was first organized in 1931, at a time when the north-eastern provinces were being lost to the Japanese, when party dictatorship by the Kuomintang was getting more and more evident, when some people were proposing class struggle, communism and world revolution. The platform of that party included political democracy, the protection of the people's fundamental rights, and a planned economy. The latter was found very much earlier. It was actually started by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao. It advocated in those early days political revolution as well as revolution on the basis of nationality. After amalgamation into what is known as the Democratic Socialist Party, it co-operated with the Democratic League in bringing about re-negotiation talks between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Being primarily interested in the adoption of a constitutional government it broke away with the Democratic League at the time of the Convocation of the National Assembly, as the latter organization refused to join this assembly as long as the continuation of the civil war made a truly democratic representation at the National Assembly impossible.

China today is torn by civil war fought by two extremist political parties; we Chinese think that we have already lost hope in the Kuomintang and at the same time we have also no faith in the Communists at all. We have about more than one crore overseas Chinese in Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Burma, and America etc., and the 46 crores in the mainland are looking forward on the new democratic force to be created. We understand that the leading Chinese politicians, scholars and liberals are ready to form the third force in China and abroad with its main principles of realizing socialism through democracy, accomplishing national independence, cultural freedom of economic equality. Whether this third force will be strong enough to arise to this stage so that China would be going to be a democratic socialist country, we think the time will tell you, all before very long.



WILLIAM HAZLITT

Greatest of English Essayists and Critics

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Hazlitt compelled a renewal of an old respect: his humanity, his instinct for essentials, his cool detection of pretence and cant, however finely disguised, and his English with its frank love for the embodying noun and the active verb, make reading very like the hard, bright, vigorous weather of the downs when the wind is up Channel. It is bracing."—H. M. TOMLINSON.¹

THE author of *The Spirit of the Age* was no ordinary man: he was a genius if ever there was one. Now, that word has lost much of its original force: it has become a sort of rubbed coin. At present there is a general abuse of words. They do not stand singly for an idea, as the late Mr. Edmund Candler has said somewhere, but have become clotted in the mosaic of a formula which may mean anything but which generally does not mean anything at all. They indicate more the absence of thought than the presence of it. Genius is a very rare phenomenon; almost as rare as the flowering of the aloe or the laying of the phoenix's egg.

Hazlitt himself has given us an illuminating description of it in one of his memorable essays:

"Talent differs from genius as voluntary differs from involuntary power. . . . A clever or ingenious man is one who can do anything well, whether it is worth doing or not; a great man is one who can do that which, when done, is of the greatest importance. Themistocles said he could not play on the flute but that he could make of a small city a great one. This gives us a pretty good idea of the distinction in question."²

Try him by what test you will, the man who gave us his invaluable criticisms of Shakespeare's plays and of the Elizabethan dramatists, who gave us *The Plain Speaker* and *Table Talk* and *Winterslow* and those inimitable personal sketches of some of his distinguished contemporaries that are gathered together in *The Spirit of the Age*, the man who was the friend of Coleridge and Wordsworth and Lamb,—he certainly was a genius in the most exalted sense of the term. But we are apt to forget the fact amid the plethora of geniuses that we have amongst us in these fearfully flourishing times. As the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton said beautifully:

"In the beginning of the twentieth century you could not see the ground for clever men. They were so common that a stupid man was quite exceptional."³

"DAMNING HIM WITH FAINT PRAISE"

The first thing, then, that we have to bear in mind in regard to Hazlitt is that he was a writer of rare distinction; a writer that has almost no parallel in the annals of English prose literature. There are those, of course, who like to belittle him, who grudge him his due, who "damn him with faint praise."

Hazlitt, certainly, was not a favourite of fortune. He was not born to attract men: his gift lay rather the other way. He lacked those more delicate charities, those *petites morales*, which, according to Boswell, Dr. Johnson also was deficient in, and the want of which his best friends could not fully justify. He was not one of your politic and smooth-tongued men. In his own day, as well as now (but to a much smaller extent), malicious critics have followed him, like bandogs, at his heels, ready to bark if he but deviated ever so slightly from the straight line. Not only have they railed at him openly, they have tried to injure him in subtler ways. One of these has been the institution of sundry invidious comparisons between him and his dearest friend, Charles Lamb, with, needless to say, everything in favour of Lamb. Now, I am not here concerned with the, doubtless, excruciatingly interesting question as to who, of the two, was the superior writer. There are fashions even in literary sympathies and antipathies, just as there are in trunk-hose and top-hats, and it is positive hardihood on one's part to ignore them and to follow the bent of one's own mind. It is simply asking for trouble.

BAGEHOT'S CRUSHING RETORT

It is meat and drink to be with those who prefer Lamb to Hazlitt: it is the line of least resistance; it is to swim with the current. There are cults whose creed is the worshipping of Lamb. But the danger in such insensate enthusiasm is that, however worthy the object of our idolatry may be, we are apt to love, not wisely, but too well. There is a curious instance of the fury that is possible to rise in one's breast by another's holding an opposite opinion. It is well-known that Walter Bagehot—a man who, as the late Mr. Augustine Birrell has remarked somewhere, carried away with him to his grave more originality of thought than anybody else—was an unabashed admirer of Hazlitt and preferred him, as a writer, to Lamb immensely. When that indefatigable literary diarist, Henry Crabb Robinson, heard this he could not control his righteous indignation and began raving like a mad man: "You, Sir, *you* prefer the works of that scoundrel, that odious, that malignant writer, to the exquisite essays of that angelic creature!" Bagehot protested that "there was no evidence that angels could write particularly well."⁴

Apart from the question of who, as between the two, was the greater writer this incident gives one an

1. *Old Jank*: (Cape, 1925: p. 206).

2. Hazlitt: *Table Talk*. Essay on "The Indian Jugglers."

3. G. K. Chesterton: Introductory remarks to his *Napoleon* *Notting Hill* (John Lane, 1904, p. 14).

4. Walter Bagehot's *Literary Studies*. Vol. III. (Longmans: p. 250).

idea of the inexplicable fog of prejudice in which Hazlitt has been enveloped. In fact, the very first difficulty that one encounters in writing of him is this same unmeaning and exasperating prejudice.

MIXING UP THE MAN AND THE WRITER

Hazlitt the man is too often mixed up with Hazlitt the writer when one is judging the merits of his books. This is, manifestly, unfair. As long as biographies have their vogue, of course, an author's private life cannot, it is obvious, be completely overlooked; but, surely, it ought not to weigh with one overmuch. Moreover, meeting his detractors on their own ground, he was not, let me respectfully suggest, the frightful ogre they uniformly represent him to be. Doubtless, he was not perfect: I may even concede that he was, perhaps, not exactly the kind of man to model one's life upon. We cannot, indeed, go to him for the homely virtues. For that matter, if we turned our scrutinising eye on those around us, we should, I am confident, find hardly a dozen among them who could be said to satisfy the canons as laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. Further, we should not have been aware of some of Hazlitt's foibles had he not himself, with disarming candour, revealed them to us: he was his own accuser. He had a fatal predilection for sitting for his own portrait, and the figure that emerges from his canvas is not always a very flattering one: there are too many shadows.

PUMPKINS AND CUCUMBERS

Had he not, like Rousseau, his favourite, loved incessantly to dwell upon himself, had he not worn his heart upon his sleeve "for daws to peck at," he would, quite conceivably, have passed, like the most of us, for a virtuous enough man. It is not, by any means, an extravagant conjecture that the vast majority of those who are regarded, by the ignorant public, as being above moral reproach, as being beyond the shafts of opprobrious criticism, are not really, if it comes to a merciless showdown, more worthy than their more unfortunate brethren but have the rare skill to hide their shortcomings and thus contrive to appear infinitely better than they are. The world is essentially a world of make-believe, and that being so, those who wish to pass off for a certain thing (that they are far from being) often do succeed—to the intense chagrin of all right-thinking persons—in getting themselves reckoned at their own valuation. They secure, if I may put it so, enormously more for their wares than their real cost-price. They follow the fruitful maxim that unless we show ourselves off as some pumpkins we run the danger of not being regarded even as cucumbers. But, as Mr. Birrell has pointed out in his monograph on Hazlitt in the *English Men of Letters* series:

"It does not follow as the night the day that lives were wholly free from shameful incidents because, as recorded by biographers, those who led them are made to appear as . . .

'Men that every virtue decks,
And women models of their sex,
Society's true ornament'."

"DARED TO BE A DANIEL"

The utmost that the Devil's Advocate can say against Hazlitt is that he lacked prudence and foresight. He was not, in other words, well-versed in the devious ways of the world. He was, however, honest to the backbone and carried independence of thought to a degree that had rarely been attained before nor, probably, ever will be. He was a Radical in politics; and never changed his party or his principles, come what might. As Sir Leslie Stephen has said:

"Among politicians he was a faithful Abdiel when all others had deserted the cause."—(*Hours in a Library*, Vol. II.)

He was so thorough-going, indeed, in his views that he even did not mind, on occasion, sacrificing his best friends for the sake of his opinions. He was an admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte when it was a point of good breeding to hold him in utter detestation. He admired Napoleon so much that, in the end, he wrote a *Life* of him. Whatever his feelings he expressed them most fearlessly. As he himself has recorded proudly, he had considerable intellectual courage: he

"Dared to be a Daniel,
Dared to stand alone."

He was one of those who are born to be in a minority, and, very often in a minority of one. But that never made him unhappy. He was thrice fortified as one who knew his cause to be absolutely right. In fact, this was one of his most pleasing traits; and one to which we should give the fullest meed of our praise. A thoroughly honest and independent man is born but once in a while and we should, instead of reviling him, regard his arrival as a portent:

A MAN OF QUICK SYMPATHIES

Hazlitt was a man of quick sympathies, and it is interesting to learn of the beginnings of his passionate adoration of Napoleon. When Napoleon was a First Consul he was, we are informed, introduced to an officer named Lovelace. "Why," he exclaimed with extraordinary emotion, "that is the name of the man in *Clarissa*!" When Hazlitt heard of this incident he, in Mr. Birrell's memorable words, "fell in love with Napoleon on the spot and subsequently wrote his *Life* in four volumes."

There is another instance. Hazlitt relates in his famous essay, "The Fight," his meeting, at an inn, a tall English yeoman who let fall the observation that to him "Shakespeare, Hogarth, and Nature were just enough to know." He immediately set himself to cultivate that yeoman's acquaintance. He, certainly, had an eager spirit.

HIS FIRST IMPULSE TO WRITE

Hazlitt was, essentially, a solitary man. In spite of his nomadic way of life and love of conversation he

shut himself up within himself: he was self-immersed to the point of morbidity. He was thoughtful from early boyhood. His first readings were in philosophy and metaphysics; and his first writings, too. He set inordinate store by these youthful effusions: he recurred to them often in his essays. But they were the least part of his literary work: I have mentioned them only to indicate the early bent of his mind. Not only was he immensely thoughtful, he thought on his own lines. His mind was untrammelled by what had been said and thought before: he always struck out a path for himself. He was fully justified in saying: "I have written no commonplace, nor a line that licks the dust." As Coleridge wrote of him, "He said things in his own way."

He felt the first impulse to write on coming across Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord*. For the first time he began to wonder what a fine thing it would be "to be able to convey the slightest conception of my meaning to others in words." He knew the tortures of expression. Though he was an exquisite writer the gift came to him only late in life. If Burke initially led him to appreciate the art of writing, of self-expression, it fell to the lot of Coleridge to encourage him to join the literary brotherhood. Hazlitt describes, in his well-known essay, "My First Acquaintance with Poets", his meeting with Coleridge at his father's house, the interests that that great man evinced in him, his being invited to Nether Stowey, and his accompanying Coleridge on his way back for six miles and being held entranced by the poet's endless discourse:

"I would swear that the very milestones had ears, and that Harmer-hill stooped, with all its pines, to listen to a poet as he passed."

COLERIDGE

In his writings, it will be noticed, Hazlitt often refers to Coleridge—even where there would appear to be no readily ascertainable reason for it—but with ever-diminishing enthusiasm: the hero-worshipper had gradually given place to the stern and unbending critic. After enumerating Coleridge's innumerable gifts in a characteristically eloquent passage in his portrait of him in *The Spirit of the Age* he ends thus:

"Alas! 'Frailty, thy name is Genius!' What is become of all this mighty heap of hope, of thought, of learning, and humanity? It has ended in swallowing doses of oblivion and in writing paragraphs in the *Courier*. . . Such and so little is the mind of man!"

In the same vein he concludes his lecture on "The Living Poets":

"But I may say of him (Coleridge) here that he is the only person I ever knew who answers to the idea of a man of genius. He is the only person from whom I ever learnt anything. There is only one thing he could learn from me in return, but that he has not. He was the first poet I ever knew. His genius at that time had angelic wings and fed on manna. He talked on for ever; and you wished

him to talk on for ever. His thoughts did not seem to come with labour and effort; but as if borne on the gusts of genius and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him from off his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its sound alone was the music of thought. His mind was clothed with wings; and, raised on them, he lifted philosophy to heaven. In his descriptions you then saw the progress of human happiness and liberty in bright and never-ending succession, like the steps of Jacob's ladder, with airy shapes ascending and descending, and with the voice of God at the top of the ladder. And shall I, who heard him then, listen to him now? Not I . . . That spell is broke; that time is gone for ever; that voice is heard no more; but still the recollection comes rushing by with thoughts of long-past years, and rings in my ears with never-dying sound."

A CONSERVATIVE IN HIS LITERARY TASTES

Hazlitt was no book-worm: to him reading was not an end in itself: he had no vanity of knowledge. He read few books—and those of old authors; and to these he returned again and again. He did not care for contemporary literature. With the exception of Sir Walter Scott he did not allow new writers a place on his shelves. He was as conservative in his literary tastes as he was radical in politics. He says somewhere: "Women judge of books as they do of fashions or complexions which are admired only 'in their newest gloss.'" In his essay, "On Reading Old Books," he offers a reason for his antipathy to new authors:

"I hate to read new books . . . Contemporary writers may generally be divided into two classes—one's friends or one's foes. Of the first we are compelled to think too well, and of the last we are disposed to think too ill, to receive much genuine pleasure from the perusal or to judge fairly of the merits of either. One candidate for literary fame who happens to be our acquaintance writes finely and like a man of genius, but unfortunately has a foolish face, which spoils a delicate passage; and another inspires us with the highest respect for his personal talents and character, but does not come up to our expectations in print. All these contradictions and petty details interrupt the calm current of our reflections."

ON SIR WALTER SCOTT

Hazlitt made an exception, as I have hinted, in the case of Sir Walter Scott. He simply revelled in his novels. He, indeed, had no exaggerated notions of Scott's intrinsic genius: in fact, he was reluctant to concede him the title of an original thinker: he regarded him only as an unsurpassed and unsurpassable collector and compiler of interesting facts, as a sort of "human documentarian," if I may coin a phrase. He had an unerring eye for essentials and often hit the bull's eye in his criticisms. He summed up Scott's merits as follows:

"His (Scott's) worst is better than any other person's best. . . . His works 'taken together'

6. *Lectures on the English Poets* Everyman's Edition, p. 167.
7. *The Plain Speaker*.

are almost like a new edition of human nature. This is, indeed, to be an author!"—(*The Spirit of the Age*.)

Hazlitt tried his hand at painting in his early days and spent much time at his brother's studio. He dabbled in the art for a few years but (the fates intervening) gave it up later for the more arduous profession of letters. It was not that he did not do moderately well in it; he had, however, the wit to recognise that he was not born to wield the brush but to ply the pen. But that early love never altogether forsook him and he turned his knowledge of painting to literary ends. A not inconsiderable body of his writings is devoted to the criticism of pictures. He wrote like one that knew what was going on behind the scenes. Among painters Titian occupied the foremost place in his heart; and one comes across his name frequently in his books.

ONE OF THE EARLIEST OF DRAMATIC CRITICS

Hazlitt was one of the earliest of dramatic critics. He loved play-going and loved more the writing upon it. He has given us unforgettable descriptions of some of the finest actors of his day: he has pointed out, with remarkable penetration, their respective merits and defects. This is on Edmund Kean: "He treads close upon the genius of his author (Shakespeare)." In his beautiful essay, "On Actors and Acting," he shows us the nobility of the profession and attacks those who spoke of it disdainfully: "Players are only not so respectable as they might be because their profession is not respected as it ought to be." This essay is one of his very best. This one and "On Going a Journey" and "The Fight" and "My First Acquaintance with Poets" and "The Feeling of Immortality in Youth" and "The Indian Jugglers" would have been quite sufficient, in my opinion, to ensure his fame even if he had not written anything else. It is in speaking of the second of these essays that Stevenson was moved to declare: "We are mighty fine fellows but we cannot write like William Hazlitt." In fact, Stevenson was so enamoured of Hazlitt's writings that he once nearly decided to write his biography; but, as our ill-luck would have it, he was deterred (at the last minute, so to speak) by a perusal of the latter's *Libor Amoris*. His omission thus to write is, I have no hesitation in saying, one of the major misfortunes of English literature, besides, of course, being an unmerited disaster to Hazlitt himself. Hazlitt has been uniformly unfortunate in his biographers with the exception of the most recent of them, Mr. P. P. Howe, in mentioning whose name in the context of our immortal author we shall not be honouring it so much

"As giving it a hope that there
It could not wither'd be."

If Stevenson had not, on such a flimsy ground, fought shy of the experiment we should have had not only the

best but the most sympathetic biography of Hazlitt that has up to now been written—again excepting Mr. P. P. Howe's.

HAZLITT'S SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM

Hazlitt's Shakesporean criticisms are, perhaps, the finest of their kind. Nor am I to be understood as forgetting the august name of Coleridge in this connection. I here and now disclaim any wish to take sides in the matter. It is possible that Coleridge's Shakesporean criticism is, taken as a whole, much the pro-founder of the two. In amplitude of mind Coleridge, among English critics, takes the cake. The co-author of the *Lyrical Ballads* was a philosopher and metaphysician of no mean calibre; nor was he, in his literary criticisms, appreciably less of either. Hazlitt also, as I have noted earlier, was both a philosopher and a metaphysician in his early days and, like his own Indian jugglers, loved to toss a multiplicity of dialectical balls into the air without failing to catch them again on their downward journey. But when he took to literature he took care to be strictly literary; and it may well be that to this parting of the ways must be attributed the absence in his Shakesporean criticisms of those grand sweeps and lofty circlings that characterise the movement of Coleridge's mind with respect to the same. In retrospect it seems to me that Hazlitt made a wise choice in that he was enabled thereby to escape the danger of being exasperatingly woolly on occasion in the manner of his eminent friend and colleague. Hazlitt had the twin virtues of knowing his own mind definitely on any subject and of communicating it to his readers in the most unambiguous form possible. Unlike Coleridge he did not "gyre and gimble in the wabe." His literary criticism might thus have been deficient in the virtues of what I may call the Higher Moonshine. It made up for that deficiency, however, by having its feet firmly planted on the solid ground. If it did not ascend too high to the empyrean it did not descend too low into the nether regions either. It is my firm conviction that, taking it by and large, Hazlitt has no reason to hang his head down in shame before the name and fame of his one-time mentor. In Shakesporean criticism he has (let it be said without any beating about the bush) the honour of holding it as high as, if not higher than, the latter.

SPECIMENS

Of Hamlet he writes:

"Hamlet is a name; his speeches and sayings but the idle coinage of the poet's brain. What, then, are they not real? They are as real as our own thoughts. Their reality is in the reader's mind. It is we who are Hamlet."

He says of Romeo: "Romeo is Hamlet in love." In speaking of Shakespeare's insight into Nature he writes:

"Other dramatic writers give us very fine versions and paraphrases of Nature; but Shakespeare, together with his own comments, gives us the original text that we may judge for ourselves."

Can the following passage on Falstaff be bettered?

"This is perhaps the most substantial comic character that ever was invented. Sir John carries a most portly presence in the mind's eye; and in him, not to speak of it profanely, 'we behold the fullness of the spirit of wit and humour bodily.' We are as well acquainted with his person as with his mind, and his jokes come upon us with double force and relish from the quantity of flesh through which they make their way as he shakes his fat sides with laughter, or 'lards the lean earth as he walks along.' Other comic characters seem, if we approach and handle them, to resolve themselves into air, 'into thin air'; but this is embodied and palpable to the grossest apprehension: it lies 'three fingers deep upon the ribs,' it plays about the lungs and the diaphragm with all the force of animal enjoyment. His body is like a good estate to his mind, from which he receives rents and revenues of profit and pleasure in kind, according to its extent, and the richness of the soil. Wit is often a meagre substitute for pleasurable sensation; an effusion of spleen and petty spite at the comforts of others, from feeling none in itself. Falstaff's wit is an emanation of a fine constitution; an exuberance of good humour and good nature; an overflowing of his love of laughter and good fellowship; a giving vent to his heart's ease, and overcontentment with himself and others."⁸

"CUT AND COME AGAIN" QUALITY

He proceeds:

"He would not be in character if he were not as fat as he is; for there is the greatest keeping in the boundless luxury of his imagination and the pampered self-indulgence of his physical appetites. He manures and nourishes his mind with jests as he does his body with sack and sugar. He carves out his jokes, as he would a capon or a haunch of venison, where there is *cut and come again*; and pours out upon them the oil of gladness. His tongue drops fatness, and in the chambers of his brain 'it snows of meat and drink.' He keeps up perpetual holiday and open house and we live with him in a round of invitations to a rump and dozen. Yet we are not to suppose that he was a mere sensualist. All this is as much in imagination as in reality. His sensuality does not engross and stupefy his other faculties, but 'ascends me into the brain, clears away all the dull, crude vapours that environ it, and makes it full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes.' His imagination keeps up the ball after his senses have done with it."⁹

His entire essay on Falstaff merits quotation, but I shall stop here. Nor is a passage of this superlative excellence a mere flash in the pan, an isolated affair. Hazlitt's writings, no less than (according to himself) Falstaff's jokes, have a "cut and come again" quality about them.

His "Gusto"

Hazlitt's works are thickly strewn with quotations

from Shakespeare. When dissertating on Hazlitt's critical acumen we shall do well to remember that he had no formal training of any kind, that he was his own guide in the intricate paths of literature, that, in short, whatever his views, he spun them, spiderlike, entirely out of himself. He was indebted to no one, living or dead, for them. His thoughts were his own and bore the impress of strong originality.

"This phoenix built the phoenix's nest,
His architecture was his own."

In his literary criticism he did not so much instruct his readers as guide them along what he considered were wholesome channels. He pointed out the choicest passages of each of his authors and contrived to kindle his own enthusiasm in the breasts of his readers or hearers. He was, broadly speaking, a much more reliable teacher than many so-called professors of literature. He was never dry or uninteresting. As the late Mr. Charles Whibley wrote of him: "He read with the taste of the connoisseur and he wrote with the fury of the enthusiast." The chief quality of his writings is "gusto". He had an instinctive love for literature—he lived and moved and had his being in it. He read his favourite authors as lovers scan the faces of their beloveds. He was so in all matters. Whatever he took to he took to it with his whole heart and soul: he did not believe in half-measures. With all his fervent love for books, however, he was not that nauseating creature—a pedant. He bustled about the world as much as anyone else; and (very properly) he interpreted the books he read in the light of the facts of life, or as many of them as he managed to grasp. Literature was to him a relaxation, not a toil; and anything is a relaxation that "comes home to the bosoms and businesses of men." As Professor Oliver Elton says:

"Literature gives him perhaps the least alloyed element of his happiness, and good words are like a glass of wine to him."

As for the weight of his criticisms he proceeds:

"By the time he has done them (that is, his *Lectures on the English Poets* at the Surrey Institution in 1818) he has managed to present a body of critical writings more than equal in mass to all that has been saved from the pens of Lamb and Coleridge put together; more panoramic on range, and more connected in view, and, at its best, as rare and revealing in its own fashion as theirs."¹⁰

In the opinion of another eminent judge, the late Professor George Saintsbury:

"You get such appreciation in the best, the most thorough, the most delightful, the most *valuable* sense, as had been seldom seen since Dryden, never before, and in him not frequently.

⁸ *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays: "Henry IV."*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *A Survey of English Literature (1780-1830), Vol. II: By Prof. Oliver Elton (Edward Arnold, 1912, p. 371).*

I do not know in what language to look for a parallel wealth." (My italics)¹²

AS AN ESSAYIST

It is as an essayist, however, that Hazlitt is popularly known. He wrote about a hundred essays in all; and I can affirm that not one of these is dull. There may, sometimes, be no system or method in them; but it is my conviction that system or method would have been their undoing. There are some writers who cannot, if only to save their souls, write to order: ideas come to them *impromptu* and not according to any previous arrangement. Nothing, indeed, gives them greater delight than defying rules. Not a few of the very greatest writers have trusted to inspiration rather than to premeditation; and though that way of setting about the business may not be wholesome from a theoretical point of view it cannot be gainsaid that it often works well in practice. It is not that they are lacking in the power of cerebration: there is, not seldom, a larger amount of it in their writings than in those of the more methodical essayists. The important consideration, surely, is not whether one has meticulously thought out one's line of procedure beforehand, but whether, when the whole essay is finished, it is eminently readable: that is all that any of us has a right to ask of a writer. Nobody judges an actor by going into the green-room and examining the devices of his "make-up": we judge him *after* he has come before the foot-lights and by the manner of his acting. The same is true of the essayist. It is the cumulative result that we want and not the various steps by which the thing has been accomplished. Hazlitt, then, lacked system. In one of his essays he has himself confessed:

"After I begin them (the essays, that is) I am only anxious to get to the end of them, which I am not sure I shall do, for I seldom see my way a page or even a sentence beforehand; and when I have, as by a miracle, escaped, I trouble myself little more about them."

A BORN WRITER

In spite of this, however, Hazlitt was a born writer. He could write upon anything and could write that marvellously well. It was with him no matter what he wrote—it was at once imbued with a form of its own and was stamped with the unmistakable mark of genius. Writing came naturally to him and the subject was only of secondary importance: sometimes, it must be conceded, the subsidiary swallows up the primary and the captain's luggage all but sinks the ship and cargo. But the thing works well in his hands and his essays give unending delight. In a phrase immortalised by Charles Lamb, they belong to the class of "perpetually self-reproductive volumes—Great Nature's Stereotypes."

11. *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste*, Vol. III: By Prof. George Saintsbury (Blackwood).

HIS STYLE

I must now discuss the question of his style. De Quincey, it is well-known, could not abide it: being at the opposite pole to his own it gave him, we may conjecture, a pain on the neck. But before coming to the Opium Eater's view of Hazlitt's style let me remind my readers of what our one and only G.K.C. deemed it fit to say of De Quincey's own sentences. Chesterton described them in the happy phrase that "they lengthen out like nightmare corridors or rise higher and higher like impossible eastern pagodas."¹³

By an irony of fate it fell to the lot of this same perverse stylist to fall foul of Hazlitt's unexceptionable mode of writing. He condemned it as being "discontinuous," and his thoughts as being "abrupt, insulated, capricious and non-sequacious." He continued:

"Hazlitt's brilliancy is seen chiefly in separate splinterings of phrase or image which throw upon the eye a vitreous scintillation for a moment, but spread no deep suffusion of colour and distribute no masses of mighty shadow. A flash, a solitary flash, and all is gone."¹⁴

I suppose this rhodomontade means something, though, for the moment it passes such comprehension as the Almighty has bestowed upon me. The fact, however, is that De Quincey was never known to have been guilty of giving anyone credit for writing well excepting Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne and—well, not to put too fine a point upon it, himself. It was almost an obsession with him that his own style was the finest in the heavens above, the earth below and the waters underneath the earth, and that all others must, perforce, write badly: his geese were all swans while other writers' swans were, inevitably, apt to be only geese. I do not pretend to be able to analyse Hazlitt's style too minutely. But I venture to assert that it was as perfect a prose style as ever was written: at its very best it was nothing short of being superb. As Prof. Elton puts it:

"Hazlitt is in the ranks of the classic English writers whom he knows well. He has read Bacon and Dryden and Earle and Addison and has got something from most of them; for one thing, his manly strength and remarkably undefiled purity of diction, which cannot well be described, for it is not strange or mannered, and for this reason defies parody. It is good to go to school to him for vocabulary and idiom; the great distillers of language, the Elizabethan re-incarnate, like Charles Lamb, may produce something, more rare and wonderful, but they are not such good models. *Hazlitt simply uses right English, and the only way to profit by him is to do the same.*" (My italics.)

HENLEY ON HAZLITT

Hazlitt is fond of simple but forceful sentences

12. *The Victorian Age in Literature*: By G. K. Chesterton (H. V. L. Serice), pp. 24-25.

13. *De Quincey's Works*, Vol. V: Edited by Masson: A. L. C. Black, 1897, p. 231.

14. *A Survey of English Literature*, Vol. II (1789-1830): By Prof. Oliver Elton (Arnold, 1913, p. 368).

where every word tells. He is fond of variation. At the end of a couple of sentences we may remain at the same point of thought, but, with each sentence, the sense of it is brought home to us in ever-increasing measure, and, at the end of them all, we are left in no doubt whatever of the author's meaning. He is fond of images; and he flings them at our heads one after another without the least betrayal of effort. Quotations abound; sometimes in the most unexpected places. He applies them in his own fashion. Nor does he mind repeating them as often as the fancy takes him. After reading him for a while we become as familiar with them as he himself.

We can know the man from his writings. There is an unmistakable ring of sincerity in his words. He feels every syllable he writes, and makes us feel, too. He plunges unto his subject headlong; and every word that he utters is a blow aimed at the heart. Further, he indulges in astonishing comparisons. This is how, for instance, he chooses to describe the play of Cavanagh, the famous fives' player:

"His blows were not undecided and ineffectual, lumbering like Mr. Wordsworth's epic poetry, nor wavering like Mr. Coleridge's lyric prose, nor short of the mark like Mr. Brougham's speeches, nor wide of it like Mr. Canning's wit, nor foul like the *Quarterly*, nor let balls like the *Edinburgh Review*. Cobbet and Junius together would have made a Cavanagh."¹⁵

Was ever a player described like this before? No wonder W. E. Henley was impelled to conclude his celebrated essay on Hazlitt with the ever-memorable sentence: "Hazlitt is ever Hazlitt; and at his highest moments Hazlitt is hard to beat and has not these many years been beaten."

AS A TALKER

Hazlitt excelled even more as a talker. He loved good talk and good company. If he was a good talker he was even a better listener and has recorded in imperishable language the conversational peculiarities of his friends, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, Haydon, and Lamb. The passage is so scintillating that I must be excused for quoting it in full:

"Wordsworth sometimes talks like a man inspired on subjects of poetry (his own out of the question), Coleridge well on every subject, and Godwin on none; Mrs. Montague's conversation is as fine-cut as her features and I like to sit in the room with that sort of coronet face. What she says leaves a flavour like fine green tea. Hunt's is like champagne and Northcote's like anchovy sandwiches. Haydon's is like a game at trapball, Lamb's like snapdragon; and my own (if I do not mistake the matter) is not much unlike a game at nine-pins."¹⁶

Here, however, is Lamb's certificate of Hazlitt's prowess as a conversationalist. He writes to Wordsworth:

"In spite of all there is something tough in my

attachment to Hazlitt, which these violent strainings cannot quite dislocate or sever asunder. I get no conversation in London that is absolutely worth attending to but his."¹⁷

Talfourd writes in the same strain:

"In argument he was candid and liberal; there was nothing about him pragmatistical or exclusive; he never drove a principle to its utmost possible consequences but, like Locksley, 'allowed for the wind'."

HIS GENEROSITY

If anyone happened to use a bright and impressive phrase it was at once locked up in Hazlitt's memory and he had a knack of recurring to it long after it had been uttered. He was generous in appreciation of others and unstinted in his generosity. He always gave everyone his due. He loved more to dwell on the merits of others than to lose himself in perfervid admiration of his own. Unlike Hal o' th' Wynd he never "fought for his own hand" in literary honours. It is Mr. Birrell who says:

"A life freer from greed of gain or taint of literary vanity is not to be found in the records of English literature."¹⁸

In Sir Leslie Stephen's words:

"Still less was he selfish in the sense of preferring solid bread and butter to the higher needs of mind and spirit. His sentiments are always generous, and if scorn is too familiar a mood it is scorn for the base and servile."¹⁹

"ELIA'S" TRIBUTE

I shall now conclude my article. Most writers have judged Hazlitt rather too harshly. The world has been one too many for him, as Mr. Tulliver (senior) in *The Mill on the Floss* would have put it. The worst fault of Hazlitt was his temper. But the man has been dead for more than a century and we, at any rate, do not stand to suffer anything at his hands. It is much more desirable that we try to understand the causes of his unusual bitterness than that we lash ourselves into fury at it. Let us first "scan" him aright and only afterwards lay the whip of Zabern across his shoulders, if, that is, we still persist in our adverse opinion about him. Let us emulate, rather, Lamb's charitable disposition: Lamb who had often reason to be put out with Hazlitt: when he, knowing all the circumstances, could forgive him it ought, surely, to be much less difficult for us to forgive him, too. Here is what Lamb has to say:

"Protesting against much that he has written and some things which he chooses to do; judging him by his conversation which I enjoyed so long and relished so deeply; or by his books, in those

16. *The Plain Speaker: Essay on "The Conversation of Authors."*

17. Quoted by E. V. Lucas in his *Life of Charles Lamb*, Vol. I, Methuen, p. 252.

18. Augustine Birrell's *William Hazlitt* (E.M.L. Series, Pocket Edition), 1926, p. 214.

19. *Hours in a Library*, Vol. II: By Leslie Stephen, Murray, 1920. Essay on Hazlitt.

15. *Table Talk: Essay on "The Indian Jugglers."*

places where no clouding passion intervenes, I should belie my own conscience if I said less than that I think W. H. to be, in his natural and healthy state, one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing. So far from being ashamed of that intimacy which was betwixt us it is my boast that I was able for —:O:-

so many years to have preserved it entire; and I think I shall go to my grave without finding, or expecting to find, such another companion.¹⁷⁸⁰

20. Charles Lamb's *Open Letter to Robert Southey*. First printed in the *London Magazine* for October, 1823.

AGRICULTURAL FINANCE IN INDIA

By PROF. P. K. GHOSE, M.A.

IN any economic set-up with a predominant agrarian bias the urgency of agricultural finance needs no reiteration. Unfortunately, however, while recognising the overwhelming importance of rural finance in theory there has been little objective study of the issues involved and little practical achievement so far. The problems of Indian agronomy have always been so numerous that even in purely academic treatise on the subject there has emerged in the ultimate analysis a sort of circular reasoning. Thus, not only has the position not improved the situation has taken a grave turn in recent years and threatens the very existence of the nation in its traditional make-up. Ameliorative measures so far adopted—which we shall have occasion to refer to in the subsequent pages—have proved to be half-hearted, co-ordinating links being virtually absent.

Financing agriculture is a type of operation different from industrial and commercial financing. In small-scale individualistic system of agriculture the relatively slow turn-over and low return on invested capital and the virtual absence of control over production and prices preclude the credit sources open to large industrial concerns being readily available to farmers; they also impede the extensive application of corporate financing by way of long-term bonds so widely used in business financing.* Moreover, since traditional commercial banking has come to hold liquidity as its primary tenet the comparatively slow turn-over of capital in agricultural operations has also prevented ordinary commercial banks from undertaking the short-term risks involved in agricultural finance. Indeed the methods best suited to serve the credit requirements of agriculturists need to be formulated in the context inter alia of the above and similar factors. Problems of rural finance necessitate exclusive handling by experts.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS—THE STARTING POINT

It was sometime in the second half of the last century that the disquieting features associated with the phenomenal rise in rural indebtedness in India were responsible for pointed attention being drawn to the need for organising the machinery of rural finance more effectively. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee commented very strongly on this issue as also on the miserably low standard of living of agriculturists in British India. While the total agrarian debt was believed to be somewhere near Rs. 1200 crores, the average annual

income of a cultivator was estimated at only Rs. 42. It was recognised, however, that a large portion of the appalling rural debt was actually inherited from the previous generation. The contention is worth credence in view of Hindu religious sentiments, which regard ancestral debts as a sacred obligation despite such debts being legally invalid not to speak of legally valid debts.

A DIGRESSION ON PRESENT-DAY VIEWS

A strong and widespread belief in this country is that as a result of the war (of 1939-45) and post-war developments there has been a substantial reduction of rural debts. Extreme views in this regard even suggest that much of the old debt has been wiped out. However more informed views indicate that though debts may have been reduced the extent of such reduction has not been great. Further, while the debts of large and medium land-holders have undergone substantial reduction, that in case of small land-holders, tenants and labourers has been very small. The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Institute and Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu of Madras also bear testimony to this contention.

The Institute in its survey of the indebtedness of the members of Co-operative Societies in the Karnatak and Deccan regions of the Bombay Province observed that there was substantial reduction of debts between 1939-44. But while there was considerable reduction among cultivators of large holdings, the percentage decrease going up to 50, in the case of small holdings of less than 5 acres the extent of reduction was small and in some tracts there was even an increase of debt between 9 and 30 per cent.

Dr. Naidu, who conducted his survey in the province of Madras as a whole, reported that between 1939-45 the rural debt in the province was reduced to the extent of about 20 per cent pointing out that the major part of the benefit arising out of reduction was confined to the larger and medium land-holders. The position of small land-holders remained almost the same and that of tenants and labourers really worsened. While some may pose complacence observing a general improvement in the position as a whole we are unable to endorse it for quite obvious reasons.

GENERAL SURVEY—CONTINUED

While the extent of rural debts and their consequences drew pointed attention to the defective organisation of agricultural credit in India, it was simultaneously felt that deficiencies in the varied aspects of the agronomy also demanded reorganisation of the rural financial

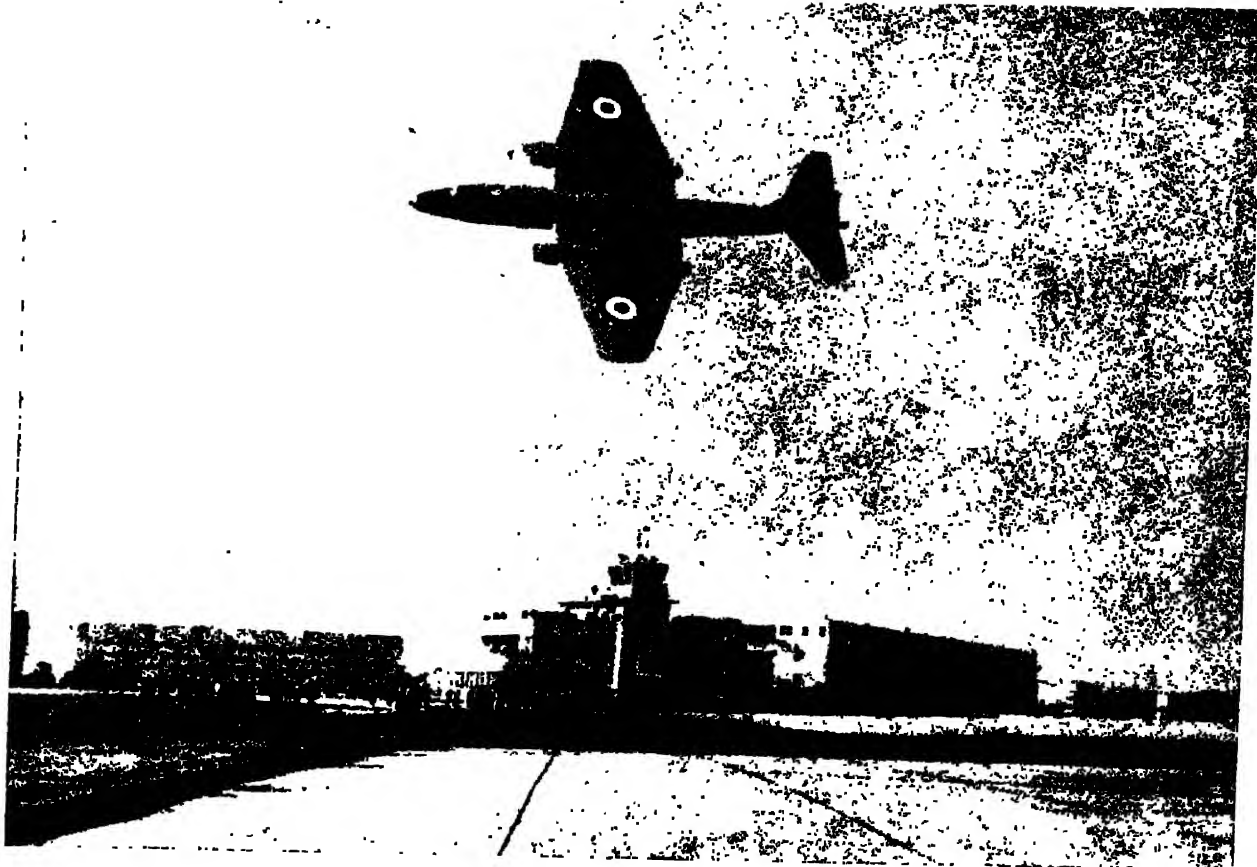
* *Review of Land Economics*.



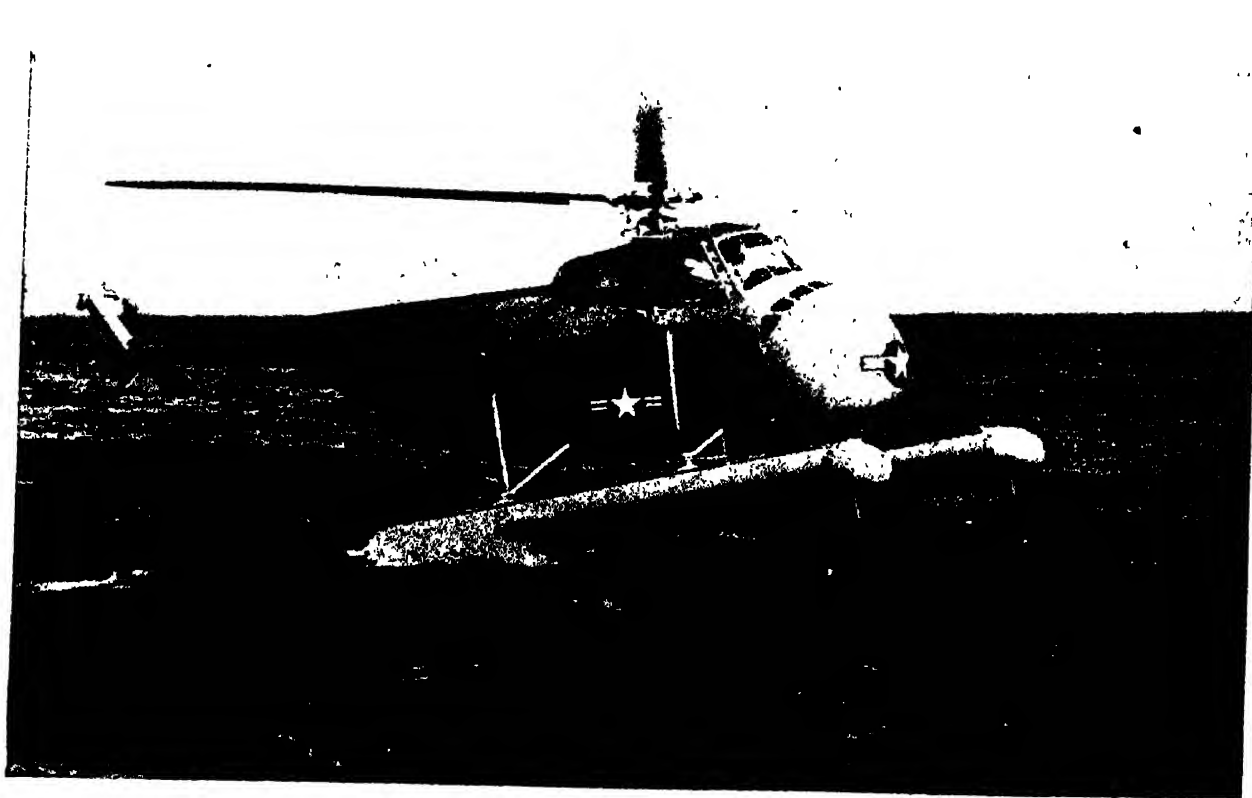
Mrs. B. K. Nehru (*right*), wife of the Indian Embassy's Financial Counsellor at Washington, presents a doll depicting Indian costumes to the wife of a Washington lawyer



Dr. Anup Singh, a member of the U. N. Commission in Korea, receives a bouquet from a Korean girl



This British twin-jet Canberra light bomber, ordered for the U. S. Air Force, is demonstrated to the airplane manufacturers at Baltimore, Maryland



The U. S. Air Force Sikorsky H-19 helicopter, equipped with amphibious landing gear, which enables operation of the plane on land or in the water

machinery. The burden of debts, it was observed, was eating away the core of Indian agriculture. Transfer of holdings to non-agriculturists leading to an increase in the number of landless labourers was one among a host of disastrous consequences of the then existing state of affairs, which prompted the problem of rural indebtedness to be tackled from two different angles. The first obvious necessity was to devise ways and means of liquidating the existing debt. Then it was necessary to prevent any future tendency towards raising unproductive debts which unfortunately constituted the major part of the existing debt.

MONEYLENDERS AND INDIGENOUS BANKERS

It was a significant feature of all loans raised in rural India that they were mostly unproductive debts and even in case of productive loans there was no difference in the terms and conditions concerning interest rates, redemption, etc., so far as long and short-term loans were concerned. The village moneylenders and the indigenous bankers were the only agencies from whom the cultivators could raise loans in early times. The lending agencies are sometimes condemned in view of their objectionable practices but having regard to the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in those days, nay, throughout the British era, indiscriminate criticism does not seem to be warranted.

The moneylenders and indigenous bankers were engaged in varied types of activities depending upon local customs and usages. They lent money with or without security according as the amount of loan was large or small, sometimes on the signing by the borrower of a conditional sale deed. In no case, however, did they enquire about the purpose for which the loans were being raised. The rate of interest charged varied widely from place to place and were as high as could be exacted under circumstances, ranging from 12 to 37½ per cent and sometimes even higher in case of loans granted without security. Interest was always calculated at a compound rate so that very soon the amount due by way of interest far exceeded the amount originally borrowed. Non-professional moneylenders like the landlords often exercised coercive influence over their tenants and any money lent was realised without any scruples of justice or good sense.

Of the objectionable practices of moneylenders just referred to, the more common were those of demanding advance rent, getting blank papers impressed with the thumb-impression of illiterate debtors, getting promissory notes signed for much larger amounts than the amount lent, using coercive methods to obtain conditional sale deed, etc. In their favour it has been said that they were often found to be very lenient in their treatment towards their clients since they knew that their prosperity really depended upon that of their clients. Regarding high and sometimes exorbitant rates of interest, in some cases at least these were justified in view of the risks involved, while the expenses of management and inadequacy of securities offered were other

grounds on which the rates of interest were bound to be high.

Anyhow the first task of the government—brought to its senses—was legislative action to check usury. The Usurious Loans Act was passed in 1918, and in 1930 the Punjab Regulation of Accounts Act. On the recommendation of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee most of the provinces undertook similar legislation, which though designed on the same model, differed in minor details from one province to another.

Various factors were responsible for the decline of moneylenders' activities of which legislative measures were undoubtedly the most important. Estrangement in their relationship with borrowers and the growth of co-operative societies also contributed towards the same end. To many it has been for the better. Others believe that the void left in rural India by the decline of moneylenders' activities remains yet to be filled. Licensing moneylenders was advocated in some quarters with a view to bring them within the fold of organised banking. Unfortunately all attempts in this regard failed due among others to the fact that the terms offered were not found acceptable to them. Nevertheless laws were enacted in many provinces including the Punjab, C.P., Bengal, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa with a view to secure their registration and licensing. But, in the absence of proper supervision and inspection of moneylenders' activities, even compulsory registration did not prove to be of much help in the solution of the problem at stake.

The indigenous bankers of India, next to moneylenders, have fared a comparatively better lot at least in connection with official attack through legislation. They belonged to distinct castes and undertook banking as a family business. There were the Jains, Marwaris, Chetties and such others many of whom used to change their area of operation from time to time. Of late the Marwaris were found to concentrate their activities in and around Calcutta, while Chetties flourished in Madras, Khatrias in the Punjab, Shikarpuri Multanis in Sind and Bombay.

A noteworthy feature in indigenous banking was that banking activity was combined with trade in majority of cases, so much so that the capital involved in the two types of activities could not be differentiated. The decline of indigenous banking indeed came about primarily due to greater opportunities in the sphere of trade engaging their attention and their inclination towards trading activities rather than banking. Moreover, the antiquated banking methods which they persistently tried to preserve in the face of severe onslaughts from modern banking methods as also lack of contact with joint-stock banks reacted and brought about their decline much earlier than would have been the case otherwise.

It must be remembered that indigenous bankers were of necessity required to carry on their activities through local moneylenders and traders of rural area chiefly on account of difficulties in having direct relation with cultivators. Further, their activities were largely restricted with the passage of Land Alienation Acts in some of the

provinces. Attempts were made by the Reserve Bank of India since its inception to bring rural indigenous bankers into its fold but to no avail.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The Co-operative movement constitutes another highlight in the field of rural finance, chronologically speaking, next to the village moneylenders and indigenous bankers. Indeed the rural credit as well as the rural multi-purpose societies have been regarded as "miniature" banks for villages, and are taken to be the only appropriate organisations through which banking facilities can reach the vast mass of the rural population.* The growth of the co-operative societies and banks—more particularly of co-operative credit societies—has been phenomenal since the first piece of legislation was enacted in this regard in 1904. In fact the process of development has not ceased altogether. The results of operation of the co-operative banks and societies in 1948-49 as compared to 1947-48 were as follows :

	Net Profits	
	1947-48 Rs.	1948-49 Rs.
Provincial Co-operative Banks and Central Co-operative Banks ..	5,677,074	6,957,834
Agricultural Societies ..	11,500,289	14,152,757
Land Mortgage Banks and Societies ..	433,266	472,726
Non-agricultural Societies ..	20,233,616	24,918,757
Total ..	37,844,245	46,502,074

(Source : "Statistical Statements relating to the Co-operative Movement in India" published by the Reserve Bank of India for the year ending 1948-49; quoted in *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* of February 15, 1951).

From 1919 Co-operation became a provincial subject under the Government of India Act and separate legislations were enacted in different provinces suiting their own requirements. Agricultural credit societies constitute about 66% of all primary co-operative societies in India and their total number in 1947-48 were more than 85,000.

The following figures are suggestive enough and would throw much light on the latest position of the credit societies in this country :

Rural Credit Societies (1947-48)	
Number of societies ..	85,260
Membership ..	34,82,852
Owned Capital ..	Rs. 11.35 crores
Deposits ..	" 3.04
Borrowings from others ..	" 9.47
Working Capital ..	" 23.87
Fresh advances during the year ..	" 10.44
Recoveries ..	" 8.15
Outstanding ..	" 16.02

The over-all picture represented in the above table may be impressive indeed and when viewed in the context of partition may appear encouraging. But there is no scope for optimism in view of the fact that the improvement has been confined mostly to the provinces of Madras

and Bombay. Considering further the extensive area of this sub-continent and the percentage of population engaged in agriculture the case for optimism undoubtedly weakens. Various circumstances prevented the co-operative movement from having a sound and balanced growth in all respects and in all regions.

Lack of appreciation of difficulties standing in the way of credit societies supplying short, medium, and long-term funds at the same time, lack of understanding of the principles of co-operation, excessive official control, absence of trained and competent staff resulting in over-lending to members with inadequate attention to repaying capacity—such and like factors have existed and do still exist in varying degrees in different regions. It has thus been well observed that the condition of agricultural credit societies—at any rate outside the two provinces of Madras and Bombay—leaves much to be desired in the way of improvement.

It would not be out of place to incorporate in this essay figures relating to the position of rural credit societies in Madras and Bombay, where, as we have just noted, there has been outstanding progress in the field of co-operation :

	As on 30th June, 1949	
	Madras	Bombay (including multi-purpose societies)
Number of societies ..	13,740	6,147
Membership ..	10,27,876	3,81,018
Owned capital ..	Rs. 2.67	2.47 crores
Deposits ..	" 0.53	0.061 "
Other borrowings ..	" 5.37	2.42 "
Working capital ..	" 8.57	5.50 "

(Source : *Rural Banking Enquiry Committee Report*).

A fact worthy of mention here is that in almost all provinces emphasis is now being laid on the organisation of multi-purpose societies which are expected to attend to several important aspects of the agriculturists' life. "In Madras the credit societies themselves are being encouraged to take up allied functions.....such as the supply of agricultural and domestic requisites and the marketing of produce."

The latest position of multi-purpose societies may be fairly gauged from the following statistics :

Number of multi-purpose societies ..	18,162
Number of members ..	5,77,386
Working Capital ..	Rs. 2.8 crores
Purchase of Goods ..	" 1.63 "
Sale of Goods ..	" 3.52 "
Deposits ..	" 0.334 "
Fresh advances during the year ..	" 1.97 "
Loans Outstanding ..	" 1.706 "

CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

The Co-operative Banks in India, excluding those serving urban areas, deserve reference for purposes of this essay as financing agencies for co-operative societies. The Provincial Co-operative Banks have been characterised as apex institutions for the co-operative financial structure in each province or state and their chief functions have been :

* *Report of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950)*, pp. 19.

(i) To act as bankers to the co-operative societies, both urban and rural, as also to the Central Co-operative Banks, whose area of operation is generally restricted to a district or part of a district;

(ii) To provide financial accommodation needed by the co-operative societies and the Central Co-operative Banks; and

(iii) To act as balancing centres and co-ordinating agencies for the province or state concerned.

The Central Co-operative Banks, on the other hand, have a more restricted area of operation covering a district or part of a district. Financing societies affiliated to them is their main function and their membership is made up of societies as well as individuals. In the case of banking unions, however, the membership is made up of societies only. In 1948, there were 11 Provincial Co-operative Banks, and as many as 448 Central Co-operative Banks with total funds amounting to Rs. 2.6 crores and Rs. 6.49 crores respectively.

Under Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, the Reserve Bank extends financial accommodation to the Provincial Banks in times of need while the latter, in their turn, finance the Central Co-operative Banks. It is often suggested that the position of the Central Co-operative Banks has become stronger during the last war and that they are able to supply "not only the finance required for agricultural credit, but also for several non-credit activities" like the procurement and distribution of manures and agricultural implements and the development of small-scale cottage industries. However, in this respect also the over-all picture does not represent uniform development in all the provinces. About them it has been said, "In Bombay and Madras their position is strong, in Uttar Pradesh their present position may be regarded as generally satisfactory, the structure elsewhere is 'in a process of reorganisation, consolidation and rehabilitation.'" The latter remark is specially true of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, The Punjab, Mysore and West Bengal; in the rest of the states the co-operative banks have not made much headway.

RECENT RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING INDEBTEDNESS

The proposals in respect of rural indebtedness and its relief have been comprehensively put forward in a number of official Reports in recent years.

The Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee of 1945 (which has since become famous as the Gadgil Committee) while holding that the adjustment and liquidation of old debts is an essential preliminary to the organisation of rural credit on a satisfactory basis, proposed compulsory scaling down of debts and their redemption by transfer to land mortgage banks or to an Agricultural Credit Corporation. Incidentally it may be noted that the proposals of the Gadgil Committee were based mainly on the provisions of the Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1939. The proposals were endorsed by two other Committees which reported in 1946 and 1947, the Co-operative Planning Committee and the Bombay Agricultural Credit Organisation Committee. They are more popularly known as the Saraiya Committee and the Nana-

vati Committee respectively. In the report of Dr. B. V. Narasimswamy Naidu, to which we referred earlier in this article, it was proposed that all debts, except those which have to be dealt with by a simple Insolvency Law, should be compulsorily ascertained and liquidated by the issue of irredeemable bonds carrying a guaranteed interest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

Objections against such proposals as above have chiefly centred round the following points :

1. The agriculturists may find it hard to obtain loans for current needs during the transitional period between liquidation and adjustment on the one hand and establishment of alternative credit agencies on the other. This may have serious repercussions on the agricultural economy of the country and may create difficulties even in the introductory stage of the scheme.

2. "The assumptions, that a comprehensive institutional machinery to satisfy all legitimate credit requirements of the agriculturists could be set up within a short period of time, and that the financial resources necessary to pay off old debts and to meet current financial requirements would be available, are unrealistic."

3. An important effect of the application of Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1939 as amended in 1947 has been that the normal sources of finance have dried up. It is also pointed out that as a result of the application of this Act, the credit situation in Bombay has become relatively difficult.

According to the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, which submitted its report last year, the present period is not opportune for such experiments. A suggestion has instead been made that attention should be concentrated on building up the institutional machinery for rural credit.

In support of the contention that the proposals of the Gadgil Committee (endorsed by the Saraiya Committee and the Nanavati Committee) do not commend themselves for practical application, the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee has argued as follows:

(a) Firstly, war and post-war inflation has led to a substantial reduction in the money and real burden of rural debt and the majority of cultivators are now probably in a position to bear their debts more easily.

(b) Secondly, although the size of the debt may still be large, a large portion of this may really consist of current debt, which to a great extent represents the working capital of agriculture. This cannot be repaid before satisfactory alternative arrangements for the supply of such working capital are made.

(c) Thirdly, the total amount required to pay off adjusted debts and to provide the current capital needs of the agriculturists all over the country would probably run into hundreds of crores of rupees. This cannot be raised either by the Government or by the banking system in the present position of the capital market.

(d) Dr. Naidu's suggestion of issuing irredeemable bonds does not appear feasible because such bonds would after all be marketable, and the provision for repayment by instalments, while freezing the funds of creditors for a number of years creates serious difficulties for normal current finance.

(e) Bombay's experience in this regard has been none too happy.

(f) Compulsory scaling down of debts except under emergency conditions, such as those caused by depression does not create that respect for obligations which is necessary in any sound credit system.

MACHINERY—RURAL CREDIT AGENCY

To start with, there is complete unanimity of opinion on the desirability of developing as varied a system of institutional finance as possible although on theoretical grounds it may appear that a single financing agency covering the entire field of rural credit would better serve the purpose. Thus the Gadgil Committee while recognising the theoretical soundness of a single credit agency decided in favour of a multiple agency and proposed that their recommendations be adopted as largely as possible to the existing structure and steps be taken along the present line of development. The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee also endorsed this approach.

In any scheme for reorganisation of the machinery of rural credit one has of necessity to distinguish between the need for short and medium-term credit on the one hand and long-term credit on the other.

So far as short and medium-term credit is concerned the Gadgil Committee, in its report, recommended the establishment of an Agricultural Credit Corporation in each province except those where co-operative agencies are strong enough and have wide scope of operation. It may be observed *en passant* that in spite of the co-operative societies being recognised as the ideal agency for rural credit, the extension of co-operative credit organisations all over the country is impracticable. In support of its contentions the Gadgil Committee argued :

1. Despite their phenomenal growth the co-operative societies still cover only a very small proportion of the rural population and meet only a fraction of their credit requirements;

2. Except in a few regions their working has not been very satisfactory;

3. The extension of co-operative credit organisations all over the country within a short period of time can never succeed without a very large degree of state assistance and control. But that would seriously affect the democratic, "Co-operative" character; and

4. Lastly, it would also be difficult to link the co-operative organisations with non-members.

The Agricultural Credit Corporations, as originally envisaged in the Gadgil Committee Report, would be autonomous institutions. The State should contribute half their capital, and joint-stock banks, co-operative institutions, marketing organisations, etc., the rest. Their function would be (i) to establish agencies and branches all over their respective regions, and (ii) to supply all types of credit. Thus they would supply finance to co-operative societies where central financing agencies are absent, and also supply mortgage loans directly to individual agriculturists.

The activities of the Corporations would be co-ordinated with those of co-operative and other institutions and competition would be scrupulously avoided. In fact, short and medium-term credit based generally on personal security or statutory first charge on crops could only be provided through co-operative societies.

The recommendations of the Gadgil Committee, as outlined above, has not found favour in all circles, in view mainly of the alternative suggestion that functioning of the credit mechanism as envisaged in the proposal could be equally achieved by provincial and central co-operative banks if the financial resources and assistance (e.g., state subsidy, etc.) contemplated for the Corporations are also made available to the banks. This view seems to be pertinent enough in so far as the provincial and central co-operative banks would have additional advantages on account of their being already in the field and having some organisational momentum. Again, while the co-operative banks have mostly succeeded in raising funds through deposits, the way in which the Gadgil Committee would like the proposed Corporations to raise their funds appears none too happy. Further, even with the new Corporations functioning in the desired manner the co-operative societies would still have to operate as primary organisations in dealing with individuals of small means, since it is very likely that none but the more well-to-do among the peasantry would be able to deal directly with the Corporations.

The Saraiya Committee as also the Nanavati Committee held similar views. In the words of the Saraiya Committee :

"Not only in some provinces where the co-operative movement has attained a high degree of development, but also in other provinces and states the provincial co-operative bank or the central co-operative financing organisation can provide the agriculturist with all the facilities which are intended to be given by the agricultural credit corporations. The same measure and type of aids as those recommended to be given to the agricultural credit corporation should be given to the provincial co-operative banks and there should then be no need to start a separate organisation for this purpose."

Reorganisation of the co-operative credit structure has thus come to be accepted as a cardinal principle in a large number of provinces and naturally this has also been supported by the co-operative interests. In Bombay, Bihar and Assam, for example, the schemes put into operation have all grown out of this one principle. It is none the less recognised that the proposals of the Gadgil Committee deserve serious thinking at least in certain selected areas, for instance, in the former Indian states where co-operative credit system is non-existent or cannot be developed easily. But even in these areas it would be better if an already existing institution like the state-owned bank can be reorganised. The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) has made certain very cogent observations in this connection. While emphasis has been laid on a varied and adequate credit machinery to be developed in each region in conformity with local conditions, it has also been suggested that such machinery should be able to raise adequate funds by way of share capital and deposits or debenture issues. The report has characterised as unrealistic the assumption generally made that the state would be able to raise from somewhere vast amounts of capital to be put at the

disposal of the machinery for credit. The credit machinery, the Report adds, must keep in view the necessity for tapping rural savings since urban savings cannot be depended upon to meet the needs of industry and commerce as well as of agriculture. It has also been observed that in any scheme for a sound and efficient system of rural finance, sufficient emphasis must be laid on the building up of a sound structure of primary institutions—whether co-operative credit societies or multi-purpose societies. Reference was made in an earlier page of this article about the attempts made at developing multi-purpose co-operative societies. The Provincial Governments, it is suggested, should encourage such attempts by providing the necessary staff for inspection and supervision.

Proposals concerning the machinery for long-term credit have diverged in no less degree than those concerning short and medium-term credit. While the Gadgil Committee recommended that the long-term credit should be supplied by the existing land-mortgage banks and in their absence by the proposed agricultural credit corporations, the Nanavati Committee took an opposite view which stands against the merging of institutions providing short-and medium-term credit with those supplying long-term loans. The Gadgil Committee argued that a single credit agency for all types of credit would lead to better co-ordination of credit. The critics hold that funds for long-term credit need to be raised separately, mainly by debenture issues, that long-term credit would necessitate a special procedure involving examination of the title of the land, its value, etc., which would unavoidably take some time and hence, different types of credit ought, as a matter of course, to be supplied by different institutions.

A third proposal which has emerged in recent times suggests the establishment of a Central Agricultural Credit Corporation on the lines of the Industrial Finance Corporation. Such a Credit Corporation, it is suggested, would provide medium and long-term credit either directly (to well-to-do cultivators) or through the co-operative credit organisation and may also serve as an "apex" organisation for the provincial co-operative banks. Against this last proposal critics have advanced a number of arguments. It has been argued, for example, that since agrarian legislation and systems of land tenure vary widely in different regions, a Central institution of the type envisaged in the proposal will not be able to finance agricultural development properly directly through medium or long-term credit.

In the ultimate analysis it has come to be held that provincial land mortgage banks and primary institutions will best serve the purpose so far as long-term credit is concerned. Some of the encouraging developments in this regard are as follows :

- (a) The availability from the Reserve Bank of India of technical advice and assistance on the issue and redemption of debentures by the land-mortgage banks; and

- (b) the willingness on the part of the Reserve Bank to purchase their debentures to a limited extent and to make advances on their security.

These do indicate that conditions are likely to improve very soon if requisite steps are also taken to make use of the assistance and facilities extended.

LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

Having referred to land mortgage banks in the preceding paragraph, it seems proper that the position of these banks in India should be studied at some length. The history of land mortgage banks in India dates back to the mid-nineteenth century (1863) when the "Land Mortgage Bank of India Limited" was registered in London. The real beginning was however made in 1920, the first institution of the type having been started in the Punjab in that year. During the next few years a number of provinces followed suit but the experiences were nowhere happy till 1929 when the Central Land Mortgage Bank was established in the province of Madras. In fact the experiments in Madras and Bombay in this regard proved to be quite successful in the years to come and it is these two provinces that the technique of land mortgage banking is at present considered to be best developed. Of the two provinces again Madras has achieved probably the greatest success in this respect and to-day serves as a model for other provinces and states in India. There were at the end of June, 1940, as many as 119 primary land mortgage banks affiliated to the Central Land Mortgage Bank of Madras. The following figures for 1944-45 reveal to some extent the position of land mortgage banks in India :

Number of land mortgage banks and societies	..	..	289
Number of members	..	..	138,709
Share Capital	..	Rs.	51,28,197
Debenture Issues—			
(a) from the public	..	..	3,74,59,432
(b) from the Government	..	..	5,99,517
Deposits	..	..	17,88,377
Reserve Fund	..	..	28,62,734
Loans	..	..	3,01,40,007

One noteworthy feature is that unlike co-operative societies, state assistance on a liberal scale has been advocated with a view to ensure successful working of the land mortgage banks. Indeed the achievements of Madras and Bombay in this regard may be largely ascribed to the government assistance extended in these provinces towards the same end. For instance, the Central Land Mortgage Bank in Madras was assisted by the Government of Madras in several ways, such as a guarantee for interest upon 6 per cent on all debentures floated by the Bank in the first 5 years upon a certain limit, loan of the services of government staff to inspect local mortgage banks or to assist in all enquiries on their behalf, a subsidy for working expenses, etc. Likewise the Provincial Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank in Bombay enjoyed state assistance in a variety of ways, e.g., a guarantee of both principal and interest on the debentures floated by the Bank, exemption from stamp duty, registration fees, etc., the grant of a subsidy to cover deficits, if any, during the first three years of its working over and above a cash subsidy to

the primary banks. Of course, in both the provinces the government are represented on the Board of the banks but that by itself has not hindered sound working of the institutions. We have already made passing reference to the fact that the Reserve Bank has expressed its willingness not only to purchase the debentures of land mortgage banks but also to make available such technical advice and assistance on the issue and redemption of debentures as may be required by the banks. We repeat it here only to emphasise that a strong case may thus be made out for the revival of land mortgage banking throughout the country. Long-term loans made by the existing agencies have so far flown largely towards redeeming old debts. Their application towards permanent improvement of land and agricultural operations have thus been quite inadequate. This cannot be allowed to continue further.*

RURAL CREDIT AND COMMERCIAL BANKS

The commercial banks of India have hitherto figured little so far as their direct participation in the rural credit system is concerned. To some this has been a boon in disguise. Indeed, we may subscribe to this view but not without hesitancy lest it may mean our approval to another suggestion purporting to a total exclusion of commercial banks from the field of agricultural finance. Valuable services have been and are still being rendered by commercial banks, which though not of direct assistance are regarded as invaluable constituents of the rural credit system. In the marketing of crops requiring short-term credit to the extent of some crores of rupees, the traders get financial accommodation from these banks. Indeed they are considered equally able to make advances directly to agriculturists against their crops as well as to grant loans for the purchase of expensive equipment. It has also been suggested that with the establishment of regulated markets and warehouses for crops, and with reasonable arrangements for grading and standardisation, commercial banks are bound to occupy their rightful position in the agricultural economy of India.

On the dangers of competition between commercial banks and co-operative institutions, the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee observed that

"Both in respect of functions as well as clientele there can be a broad division of labour between commercial and co-operative banks, and their activities can thus be co-ordinated."

It may be noted, however, that the mechanism of such division of labour has yet to be defined. Without subscribing to the view upheld by the Rural Banking

Enquiry Committee, a far better course would be to encourage commercial banks and pave their way, if necessary, in developing their existing functions in the rural credit system.

ROLE OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

A criticism is often voiced from responsible quarters that the Reserve Bank has failed in the matter of giving succour to cultivators who are in need of financial accommodation. In so far as it can reach its services to the ryots only indirectly through other agencies there is not much that the Bank could do directly in the sphere of agricultural credit. The Bank lends to co-operative banks by discounting their hundies and promissory notes and on these the Bank charges $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent below the official bank rate for credit extending up to 9 months. It is proposed that with the rediscounting period extended from 9 to 12 months, the co-operative banks may utilise the Reserve Bank accommodation in greater measure. The proposal is, however, said to have lost its force. The problem of rural indebtedness or agricultural credit is not the same now as it was a decade ago. The emphasis has in most places shifted to the mobilisation of rural savings and towards a reconstruction at the base rather than at the apex.**

CONCLUSION

Since agriculture, as organised at present in this country, is a deficit industry, the agronomy needs to be put on a sound basis by a comprehensive rural development programme, without which rural credit agencies cannot function effectively. This should not be construed to mean that the former should precede the latter. Indeed, comprehensive rural development itself needs a corresponding development of the credit machinery. The two must go hand in hand.

Extension of banking facilities in the rural areas which would ensure mobilisation of rural savings to the greatest degree is drawing more and more attention in recent years. This will surely result in strengthening the machinery for rural credit, which will be as varied a system of institutional finance as possible. However, in spite of the need for extension of banking facilities and mobilisation of rural savings, one must not be oblivious of the fact that rural credit requirements shall have to be met in increasing measure by the fullest use and gradual development of a variety of credit institutions, the most important among them being the co-operative banks, co-operative credit, multi-purpose and marketing societies as well as the land mortgage banks. One must remember further that the scope for the development of such institutions as at present constituted is unlimited.

* In this connection see *Statutory Report on Agricultural Credit and Review of the Co-operative Movement in India*, published by the Reserve Bank of India.

** *Indian Finance*, December 2, 1950.



HUMAYUN IN IRAN

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Visva-Bharati University

AMONG the Chaghtai monarchs who sat on the throne of Delhi, Humayun's career presents some most dramatic changes. He inherited a throne, lost and regained it. He conquered Bengal and Gujarat with as much swiftness as that with which he lost them. He saved his life twice by swimming across the Ganges and was then turned out of India. But strangely enough, when a helpless exile (*sargashta wadi basar-anjam*) in Iran, he received grand ovation at every stage of his journey until his arrival at the Shah's capital. Then, he fell into temporary disgrace, but was soon restored to full honour.

This alternating period of sunshine and cloud during Humayun's stay in Persia has been coloured into a sensational account of his being subjected to gross indignities and insults and of his life being attempted.¹ This view, however, raises a very important question which has not been yet answered. If Shah Tahmasp wanted to humiliate the fugitive emperor, by an exhibition of his magnificence,² as Sir Richard Burn suggests in the *Cambridge History of India* IV, why did he then furnish the latter with a military force of twelve thousand men and thus sacrifice on his behalf Persian men and money?

We propose to discuss this question and other connected problems in the course of this paper. It has been entirely overlooked that the monarch of Iran was prompted by political considerations to heartily welcome Humayun. The Shia faith, after its triumph in Persia, under Shah Ismail Safavi, had to face the bitter hostility of its two Sunni neighbours, the Ottoman Turks in the north-west and the Uzbaks in the north-east. In 1514 A.D., the Turks massacred 40,000 Shias within their territory, described by Von Hammer Purgstall as one of the most dreadful deeds ever perpetrated in the name of religion.³ In 1536 A.D., Ubayed Khan Uzbek persecuted the Shias of Tus, Mashhad and Herat in the course of his expedition against Persia. The Shia Shah stood alone against two formidable foes on two different frontiers. This isolation of the Shia monarch in the contemporary Sunni-dominated Moslem world naturally induced him to woo the exiled Indian monarch and redress the balance by setting him up either as a Shia, or as a Perso-phile, in Afghanistan and India.

Hence the report of Humayun's arrival in Sistan caused a flutter in the Shah's court. Tahmasp ordered drums to beat for three successive days as a mark of rejoicing; he despatched a special courier to Humayun

and issued missives to the governors of his different provinces containing minute instructions for his reception. Whether privy to the Shah's designs or not, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, Governor of Sistan, successfully checkmated a plan made by some of the ex-emperor's advisers for an immediate march on Qandahar with a handful of deserters from Kamran. Ahmad Sultan behaved with all candour and courtesy and gained his good graces by deputing his mother and wife on a visit to Mariyam-Makani, (Hamida Banu), Humayun's principal consort.⁴ From Sistan the ex-emperor advanced stage by stage towards Qazwin and his journey took the colour of a triumphal progress; such was the ostentatious display of his reception and when he departed again homeward the Shah craved for lasting friendship by offering him a pair of apples.

During his stay at the Shah's court, occurred mutual consultations and exchange of views between the two sovereigns, when the proposal of an auxiliary force on behalf of Humayun was broached. The Shah agreed to comply with this request on conditions of the latter adopting the Shia creed. A hitch now occurred. It is said that the Shah prompted by zeal for his faith coerced the ex-emperor in various ways.⁵ He caused heretics to be burnt in his presence and wanted to commit him to the flames. This account of threat and intimidation made to Humayun was derived from *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* by Jauhar, *Tarikh-i-Humayun Namah* by Illahdad Faizi Sirhindi and *Sharaf Namah* of Sharf Khan.

The authenticity of this statement is, however, open to objection for various reasons. Neither any Safawid chronicle nor any Indian source except those cited above makes mention of this incident. Then, again, this particular statement occurs only in two copies of Jauhar (the source of Stewart's translation and an India Office MS.) and is absent from two others (Punjab University MS. and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy). The other authority, viz., *Tarikh-i-Humayun Namah* has no independent value, because it borrows mostly from Jauhar. *Sharaf Namah* too can claim no special weight, on account of its author being inimically disposed to the Shia court.⁶ Would it then be reasonable to uphold such a charge on the basis of uncertain evidences?

The real opposition at the Persian court from

4. Eng. tr. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. I, p. 415.

5. *Bad as an anchi loyeg bashad az Janab ma mamul khahad gash*, has been wrongly construed to mean hostile intention on the part of Shah Tahmasp. What the latter meant was that he would personally look after the ex-king's comfort at the capital. His reception and entertainment on the way were to be done by the officers in a befitting manner.

6. Rieu: *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 200.

1. *Humayun in Persia*, p. 34, fn. 1.

2. Read Akbar's reception of Sulaiman Mirza, fugitive king of Badakhshan, the grand ovations given to him and also his policy in *Akbarname*, Eng. tr. 221 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

3. Brown's *Literary History of Persia*, IV, p. 72.

Bahram Mirza, who became prejudiced against Humayun for the injudicious remark ascribing his downfall to the hostility of his brothers. It was he who threatened the fugitive emperor and endeavoured to stir up the Shah's anger by raking up the old memory of Najim-i-Sani's death at Gajdawan due to the suspected treachery of Babur. And it is not unlikely that Jauhar foisted the sin of the younger brother upon the Shah himself.

Secondly, Humayun's change-over from one stem of the parent tree of Islam to another was not so difficult as it is thought to be. Unlike his father who was fond of music and poetry, he had developed a taste for religious lore and other branches of knowledge, such as astrology and astronomy. He had associated with Shah Tahir at Agra,⁷ before the latter went to the Deccan and strengthened the foundations of Shiaism there. Such members of the family circle as his mother Mahum Begam and wife Hamida Banu professed the Shia creed, being descended from the celebrated Zanda-pil Shaikh Ahmad of Jam⁸ (North-eastern Persia). He left therefore no important sanctuary of the Shia saint unvisited on his way to Qazwin. At Sistan, he held discussions on the rival sects with Hussain Quli,⁹ brother of the local governor Ahmad Sultan Shamlu. At Kabul, he heard an exposition of the philosophical treatise, *Durrant-ul-Ta'aj*¹⁰ written by the great scholar Qutbuddin Shirazi, foremost disciple of Nasiruddin Tusi and evidently discussed the fundamental tenets of the faith (*wusul-i-din*) which formed the appendix (*khatma*) to that volume.¹¹ Humayun had not therefore to suffer much pricking of conscience and tormenting of spirit when he made a confession of his inward longing for the Shia faith to the Shah's sister, Sultanam Begam:

*Mayem az Jan bandah-i-awlad-i-Ali
Hasten hamesha Khurram az Yad-i-Ali
Chun Sirr-i-walagat az Ali Zahir shud
Kardim hamesha ward khud nad-i-Ali.*¹²

"With all my heart, I am a bondsman of Ali's progeny
Happy always I am in remembrance of Ali
As the mystery of the prophet was revealed

through Ali
Did I always repeat on the rosary the name of Ali."

The tactful Wazir Qazi Jahan was the agent and perhaps the priest in the formal initiation of Humayun to the Shia faith. The doubt expressed in the *Mughal Rule of India* about Humayun's adoption of the Shia creed would thus appear to be groundless.

On his yielding to the Shah's sentiment, the latter lent him a force of twelve thousand men with a body

of 300 select cuirassiers from his own bodyguard. This army commanded by Budagh Khan forced its way through Garmsir and captured Qandahar from Askeri. Then the bulk of the force returned towards Persia, instead of marching on to Kabul as ordered by the Shah. The report however of Persian aid to Humayun soon drew followers round his standard, who swelled within a short time to a body of five thousand men. It is with this force that he dispossessed Budagh Khan of Qandahar and put himself in possession of it. The conquest of Kabul followed, with an army composed largely of Persians. This is clearly indicated by the fact that when Shaikh Hamid of Sambal met him at Kabul, he growled out at the sight of the army made up mostly of the Shias, saying "My lord, I see the whole of your force composed of the Rafizis; everywhere I encounter such names of your troops, as Yar Ali, Kashi Ali, Haidar Ali, and I do not find any one bearing the name of any other Companion of the Prophet." Humayun could make no expostulation and fumbled out the reply, "My grandfather bore the name of Omar Shaikh" and retired for consolation and advice inside his harem.¹³

It is thus apparent that the aid of the Persians materially contributed to his success against his enemies and the reconquest of India. It sounds hollow when it is stated that Humayun accomplished it *with his own followers, by his own efforts of his nobles*, especially when it is recollected that his following had dwindled to only four dozens of men at the time of his exit out of India.

Humayun's exile, though a deplorable episode, was of the deepest significance in the history of India. A comprehensive work¹⁴ on his life has no doubt appeared, but it has failed to duly assess and specify the influences that resulted from this contact.

We set them down here. Firstly, it gave a new edge to Humayun's conception of kingship and led him to introduce an innovation in the court-ritual, viz., Kornish.¹⁵ It is hardly known that the emperor entertained high notions of his royal office. At Gour, he appeared at court with a veil over his face drawn from the crown, (*niquab az Taj*) and his courtiers used to burst out in exclamation saying, "Light has shone forth"¹⁶ (*Tajalli mishawad*). Such exalted ideas accounted for other innovations, like the classification of the nobles into twelve divisions according to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the division of the affairs of the state into four departments, corresponding to the four elements, *Atishi* (fire), *Abi* (water), *Hawai* (air) and *Khaki* (earth).¹⁷

Secondly, it revived an interest in astronomy and

7. M. Ghani: *History of Persian Literature in India*, II, p. 31.

8. *Akbar Namah*, A.S.B. Text, I, 174. Also Beveridge's note in English tr. fn. 6, p. 52. According to *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr. 287-88, Khwaja Muazzam, Hamida Banu's brother was a Shia.

9. *Akbar Namah*, Eng. tr. I, 416.

10. *Ibid*, 446.

11. *Rieu: Op. cit.* Vol. II, 434.

12. *Farishta*, U. K. Press, 237.

13. *Badauni*, A.S.B. text, 468.

14. *Humayun Badshah* in two volumes by Dr. S. K. Banerji.

15. *Badauni*, A.S.B. text, 446; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr. I, 167.

16. *Badauni*, A.S.B. text, 446.

17. B. Prasad, Eng. tr. *Qasim-i-Humayuni*, 52-53.

astrology. It was Humayun's fixed practice to take omen before undertaking any work and to change the hues of his robe in conformity with the colour of the different planets governing the week-days out of his profound belief in astral influence.¹⁸ The interest in astrology and astronomy was whetted by contact with men learned in these sciences in Persia. At Tabriz he searched for implements needed to build an observatory and had nearly completed one at Delhi with the help of Maulana Ilyas and Abul Quasim Jurjani, when he was suddenly snatched away by death. The observatories built under his successor were therefore a continuation and development of the legacy bequeathed by Humayun.

Thirdly, the adoption of the Shia faith and recruitment of his following from both sects without discrimination, alleviated the rancour between them and perhaps pointed the way to a wider understanding among the people of diverse faiths.

Fourthly, the inflow of Persian talent which
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resulted from the Persian contact, promoted close cultural collaboration between the two countries. Its fruit was the growth of a composite culture with predominantly Iranian elements.

It is therefore a gross underestimate to say that the contact with Persia though "painful to Humayun was not altogether barren of results."

18. Akbar's belief in it was also great. We may incidentally point out that in 1573 after the triumphant return from Gujarat, Akbar once halted at a townlet Becuna, for three days, because the court astrologer (Jyotic Rai) did not consider that period auspicious for entry into his capital, Fatehpur Sikri (*Akbar Nama*, A.S.B. text, p. 38). He was also a believer in omen, e.g., on arrival at Jitaran (during the march to Gujarat, August, 1573) he set a trained *chita* on a passing black buck, saying that the capture of the deer will be taken as a sure augury of the rebel Ibrahim Husain falling into his hand. During the same journey, one Friday morning a tiger stalked past his left side. When Saif Khan Koka and Mir Zadah Ali Khan took aim at it, he forbade them saying that in the estimation of the wise men of India, it was deemed auspicious if a tiger appeared on the left. (*Akbar Nama*, A.S.B. text, 45-46, 88).

CULTURAL EXPANSION OF INDIA IN AFRICA

By DR. TAMONASH CH. DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

ASIATIC contact and Mediterranean connection of India have been pretty well recorded either by the Indians themselves or by reliable foreigners and by their respective governments of particular periods.

The historical accounts of Asoka the Great, Harshavardhan, Samudra Gupta, of the Persian King Darius, and of Alexander the Great, accounts left by Fa Hien, It-sing, Huen Tsang, and the *Periplus*, records of the ancient Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, Malayan and Javanese Governments as well as archaeological records throw a flood of light on the Indo-Asiatic and Indo-Mediterranean relations. Traditions and legends also play no insignificant part in these matters.

But this is not exactly the case with regard to Indo-African relationship. The backward civilization of most of the African peoples of the interior, want of enough good sea-ports of Africa, the inhospitable climate, the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea intervening between India and Africa, are some of the reasons mainly responsible for this somewhat intermittent and obscure knowledge. The Mediterranean countries of North-east Africa having land-connections with India are exceptions. India loomed large in the affairs of this part of Africa, specially of ancient Egypt. Next may be mentioned the Carthaginians; the Semitic Arabs including the Berbers and the Moors were the last settlers of ancient Africa, in point of time. Besides contact with ancient

Egypt evidences of Indian connection with Carthage in North Africa and other Mediterranean countries of both Africa and Europe are not wanting. Ancient historians like Livy, Ptolemy, Arrian, Herodotus and others never failed to notice the Indians in the affairs of the Near East, North-east Africa and South-east Europe. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Vincent's *Trade and Navigation of the Ancient Hindus* throw some light on the ancient Indo-African connection.

"The presence of Indian merchants in Alexandria is attested by Dion Chrysostom, and a remarkable epigraphic record of their presence in Egypt has been found in the temple of Redesie, on the trade-route from the Red Sea port of Berenike to Edfu, on the Nile. In this inscription Sophon, the Indian, records his homage to Pan, the favourable hearer of prayer. Sophon is probably the Greek corruption of some such Indian name as Subhuti."

We think the name Sophon was probably Sobhan and not Subhuti.

Though all the information, historical or otherwise, related to the Mediterranean and the North-eastern sea-board of Africa, it is very difficult to gather facts regarding Central, Western and Southern Africa so far as their contact with Ancient India was concerned. However an attempt may be made by

1. Vide A. L. Basham: "Notes on Sea-faring in Ancient India"—*Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1949. Also Hultsch: "Remarks on a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus"—*J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 399.

scholars to indicate in brief outline this fact partly through genuine evidences and partly through well-founded surmises.



The peculiar head-dress of a West African witch-doctor

A look at the map of Africa enables one to see a few islands, big and small, to its east. One of these islands, Socotra, to the east of Ethiopia, is an instance of Indian colonisation and commercial activity according to Elphinstone and others. This Socotra (in Sanskrit *Suktara*—Pole Star) was the big island of Madagascar to the south-east of Africa in the Indian Ocean and was named "Malay" by the ancient Indians who even colonised there according to R. C. Mazumdar. Another name of the island was probably Mada-gokshur. The island of Zanzibar near the east coast of Africa was known as the "Kalayavan Dwipa" by the ancient Indians. From the Sanskrit work *Dusakumar Charita* of Dandin we learn that an exiled prince visited "Kalayavan Dwipa" and married a native woman. According to A. L. Basham, "This island is probably Zanzibar which was frequented by Indian ships in the days of Marco Polo."²

2. *Ibid.* Vide also *Dasa Kumar Charita*, translated by A. W. Ryder: "The Ten Princes," Chicago, 1927, p. 14.

Mention of Kala-Yavan, a powerful non-Aryan ruler, is also found in the Mahabharata where his fight with and death at the hands of Sri Krishna has been vividly described. In the *Arabian Nights* also an island is mentioned which might be "Kala Yavan Dwipa."

The names of some African countries, rivers, lakes, etc., and some African words sound peculiarly Indian though they bear African etymology and significance. These names or expressions may be interpreted in Indian languages as well, however fanciful they might be. This double sense in African words, whether real or imaginary, may have some bearing on early race-movements and also early Indian contact. Whether this similarity in words is due to some common roots is for the experts to investigate. Which words belong to the common stock of different races and which words originated from a particular race should also be enquired into. A few African words are given here by way of examples to indicate this interesting and strange similarity. Sometimes these words in part seem to be African and in part Indian. India is the home of many races which also should not be forgotten.

Similarity of Words and Names (in form of sense)

African	Indian
Simba (lion)	Simha (Sanskrit)
(Lake) Chad	Chad (Sans. Chaudra, the moon)
(River) Atuwima	(Sans. Bhima)
(River) Kasai (of Congo)	(A river now also known as such in Bengal—derived from Sanskrit Kamsavati)
Angola (a country—Portuguese South-west Africa)	(Anga of Ancient Bengal)
Benguela (a Sea-port in Portuguese S.-W. Africa)	(Vanga, Ancient Bengal)
Congo	(Kalinga country of old including Orissa)
Sahara Desert (Arabic word, meaning, a 'desert')	(Swah-hara or Swarga-hara—meaning lost from heaven, indicating the dreariness of the desert)
Somali-land (East-Africa)	(In the Ramayanic legend King Ravana's maternal grand-father was Sumali and two grand-uncles were Mali and Malyavan)
The river Nile of Egypt	(Sans. 'Nila' means Blue, cf. also Blue Nile, a branch of the Nile)
The Pigmy tribe Batwa	(Sans. Batu means small, thus small in stature)
The Amaru branch of the Bakongo tribe	(Sans. 'Amara': Deathless, Bakongo—Banga or Vanga)
The tribe Elullo	(In the Sans. Ramayana —Rakshasha Illala)
The country of Ashanti (in West Africa)	(Sans. Ashanti meaning 'unquiet')
(The tribe) Bantu	(Sans. 'Bandhu'—a friend)
(The mountain) Rawanzori or Ravanzori	(King Ravana of the Ramayanic story)
(River) Kwantlo (Portuguese West-Africa)	(Sans. Kavandha—Headless—a kind of demon)
(Port) Kalindi (Tanganika Territory near Mombasa)	(River Kalindi or Yamuna of N. India)

(River) Benue (a branch of the river Niger in Nigeria)	(Sans. Benu—a flute)
(River) Muni (Cameroons)	(Sans. Muni—a sage)
(Town) Konkon (French Guinea)	(Sans. Kankan—an arin-let, cf. the Konkon coast of the Bombay Presidency)
Juju (a vindictive deity)	(Bengali, demon)
Kalahari Desert (South Africa)	Kalahari or Kalahandi, cf. Kalahandi State of Orissa)
The tribe Bongo (Benga) (a Bantu tribe)	(Banga or Vanga tribe and the country of Bengal)
The tribe Benga (a Bantu tribe)	(Vanga, Bengal, ancient tribe and country)
Banawasi (wise man, witch-doctor and prophet)	(Banawasi or forest-dweller)
Uhlanga (Bantu word for reed or source)	(Ulanga—naked)
Vanga (in the sea-coast of British East Africa, along with Pangani and Tangas)	(Vanga, Bengal)

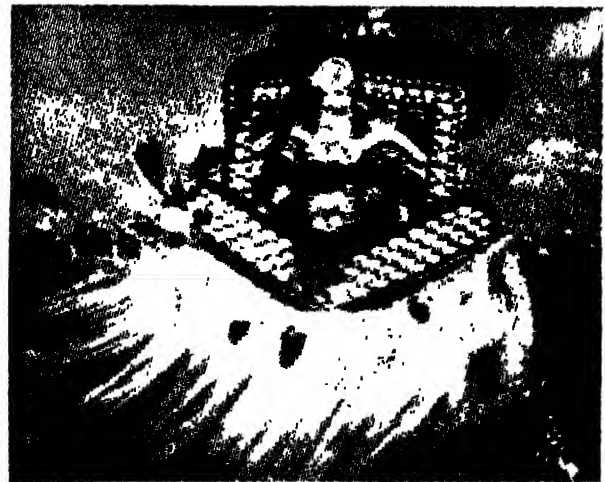
The above-mentioned words have been treated as also having Indian origin and sense not for fanciful interpretation but, as has already been pointed out, to indicate whether early Indian contact or race-migration might not have carried Indian tradition and Indian names to Africa incorporated though differently in the native African tongue. However, one should be guarded against fanciful suggestions or undue pride in dealing with these names.



A Negro ritual mask with high primitive technique

Now, as regards contact of races and culture of Africa with those of ancient India, a brief survey is given below:

The main inhabitants of Africa belonged to a race known as the Negrito who seemed once to rival the Austrians, the Mongolians and the Caucasians in respect of population and also in respect of a primitive form of civilization, however backward in these two respects they seem to be now. In fact, in that forgotten age, they perhaps spread over many parts of Asia and Oceania from about lat. 20 degrees up to the fringes of the Antarctic zone. How that at all became possible is still a subject of conjecture and speculation. It is a fact that traces of Negrito people are now found in India, in the Andamans and in some Pacific isles. In historic times many Abyssinians (non-Negrito Africans) known as the 'Habsis' found employment under



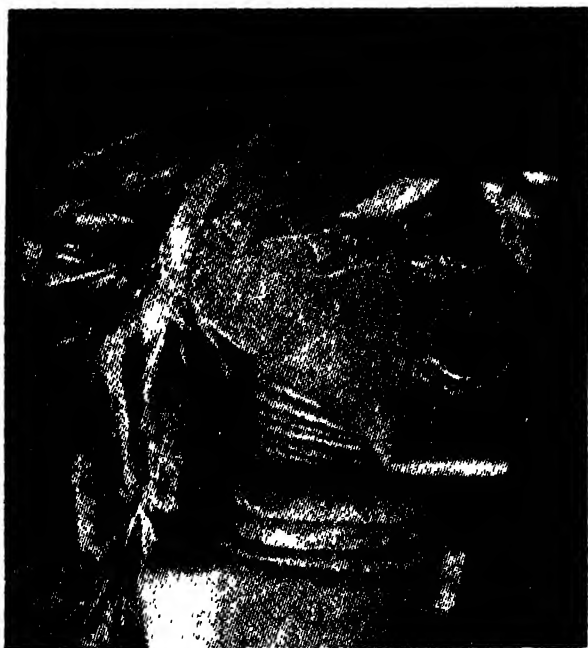
A dancer's mask to frighten off the devils

the Moslem Government of India. In Bengal, they found even a dynasty of Sultans. Many years ago Vincent and Elphinstone attempted to trace African connection with India. In recent times R. C. Mazumdar referred to the Indianisation of the Indian Ocean and to the close touch of ancient India with the continent of Africa.

That millions of years ago the physical feature of the world was different from now due to geological reasons and Africa was connected with Australia by land as also the formation of India was different from what we see now, belongs to a subject with which we are not concerned here. At least we are not sure whether human existence was at all possible then in that forgotten continent. Even if it was possible, we have little or no date to know anything substantial relating to this matter.

It is really perplexing to account for the spreading of the Negrito people into distant areas far and wide apart by land and sea. It is no less perplexing to locate their original home. However, as regards the latter problem experts consider the land of their origin to be somewhere in North-East Africa or even South-West Asia.

As in many other lands, the Negro people, irrespective of their primitive ways of life, once formed a part of the Indian race-elements and contributed something to India's composite culture. The Tantrik Hinduism of Mongolo-Pamirians, the poetic mood of the Negritos, the navigating spirit of the Dravidians, the philosophical outlook of the Vedic Aryans, all commingled in India. Africa might have been one of the outlets of her activities. It is not at all improbable that in days of yore Indian culture might have penetrated into the very heart of ancient Africa through material and spiritual channels. Whatever past



An image worshipped by the primitive peoples of Congo

relies are extant still await discovery by zealous experts and sympathetic intellectuals. Even legends and tribal folk-lore may unravel many startling facts. Thus a shifting enquiry into the above will help understanding in proper perspective the long-forgotten chapter of African history dealing with the bygone expansion of India in Africa, as opposed to the latter's expansion in the southern half of the old world; as stated already.

Many of the African tribes believe in one God. They also believe in ancestor-worship. Their conception of Divinity with the monotheistic doctrine underlying it is so similar to Hindu conception that one may be tempted to attribute the idea as the gift of the latter provided it did not originate independently of any other race or religion. The suggestion of Indian contribution is chiefly due to the absence of any other nations or peoples in the field. Europe with Christianity, as we understand it now, was not then born. Non-Islamic Near East and Egypt also could not preach monotheistic doctrine, and Islam of Arabia

also arose in a much later age. Chinese culture was also too far off. The same may be said of the religious conception of the distant Austriacs of the Pacific which was not monotheistic. All the very best ideas of the ancient world may be said to have originated or been perfected in Hindu-Buddhistic India having monotheistic doctrine and advanced culture, and they were carried to different lands and continents including Africa.³ Whether this view is correct, modern investigation will show.

A large number of the stories and legends containing the religious beliefs of prominent African tribes might have been of Indian origin. Thus, the Bantu tribes believe in a creator-god and some sort of original human pair (man and woman). They are on the whole monotheistic as they believe in a Supreme God. Some Bantu-speaking tribes believe in the god of sky "Imana," similar to the Vedic god Indra. A number of stories has been collected by Pere Huret in *La Poésie Chez Les Primitifs*. In one story, "The Girls Who Wanted New Teeth," we find the mother of a girl invoking the help of the high god Imana and addressed him as "Baba" which has the same connotation as the Indian as well as the Near Eastern expression. These tribes also believe in some other subordinate gods (a kind of pantheism), such as the god of death. The tribes Nlonga and Kwanyama (cf. Sanskrit *Yama*, the god of Death) to the south of the country of Angola believe in a high god. So also the Baganda, the Kintu, the Bahima or Batuso tribes of Uganda. Ankole and Uryorome believe in a Supreme God and in the god of Death. The tale of Kintu (the first man) shows that he was married to the daughter of Heaven ('Gulu'—Hindu *Golak*?). The Basuto tribe of north-western Unyamwezi believe in a "chief of the ghosts" called "Lirufus." The Ambundu tribe of Angola call him "Kalunga" (Sansk. *Kala*, meaning Time as well as the god of Death). The Herero tribes name the Supreme God as "Niambi Karunga" like the Ambundu, the Kwanyama and the Nlonga tribes who call him "Kalunga." The Ngonde (Konde) people of the north end of Lake Nyasa pray to "Kyala" (Sansk. *Kali*?) also known as "Ndoronbwide." Other such instances may also be added.

The Bantus have conception of the High God who dwells "above the sky" and He is not always connected with creation. "Human beings and animals are sometimes spoken of as made by Him, but elsewhere as if they had originated quite independently."⁴

Many of the African tribes believe in spirits or demons ruling over hills, forests, waters, river-waters, etc., each different tribe, having different names for them. The Bantu and the Sudanese tribes are firm

3. The Rev. E. W. Smith relates a story in *The Ill-speaking Peoples* (Smith & Dale), Vol. II, p. 197, the end of which "recalls the only comfort Gautama-Buddha could give to the bereaved."

4. Alice Werner: *Myths and Legends of the Bantu*.

believers in Soul and its transmigration. The belief in the transformation of the human body into those of various animals, such as the hyena, the lion, the wolf, etc., by power of black-magic and witch-craft is prevalent everywhere in Africa. The witch-doctors are all-powerful in the Negrito tribal society and they are believed to possess supernatural powers, not only in spiritual matters but also in such matters as curing diseases. They are both dreaded and respected by the Negritos as they hold extraordinary powers in matters of Lycanthropy, such as of being were-wolves. The dreadful and dark practices performed by these witch-doctors (Juju-men) secretly in the dead of night have many things in common with the Tantrik practices of a degenerate type in India. There are reasons to believe that very likely the same beliefs, rites and practices known in India as Tantrikism (both Hindu and Buddhist) once spread all over Asia and Africa. Many of these witch-doctors or priests have been known to be covetous with a special eye upon their own material prosperity including cattle and women. The worship of "Juju" by these priests have attained much prevalence and ill-fame in Africa. According to G. Lumby:

"The term Juju means the same as fetish, or obeah. It is not a native African word, but is derived from the French 'jeu,' a play; though, of course, it is more than a play, it is a religion."

The "Long Juju of Aro-Chuku" of Nigeria may be named here by way of an example.

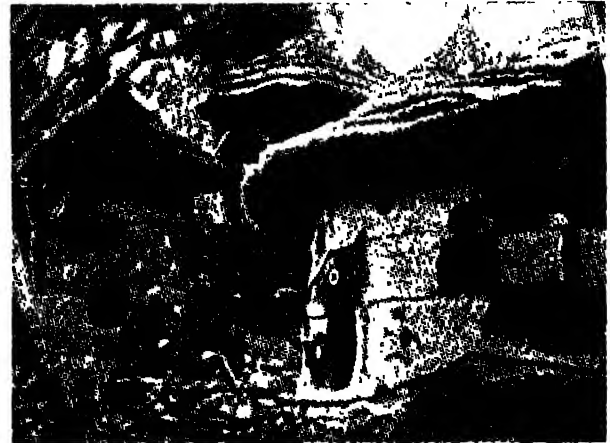
"The Aro-Chuku ju-ju was an oracle, served by its special priests. It was situated some thirty or forty miles from the right bank of the Cross river and about a hundred and twenty from the sea, and was so well-known that its influence extended throughout the Delta and for many miles up the Niger itself.

"Its purposes were divination and detection. The priests would cause it to interpret dreams, foretell the future or decide whether accused persons were innocent or guilty. They gave out that in order to make it function fresh human blood was needed."

Another well-known and notorious "juju" of Nigeria was known as the "Kamalu Juju" from the name of the priest. It is peculiar the term "Juju" meaning a "dreaded demon" is quite well-known in Bengal even now as also the three terms of African origin, the 'Moor,' the 'Berber,' and the 'Voodu' (African sense Soruzer). In Bengal, the first name is used in the sense of a "foolish" person (Sans. "Murha") and the second term as an unpolished or barbarous person while the third means the demon. However, these

similarities of terms and words might also be accidental as well as having important significance in linking up Africa with India through various human activities.

The belief in monsters or ogres ("Amazimu"), mistakenly understood by the Europeans as cannibals (as they are never human beings), is common among the Bantus, specially the Zulus whose folk-lore abound with such stories. These monsters can transform themselves: the "irimu" of the Chaga tribe on the Kili-manjaro range is a leopard and the Nyanja people describes this monster as a hyena.



Primitive huts in West Africa

"It is everywhere thought possible for animals to change into human beings or human beings into animals; there are even at the present day people who say they have known it to happen; it is favourite of the most wicked kind of witch. Besides turning themselves into animals, witches and wizards have the power of sending the particular creatures out on their horrid errands—the baboon, the hyena, the owl, sometimes the leopard and the wild cat."—Alice Werner. *Myths and Legends of the Bantu*, p. 24.

Many legends and stories of Africa speak of the mental equipment and intellectual level of its people, the Bantus and the Sudaneses, and clearly prove that they are in some respects almost at par with their more advanced neighbours. Many of these stories were perhaps imported from India to Africa. All animal stories or fables in which beasts and birds talk and act like men have strong Indian elements in them (cf. the Sanskrit works, *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesa*). The Sanskrit stories of *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesa* travelled far and wide and reached both Europe and Africa via S.-W. Asia. It is very likely that the Fables of Æsop first reached Africa from India and then travelled to Europe through an Ethiopian. "Aithiops," from which the Greek name "Æsop" is derived, who was probably a Negro slave. Africa also gave the Uncle Remus story to Europe and America.

The favourite animal in the Bantu stories is the Hare and not the Rabbit. The Bantu stories may broadly be divided as follows:

5. *Ju-ju and Justice in Nigeria*, Introduction 1-2, by G. Lumby. Told by Frank Hives and written down by G. Lumby. The above work as the result of a British officer's first-hand knowledge of the country describes vividly the ways and manners of the Nigerian tribes of Africa. Similarly the two works of fiction *Sanders (of the River)* and *Bones* by Edgar Wallace as well as Rider Haggard's fictional writings gives extremely interesting pictures of African tribes.

1. Animal stories (including Were-wolves stories, the Hare and Jackal stories, the Spider story, the Serpent story, etc.).
2. Legends of the High God.
3. The Heaven-country and the Heaven-people
4. The Under-world.
5. The Origin of Man.
6. The Mortals ascending Heaven.
7. The story of the Thunder-God and Lord of Heaven (cf. Indra of the Vedas).
(The Ruanda and the Nandi tribes believe in the Thunder-god "Imana" of the Zulu.)
8. The Ghosts and the Ghost-country.
9. The story of the Glutton.
10. Goblin stories.
11. Gnomes stories.
12. Half-men stories.
13. Monster stories.
14. Witch-craft stories (including also Were-wolves stories).

"The Wachaga tribe like many others including the Zulus, are firm believers in Totemism like many ancient tribes of India and America. It seems Totemism exists in all the lands of Africa, south of the Sahara."—A. Werner: *Mythology of All Races*, Chap. X, p. 270.



A sacred bull of Congo. Bull-worship, so well-known in India, is also current in Central Africa

The belief in Pygmies (Batwa) also known as the "Abatwa" is very common in Africa. According to the native tribes, they are incredibly small people; so small that they are believed to remain under grass and sleep inside ant-hills. The Bushmen are credited with the possession of a larger number of particular myths, in which heavenly bodies figure, than the Bantu people. According to Breysig, divine or heroic figures should not be considered as personification of natural forces in the primitive condition of thought. Native myths are never conspicuous in the minds of

the Africans excepting the Bushmen. Heroic or divine elements are later introductions.

From what little has been discussed above it will be seen India once played an important part in shaping the destiny of Africa. What she did in the past, she may also do in the future. In this respect, Europe and the Near East will be of little use to Africa as the past experiences have decidedly proved. The vast area in North Africa under the Arabs and the other Moslem settlements are the fields of activity of the oppressive Arab slave-dealers and ivory-merchants. The various zones all over Africa under the control of the various European nations, the British and the French, the Italian, the Dutch (the Boer), the Portuguese and the Belgian (the Germans having withdrawn from the field after the First Great War), have fared no better. Exploitation and sometimes settlement are the two main factors of the European domination. Cultural progress, dissemination of the idea of better life and political freedom among the

Negro-Bantu races of Africa do not seem to figure in the programme of the Western nations. As regards slave-trade and ivory-trade the Europeans also earned the same bad reputation as the Arabs, specially in the past few centuries. The history of the diamond-mining activities of the Boers who settled in the various States of South Africa is darkened by the same gloomy picture. These very states also affect adversely the Indian interests of the present-day South Africa. In spite of all baneful influences of Europe in Africa, it should however be admitted unreservedly, that it was the bold enterprise of Europe, through her discoverers like Livingstone and Stanley, missionaries, scientists, engineers and administrative experts (individually and collectively) that has considerably changed the face of Africa. African slave-trade in

America is now only a fearful dream of the past. The untiring zeal of the Europeans has now brought to light many unknown or half-known parts of this Dark continent and changed the face of it permanently.

Still, the self-interest of the European nations goes counter to the self-interest of the Africans. It now remains for India to come forward in the self-denying task of uplifting Africa culturally and politically owing to her geographical position and ethnical contact in connection with this sub-continent of India. Cultural progress, better social condition, transition from

tribal to national stage and intellectual uplift are the items which are urgently needed for the Africans as the preliminary step to rise as a united nation and participate in the welfare of the whole human race. Industrial, economic, political and other important factors should be next attended to. Proper dissemination of universal education and opening up of innumerable roads of various categories with excellent transport facilities will bring inaccessible regions of Africa into close contact with the outside world and help in the above matters.

It requires a self-denying state morally and materially strong with a broad and liberal outlook to achieve some of these very difficult tasks which may even take a century to accomplish. No exploitation and colonial spirit will do any good to Africa. While we consider improvement of African conditions is the sacred trust of India, we are also aware of her present disabilities to achieve this laudable object. However, she can advance step by step and cultural uplift of Africa should receive her first attention when the situation permits, we hope, in the near future. Unless India is strong enough she cannot aspire to undertake this huge responsibility and it is for Bengal to lead India in such higher thought and laudable project. Bengal, as at present stands, is on the verge of destruction gasping between life and death. If she survives, by the will of Providence, the time may not be far off for India to carry the torch of civilization to Africa and help in her intellectual emancipation. However, this is now only a pious hope and it is difficult to guess the future.

If India intends to undertake the huge task of dissemination of her culture in Africa, then her first task will be to undertake a thorough survey of Africa through various scientific missions. These will consist of Archaeological, Geological, Ethnic, Historical, Zoological, Botanical, Geographical and various other missions and parties. Individual and collective efforts for exploration, discovery and research should also be much encouraged. After this, it is incumbent on her to divide this continent for convenience of work into a few regions and zones leaving aside also a part of Africa to look for herself. To be explicit, a common map of Africa will show that her northern part inclusive of the Desert of Sahara and the Mediterranean coast have already been colonised or otherwise ruled by the Moslem nations such as the Arabs, the Moors, the Berbers, the Fellahins and the Turks. In this area the Negroid Africans are very few in numbers. But to its south the whole of Africa is populated by the tribes belonging to the Negro-Bantu race. Thus, all Africa below 20 degree lat. north may be divided as

follows to carry on Indian cultural activity through her various types of people:

(1) The area of land bounded by 20 deg. lat. (north) to its north, 10 deg. long. (east) to its east, the equator to its south and 20 deg. long. (west) to its west is the portion of Africa number one. This region is composed of the territory of Senegal and Gambia (French), Western Sudan (French) the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia (Negro State) and Dahomey.

(2) The area of land to the south of 20 deg. lat. (north), 30 deg. long. to its east the equator to its south and 10 deg. long. to its west is the portion of number two. This area includes the French Equatorial Africa including the areas of Lake Chad and Ubangi-Sari, the Cameroons region, the Central Sudan (French) and some northern areas of Congo.

(3) All the areas of land to the east of 30 deg. long. up to the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea to its east, the equator to its south and 20 deg. lat. to its north is the part number three. It consists of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Somaliland (Italian and British), Eritrea, Uganda, Kenya and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

(4) All the portions of Africa between the equator to its north and 20 deg. lat. to its south, the Indian Ocean to its east and the Atlantic Ocean to its west is the part number four. This area is composed of the Congo, Tanganyika and the Mozambique territories, Rhodesia and the Portuguese West Africa.

(5) All the rest of Africa below 20 degree south and the sea on all sides is the portion number five. This triangular area includes the South African Union, partly Mozambique territory, south-west Africa and Madagascar island.

In the fitness of things as also in view of old traditions in favour of the Bengalis, at least area No. 4 is the area where the Bengalis may undertake the task of cultural regeneration of the Africans. The other four regions are for the Indians of other nationalities to attend to. Besides, the Bengalis, the men of Uttar Pradesh, the Rajasthanis with the Punjabis, the people of Maharashtra and of the Dravida country are principally the remaining Indian people who may participate in this laudable endeavour of uplifting the tribes of Africa.

These are all rough territorial divisions of Africa suggested to achieve the object, stated above, and all these activities depend upon the co-operation of the powers in possession of most of the lands and the strength of the State of India to make her wishes felt by other nations. Only Providence can determine as to the fairness of the claims of India and success of her programme stated herein which can change the face of the world for the good of the human race.

LAKE GEORGE

Queen of American Lakes

By PAUL LEVITT

LAKE GEORGE in the Adirondack Mountains of New York State has been called "the queen of American lakes." The New York State Conservation Department says the ancient Iroquois Indian name was And-i-a-ta-roe-te, meaning "There Where the Lake is Shut in." "The American Como" is another name for it.



Speed-boating on Lake George in the Adirondack Mountains of New York State

By whatever name it is called, Lake George is handsome. The blues and greens of the Adirondack lake country seem deeper on this lake, possibly because at so many points along the shore, so much of Lake George can be seen at once—20 to 30 miles of modulating blue and green tones, pine forest and fresh water, mountains and islands. This scene changes constantly. The light changes; the wind carves new channels through the water continuously; the clouds float down below the mountain-tops and seem to perch on the trees of the islands. In a region of lakes it is the indisputable queen of them all, the essence of the city-dweller's dream of great blue lakes hidden among mountains. The dynamic play of weather, moreover, which makes this restless body of water, gives Lake George some of the quality that belongs to tidal waters, a distinct, powerful personality.

Thirty-two miles long, varying in width from one to four miles, Lake George runs north-south between rugged shores. The head or south end of the lake, where Lake George Village stands, is about six miles north of Albany, capital of the State of New York and the north end is a mile from its sister lake, Champlain. The islands at the heart of Lake George cluster in The Narrows, which is the channel that carries the lake northward to the town of Ticonderoga. There are about 150 islands in The Narrows and some 30 others scattered north and south of the main group.

History, properly speaking, ended for Lake George with the American War of Independence. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the lake was in a domain filled with fortifications, ambushes, massacres, war cries. The great American Indian tribe names roll through this history: Algonquin, Huron, Mohican, and, lastly the greatest of conquering red men, the Iroquois.

In two wars, the French and Indian, and the War for Independence, the lake figured in the strategy of battle for French, British, American, and Indian warriors. In one battle—the attack on Ticonderoga, in July 1758—15,000

men and a thousand bateaux, whaleboats, and flat-boats appeared on Lake George. This flotilla went north to the foot of the lake. Its 15,000 attacked; about 13,000 came back to Fort William Henry at the head of the lake defeated. That war and the next one, however, ended the two-century story of bloodshed and massacre; ended it as a storm is finished on this lake—with the sun promptly showing, as if the storm never had happened.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Lake George began drawing tourists. They were coming in 1800. A steamer began to operate on the lake in 1817. And in 1951, the steamer *Mohican* makes the same daily summer tour that earlier steamers made in 1844.

Toward the end of the century, after the railroad came, estates were built. Around the head of the lake a few large hotels are still operating today. The

Worden, which was the headquarters for winter visitors who came to watch the trotting racing on the ice, lodges, boarding houses, and cottages. The stables and garages were turned into cabins.



Historic Fort Ticonderoga on Lake George, one of the outposts of the early American colonies

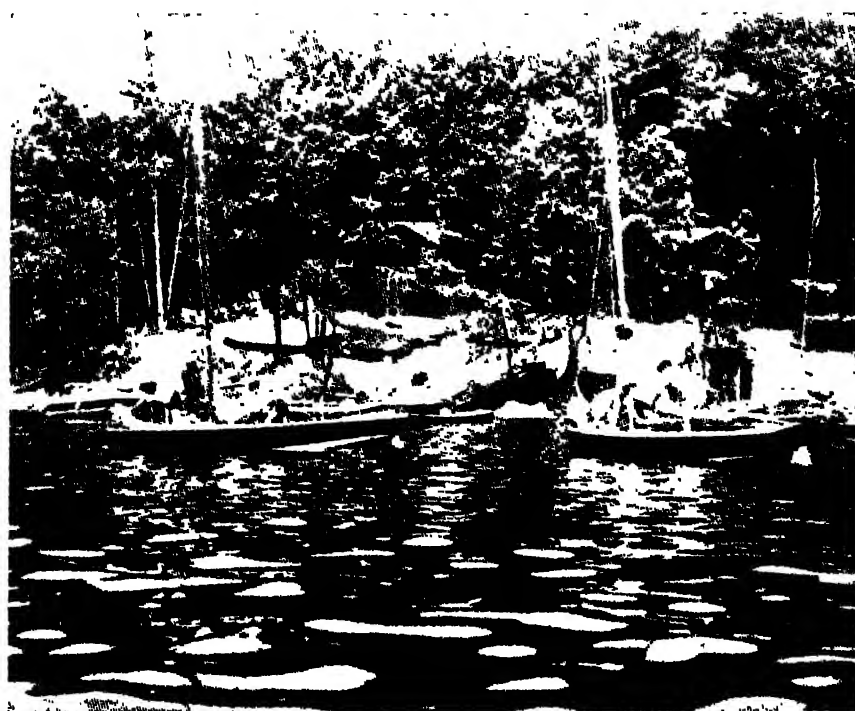
was an early hostelry whose name is used by a present-day hotel.

The early summer colonists and hotel residents were either prominent or wealthy or both. President Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth President of the United States, 1869-1877, visited Lake George. But the lake was by no means a crowded vacation resort. Except for the few hotels and the luxury estates, there were few places at which visitors could stay.

Lake George grew more and more popular. A real vacation tide began to flow that way during the 1920's. Then, in 1927 an enterprising young man named Arthur Knight managed a Lake George marathon swimming contest. The marathon, a race of 27 miles garnered an enormous amount of publicity. By 1933, Lake George was becoming a popular resort country. Under the dissolving influence of the economic depression of the 1930's, the estates along the west shore were transformed into

Today crowds go to Lake George by the thousands—50,000 each summer since the end of World War II. The trend of the future is forecast in the building project under the joint auspices of the State of New York and Warren County that is now under way—a bathing pavilion at the head of the lake which will run along the south shore. It promises to attract still more thousands to the area.

But while the head of the lake is undergoing growing pains, Lake George as a whole still retains an ancient primitiveness. Bolton Landing, ten miles up from the head of the lake, is still a small town, rather quiet. Beyond Bolton Landing the summer people can find lodges, cabins, and cottages, but not in such numbers that anybody will feel crowded. The east shore of the lake is still untouched by human hand, thick with forest down to the water.



Campers on one of the islands in Lake George make ready for a sail on this 32-mile stretch of water

A handful of clearings carry their complements of lodges and cottages. The rest of the shore is the domain of the State of New York, with some trails winding through

it—a semi-wilderness which cannot be much different from the way it was in the days of the Iroquois Indian hunters and the long rifle of the frontiersman.

The islands of the lake, carefully supervised by the State Conservation Department, are unspoiled. No two of the islands look alike. In size they range from half a square mile to a rock with a single tree. Some of the islands are shaped like animals or ships, and at dusk, on a summer night, some of them suggest creatures impossible to name.

Those who come to the islands in the summer return more consistently than the shore vacationists. For island-seekers are a cult, like mountain-climbers, and, like other members of this cult, the Lake George branch has a passion for this semi-primitive privacy—this game of a return to nature. The veteran islanders have permanent sites, an arrangement with the State Conservation Department whereby they have first call next season on the site occupied in preceding years.

The island-campers either store their equipment on the mainland each autumn and pick it up again the following summer or hire it from an outfitter in the lakeside village of Bolton. Some of the outfitters establish the camps for their customers. Twenty years ago, there was only one such outfitter in Bolton, but once the local people understood the depth of the city-dweller's interest in islands, the number increased.

—:O

Returning each year, the island-campers have created a fraternity of their own. The island-dweller shops by water. They buy their groceries at the store on Glen Island, where the Conservation Department maintains an office and a forest warden. Every afternoon the island community converges in canoes on Glen Island just before two o'clock, when the mailboat comes in from Bolton Landing. The islanders beat down like a war fleet, from all directions, to buy their supplies, pick up mail, exchange gossip, play horse shoes and arrange who is going to visit whom that evening.

The island-dwellers cultivate a certain sense of superiority over the shore vacationists. Going to and from the mainland, they pass the Hotel Sagamore with its lawn sloping to the water, its swimming crib and its porticoed main house, and they look down their noses at this decadence. The islanders feel they are more self-reliant. They must cope daily with the temperament of the lake. They are the practitioners of personal relationship with moonlight, sunrise weather, and the universe—to say nothing of owning a private outdoor fire-place and private sun-rock.

Many of them who came here on honeymoon years ago now are to be seen among their teen-age children. New York City and other urban places contribute whole families who return year after year to the island community.—From *Holiday*.

PINEAPPLE Nature's Crowned King

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

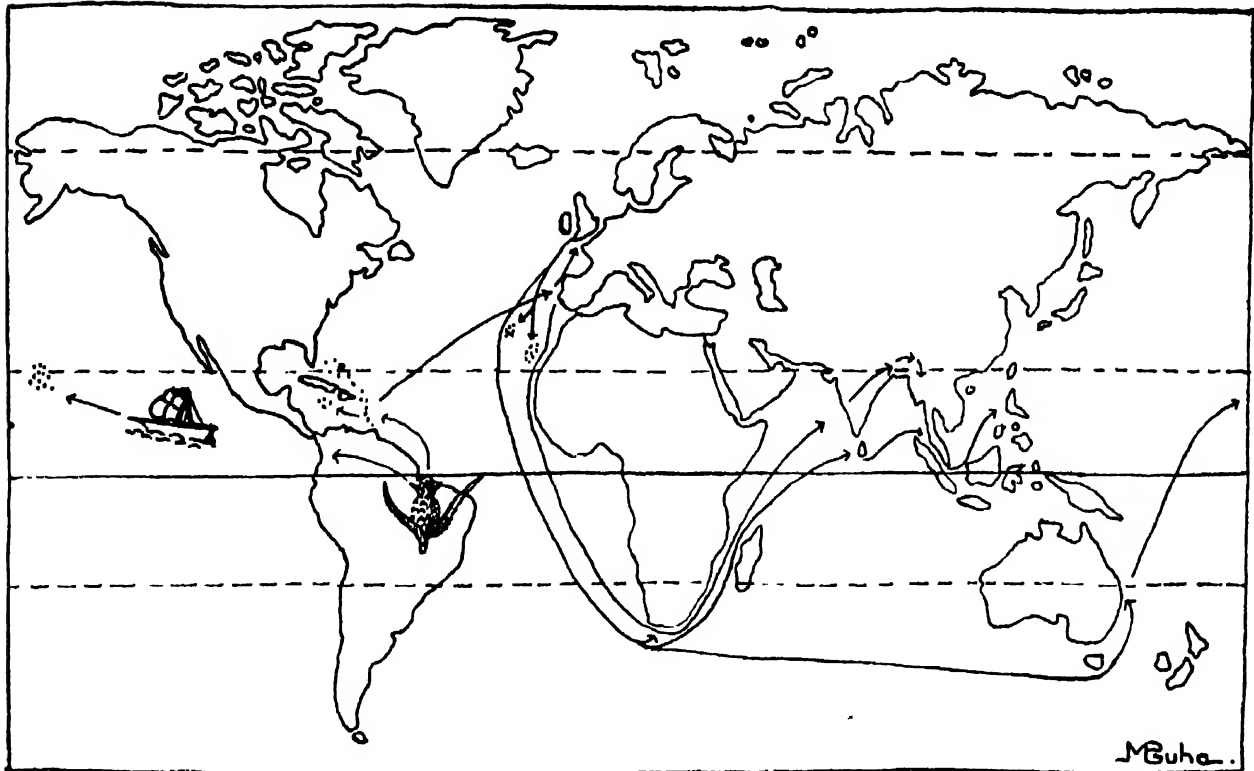
NATURE's crowned king of fruits is pineapple. The crown formed by the rosette of leaves has been rightly placed on one of the best fruits.

It is one of the few tropical fruits that is known throughout the world for its intrinsic value and has been exploited commercially. No other tropical fruit has had a more rapid rise in international trade. Today over 90 per cent of the world's pineapple is centred around Hawaiian Islands. And according to Johnson,⁶ from a few thousand cases of canned pineapple in 1903 the production expanded to about 2,600,000 cases in 1913. The development of iron-sulfate spray opened up many thousands of acres from 1916, and the development of the paper-mulching process in 1922, the extensive use of fertilizers and intensive cropping accelerated a new phase of production. The development of oil spray for mealy bug wilt, and of chloropicrin treatment for rejuvenation of the soil opened new vistas for expansion. In 1931 production exceeded 12,700,000 cases.⁸ This however declined during war years and is now regaining

lost ground. And according to Collins,² Hawaii accounted for 85 per cent of the 12½ million cases of canned pineapples produced in 1947 by all countries of the world.

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Columbus along with the discovery of America discovered the pineapple on the island of Guadeloupe in 1493 and later on the other islands of the West Indies. The fruit so pleased the American explorers that they carried it to many tropical lands, thus introducing them to the old world. The varieties of pineapple carried by the explorers were in a state of domestication, but when the domestication began we shall never know although several wild species are still to be found in the forests and hills of Brazil. Whether one of these or some other wild pineapples (there are other wild forms in south or central America) are the original parents of cultivated forms or are surviving remnants of some of the evolutionary stages through which our present highly-developed commercial varieties have passed on their route to domestication cannot be ascertained at this late period of



Probable line of distribution of the pineapple plant throughout the world, from its original home, has been shown with arrows

their history but it is certain that cultivated pineapples are related to these wild species.

The pineapple is traced as far back as 1548, in India.⁶ The Portuguese appear to have played a major role for its introduction into Southern India. From the west coast of Peninsular India it spread through the country and reached its perfection in the Eastern part through Calcutta to Assam and Burma.⁶ It was introduced to South Africa about 1655, to Queensland about 1854 and later on to Singapore.⁶

Probably some whaling vessel or possibly an early Spanish ship introduced pineapple into Hawaii about the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶ The pineapple is mainly cultivated for an export trade of canned or tinned fruit in Hawaii, Florida and Cuba, for United States; and in Azores and Canaries for Europe. In the East, Singapore is the only main centre of production of tinned or canned pineapples, although it is now cultivated throughout the tropics for home consumption, as in India.

In the little island of Hawaii the 'Pineapples Paradise' about 90,000 acres have been devoted to its culture, whereas in India the estimated acreage is 2,500 in West Bengal, 350 in Madras, 140 in U.P. and 60 in Bombay leaving aside others.

The Guarani Red Indians gave pineapple its name in the true sense of the term, where 'a' means fruit in general and *nana* excelling, in sharp contrast with the poor English name pineapple derived from its resemblance to the pine cone. This primitive tribe in this way judged the qualities of the pineapple in pre-historic times.⁶ And the name given by this tribe spread from

their original home—Paraguay—to different parts of the globe.⁶ In India most of the languages bear names clearly derived from this.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GENUS AND SPECIES

The pineapple is an herbaceous perennial belonging to the genus *Ananas* of the family Bromeliaceae. The only recognisable species is *A. comosus* (L) Merr. (= *A. sativus*). There are wild species, three of which *A. microstachys*, *A. microcephala*, and *A. bracteatus*, are used for breeding purposes in Hawaii.¹

IMPORTANT VARIETIES

The 'Smooth Cayenne' is the world's leading pineapple variety. In Hawaii it is practically the only variety grown, the stock coming from Kew gardens, London, via Queensland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. From its origin from Kew gardens and its exceptional size, it is also known as 'Kew Giant' in Ceylon where an individual fruit reaches a weight of over 20 lbs. sometimes, the average weight being 5 lbs.

'Giant Kew' or 'Cayenne' is the familiar variety grown in India and some types of the 'Queen' group such as the 'Koomlah' of Sylhet and the 'Dacca' of Dacca, both small in size. Distinctly inferior types introduced early, are still grown in our country which should be replaced by better stock either from Ceylon or Singapore if not from Hawaii in these days of Air transport.

The 'Red Spanish' appears the second in importance. A similar variety is grown in Singapore but as they are smooth-leaved they are known as 'Singapore' variety.

The 'Queen' appears the third and is the most popular in South Africa.

Pineapples have been divided into three main groups in consideration of the fruit character by Hume and Miller⁵ as tabulated below:



The pineapple plant showing all the different parts: A—stalk, a'—fruit stalk; B—root system, b—basal roots, b'—axillary roots; C—the multiple fruit, c—an individual fruitlet; D—crown; E—slips; F—suckers; G—ground sucker; d, e, e', f and g—rudimentary leaves at the base of crown, slip, fruit, suckers and ground suckers

Courtesy, Pineapple News

Flesh: Light yellow (Cayenne); White (Spanish); Yellowish-deep yellow (Queen).

Eyes: Broad, flat, not elevated at the nipple (Cayenne); Flat but elevated at the corners of the bracts (Spanish); pointed, sloping from the sides (Queen).

Practically little or nothing has been published as to the cultivated varieties of the plant met with in India as this plant is usually cultivated with neglect in our country, with the planting of occasional suckers in the shade or backyards.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT

The stem of the herbaceous plant is short and stout with roots directly attached and surrounded by a whorl of long, narrow, upright leaves with a length of 30"-40" inches. The structure and arrangement of the leaves seems to be adapted to the concentration and conservation of dews or light rains and gives a clue to its original habitat, which was probably a dry upland.

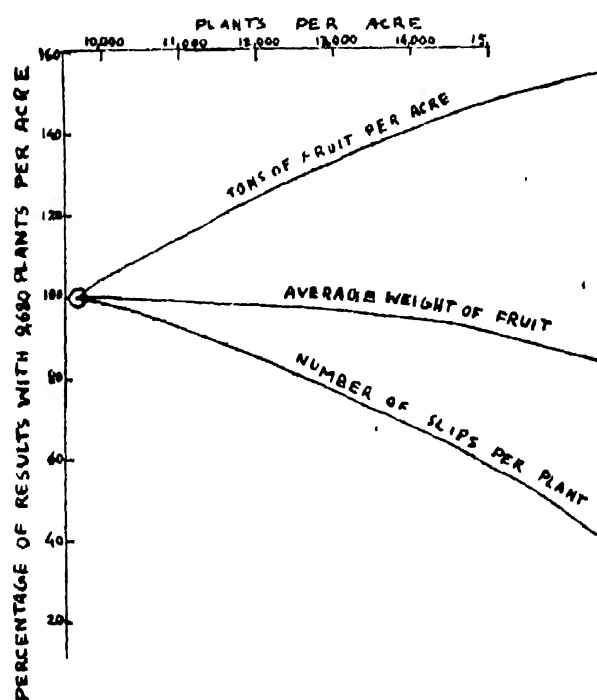
CLIMATIC REQUIREMENTS

The pineapple plant is grown successfully at altitudes varying from nearly sea level to 3,500 ft., and in regions of rainfall from 15 to over 150 inches a year. The majority of the fruit comes from regions between altitude of 500 to 1,500 ft., with annual average temperatures between 70 and 75 degrees (loc. cit. 3).

Tropical and sub-tropical zones with the above conditions are the limiting factors in the geographical distribution of pineapples in the world. In its native habitat, the pineapple plant was probably shaded by trees and a moderate amount of sunlight appears desirable.

SOIL REQUIREMENTS

With good drainage and ample supply of iron to the plant, pineapple can be grown on almost all types of soils. The availability of iron is restricted due to the oxidizing action of manganese dioxide and the alkaline effect of carbonate of lime. This difficulty has, however, been surmounted and now most well-drained soils with not too high amount of lime can be utilized for pineapples, thanks to the researches of Johnson (loc. cit. 6), with the use of ironsulfate spray. Sandy soils are easy working than heavier soils, which require thorough



Curves showing the relation of the tons of fruit per acre, the average weight of fruits and the number of slips per plant on the first crop at various numbers of plants per acre. Results with 9,680 plants per acre taken as 100 per cent. Results are for the same (large) amount of fertilizer per plant and for the same 4 feet width aisle between beds.—(After Johnson)

working and ditching for drainage. But the latter is more lasting than the former, which require considerable fertilization.

The original soil of the pineapples in their Brazilian home the laterite soil, seems in general the best adapted to permanent culture.

PROPAGATION AND PLAN OF PLANTING

Pineapples are propagated not by seeds but by crowns which grow on the top of the fruit, slips which grow from the stalk just below the fruit and suckers which grow off the main stem. Stump or stem pieces are also used for propagation.

practice everywhere. But where it is practised it is usually done in the single row system with 2½-3 ft. from row to row and 1½-2 ft. from plant to plant. But the main disadvantage is that the plants are without any support and can topple over in case of heavy fruits and the direct rays of the sun on the side of the fruit may cause 'sunburn' or 'sunscauld.' In some large plantations specially those in Assam, the planting of shade-giving tree on the western border is practised.

In Hawaii, the home of pineapple production, large-scale plantations are the common practice and most of the work is performed by machine in double rows on the asphalt-coated mulching paper.

With the introduction of paper mulching cultivation of pineapple has been revolutionized in Hawaii. The most important advantages are reduction of weed growth, retention of heat and moisture and prevention of drifting of loose earth, as well as increase in nitrate content.

The usual mulching paper is 24" wide. Two rows of plants are planted on two borders 18" apart. The papers are laid 6 ft. apart centre to centre. This standard of planting requires 9,680 plants per acre.

In Hawaii most of the operations, right from clearing old fields, have been mechanized, but still effective mechanization has been handicapped for some special reasons. The difficulty of working with the pineapple soils, the use of paper mulch complicating planting and cultivation, and close spacing makes fertilizing and harvesting difficult. And harvesting is all the more difficult due to irregularity in maturity.

Usually the same machine fumigates and fertilizes the soil

before it lays down the mulch paper. Then though tiring, planting is done by hand. A hole is made in the paper with a sharp instrument and then the plant is dropped and put firmly in the soil.

The planting material is selected from the old crop by specially trained workers with good judgement.

Soil conservation practices are of supreme importance. As with good management and soil conservation, success is a byword to a cultivator. Usually pineapple is not cultivated in the absolute plains but on rather a little undulated laterite or similar soils. So, with this row crop, the question of soil erosion at once comes to



A field of pineapple in Hawaii with its natural surroundings
Courtesy: Pine Research Institute of Hawaii

Propagation by seeds are not commercially desirable as freaks and distortions with little resemblance to the parent plants may appear from the rarely developed seeds which, however, may be utilized for breeding purposes.

Besides maintaining quality by the elimination of the inferior types, extensive progeny selection should be conducted.

As far as possible, only the best areas free from pests and diseases should be utilized as sources of planting material.

In India large-scale plantations are not the usual

the mind. The solution is with terracing and contour cultivation, along with soil conservation practice and good management as is usually practised by the Hawaiian farmers.



Planting on mulch paper

Courtesy: P. R. I. H.

TIME FOR PLANTING SLEDLINGS

After preparation of the soil during the dry months, suckers should be planted during the early rains, so that fruits can be secured in the following year. The first rain makes the soil moist and suitable for striking roots by the new plants. July is the ideal month for planting but this varies throughout the world according to seasonal variations and is usually planted throughout the different months of the year in different parts of the globe.

CARING FOR THE FIELD

Weed control is of supreme importance as this plant with comparatively poor root system cannot compete with other plants. For the same reason the system used for shading tea plants (by planting deep-rooted shade trees in between) is injurious to pineapple and it will affect the quality of the fruit. Paper-mulching solves weed problem, only to some extent, as the intervening spaces also must be rid of the weeds. During the war years as well as even now the Hawaiian school boys and girls help the farmer in the weeding of their crops, as will be seen from the picture.

In our country even school boys feel shy to handle the shovel leaving apart the girls. Gandhiji preached that every man and woman must do some manual labour to justify his sharing the nation's food. This will not only help our food problem but can solve labour shortage as well, though only to some extent. But this can have a magic effect on the tillers of the soil who alone fight for our food.

FERTILIZERS AND MANURES

In India and some other tropical countries pineapple is rarely manured as they are grown usually in fairly heavy soils rich in humus and available nitrogen.

In large-scale farming we always pay our attention primarily on the three important elements, nitrogen (N), phosphorus (calculated as phosphoric acid P_2O_5) and potassium (calculated as potash K_2O). We consider their intake by the plants and their supply as plant foods.

Horner⁴ estimated that there is removed per acre in 33.2 tons of fruit (a good plant crop for the smooth cayenne in Hawaii) an average of 60 lbs. of nitrogen, 17



Caring of the field (hoeing) by the Hawaiian boys and girls

Courtesy: P. R. I. H.

lbs. of phosphoric acid and 212 lbs. of potash. In the whole plant at its point of maximum growth (plant crop) he estimates an average per acre of 5½ lbs. of nitrogen, 112 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 1,455 lbs. of potash The nitrogen to lime ratio (N: CaO) is averaged at

1.33 which would figure about 380 lbs. per acre.

So, more than 2000 lbs. of balanced fertilizer is required to recoupe the replenished earth.

Johnson^o says that while nitrogen in almost any form that becomes readily available shows results, ammonium sulfate appears to be the pineapple fertilizer *par excellence*.

Usually a handful of the complete fertilizer is applied under the mulch paper at the time of the planting or during laying of the mulch paper and an equal quantity is applied, by tossing with care, into the axils of the basal leaves, avoiding the tender parts of the plant. The latter is absorbed by the axillary and soil roots and has been proved to be a better system, as the roots of pineapple are subject to an invasion by all sorts of soil organisms.

The problem of iron starvation due to various factors has been solved by Johnson with the introduction of iron-sulfate spray. To-day the spraying of this has been highly mechanized.

Usually during the clearing of the old field a large amount of plant materials are returned to the soil but in Hawaii there is a strict co-ordination between field and laboratory to find any deficiency in the soil which is at once met by chemicals.

THE FLOWER AND ITS COMING OF AGE

When the earth in its daily orbit moves round the equator and the days and nights are more or less equal and the plants have reached their age of maturity the compact flower-head pushes through the heart of the plant. The stalk—the main axis—grows and pushes the inflorescence up, then it grows through and forms the crown.

• The beautiful pinkish flower-head consists of numerous so called 'eyes,' the individual flowers, protected by a pink (may slightly differ in colour among varieties) scaly bract, which in a mature fruit partially covers up the eyes. The perianth or the floral whorl consists of three fleshy triangular sepals with pinkish end and three blue purple petals with their ends protruding, in alternate whorls. This again encloses six stamens and the three carpels united to a three-celled ovary with numerous ovules, one stile and three stigmas.

FRUITING TIME AND NUMBER OF CROP

The approaching spring brings blossoms to the pineapple and they mature into the luscious fruit during the rains. This is the summer or main crop. The other comes during the winter and usually forms a small part of the total production. People usually do not like the winter crop as in the absence of the hot summer the fruits are not so sweet and delicious. There is also a great variation in the time of maturity of the plants and its coming of age, from less than one year to one and a half years after planting.

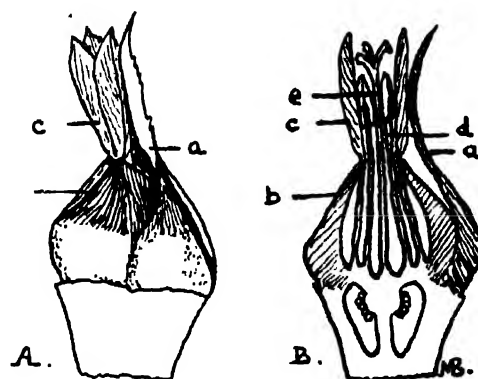
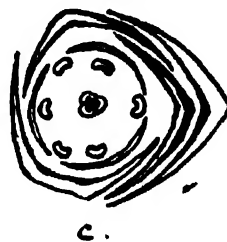
THE FRUIT AND ITS EDIBLE PARTS

Like jackfruit, pineapple is a multiple fruit formed from the whole inflorescence, where the ovaries are embedded in a fleshy mass formed by the simulta-

neously growing bracts, sepals, petals and axis of the inflorescence. The whole fruit is eaten except the so-called 'eyes,' forming the rind, consisting of the top of the bract and perianth leaves. Also the natural crown of leaves is not eaten and used as planting material. This crown with the development of the fruit becomes green and adds to the sugar deposit of the fruit.

FOOD VALUE OF THE FLESH OF THE FRUIT

During the rainy season, the peak period of pineapples, the 'king of fruits' occupies much space in the fruit stalls and is a happy addition in our daily diet, whereas one can have supplies of this golden fruit



The pineapple flower: A—one solitary flower showing the bract (a) partially covering the angular sepals (b), which encloses the petals (c) on the inferior ovary. B—longitudinal section of the flower showing the insertion of the bract (a), sepals (b), petals (c), stamens (d), and the style (e) with the three stigmas on the inferior ovary with many ovules (x2).

C—floral diagram

throughout the year preserved in cans. It has been found that vitamins A and C are present in notable amounts in fresh pineapples and that the canning process does not destroy them either. One normal-sized pineapple yields about one-fourth of the calory requirement for an ordinary man for one day. The fruit also contains mineral salts and fruit acid in abundance. It has also been found that the organic acids are used up in the body, and their residual effect is to counteract acidity—even if a quart of pineapple juice is consumed daily, it will not cause acidiosis, but tend to correct it. (loc. cit.3).

Like other living matter, water constitutes a large proportion of the living pineapple plant in which it amounts to 83 per cent by weight. Of 17 per cent of dry substances in the pineapple plant, only about 7 per cent

of it or about 1.2 per cent of the living plant consists of protein (loc. cit. 6).

Apart from the high percentage of ascorbic acid (vitamin C) sugar and fruit acid, a valuable digestive enzyme *bromelin* is also present, which sores the mouth, in case of some varieties, if taken in large quantities.



Picking of the ripe fruit

Courtesy P. R. I. H.

The detailed analysis from the *Health Bulletin* No. 23 of Government of India is given below:

Moisture %	..	..	86.5
Protein %	..	..	0.6
Fat (ether extracted) %	..	..	0.1
Mineral matter %	..	..	0.5
Fibres %	..	..	0.3
Carbohydrate %	..	..	12.0
Calcium (Ca) %	..	..	0.02
Phosphorus (P) %	..	..	0.01
Iron (Fe.) mgs. %	..	..	0.9
Calorific value per 100 gms. %	..	..	50
Carotene (International vitamin A unit per 100 gms.)	..	..	60
Vitamin C gms. per 100 gms.	..	..	63
Calories per ounce	..	..	14

For the full development of the special delicious flavour the fruits must be left on the plants until fully ripe.

Kelley⁷ attributed the great increase in sugar in the fruit with ripening to the transformation of the starch in the stem to sugars, and their translocation to the fruit.

YIELD PER ACRE

In India the fruit is so cheap, smoking the plants for early maturity is not paying as is sometimes practised in other countries for getting the early market. But this is never practised in arcas, where the fruit is canned.

The pineapple plant forms only one fruit per

plant annually. But one may find more than one in some teratologic specimen, where the knob of the slips, a primitive fruit, grows and develops into a fruit.

Like other crops in India pineapple probably gives the poorest yield per acre, which is less than two tons in West Bengal. Whereas in Hawaii, as Johnson⁸ says, in the early days ten tons per acre on the first crops was considered a good yield and with the use of paper mulch and fertilization, average fruit crop yield was increased to about twenty tons. With closer planting, improvement in planting material and culture, yield has been increased to about 25-30 tons per acre, with some best field giving 35-40 tons per acre.

In most of the pineapple countries about 10 tons of fruit per acre is obtained from the 'Smooth Cayenne' and 6-7 tons for 'Queen' or other smaller variety.

CONTROL OF DISEASES AND PESTS

The pineapple plant is subject to the attack of various fungul and other diseases right from the roots to the crown of leaves including the fruit. In damp and water-logged condition, *phytophthora cinamomi* can destroy the entire root system and can attack the heart of the plant.

Attention should be given to the good drainage of the field. Breeding of resistant varieties is the present-day problem which is daily progressing towards its destination through works of scientists at Hawaii.

The above fungus along with others (root knot nematodes etc) destroyed the fine root system of the plant causing serious loss. Chloropicrin (one form of tear gas, 100-200 lbs per acre) was a byword for soil fumigation in early years. Recent development has, however, led to the use of D D mixtures in Hawaii which has reduced the risk of root loss due to the activity of sub-soil organisms to a minimum.

Yellow spot virus disease forms spots and streaks first on leaves, then either kills the plant or rots the fruit. The agent of transmission is *Thrips tabaci*, a small insect. Spotted wilt in tomatoes is caused by the same virus.

One of the most serious troubles of pineapple is wilt caused through different sources, and mealy bug wilt is one of them. This insect (*Pseudococcus brevipes*) turned to be a menace for pineapple cultivation in Hawaii in the second decade of the present century. 1-2 per cent of highly refined mineral oil is sprayed (250-600 gallons per acre depending on the size of the plant) to combat this pest. This can also be controlled biologically by predators.

Due to unbalanced nutrition the fruits sometimes deve-

lop some brown spots along the core which spread up but never show on the surface. It is common with the winter crop and causes the sourness of the fruits.

Again due to iron starvation because of calcareous or manganiferous soils, plants suffer from chlorosis. In calcareous soils the excess of lime changes the iron, present in sufficient amounts, into colloidal iron which cannot be utilised by the plant, and in manganiferous soils into ferric iron more difficultly available. The problem is solved by ironsulfate spray.

There are many other diseases and pests of lesser importance.

There is a tendency to under-estimate the importance of plant protection measures for pineapples in India. The reason may be found in the very foundation, the neglect in our cultivating this plant, which has put the acreage in our country to the bottom of world figures.

MARKETING

It has been found that pineapples are better preserved at about 40 deg. F, whereas storage at 40 deg. F and under causes disorganisation of the tissues. Rose *et al*⁹ found that ripe fruit may be stored for a month at 40 deg. F—45 deg. F and mature green fruit is to be kept at 50 deg. — 60 deg. F with a relative humidity of 85—90 per cent. Where the fruits are not canned but exported, all possible care should be taken for handling the fruit, right from harvesting to its arrival to the consumer's table. For long journeys the fruit should be cut quite green after full maturity, and the fruits be cut always with a sharp knife with one stroke, as otherwise it may help in the deterioration during transit due to invading organisms. After cutting the fruits should be exposed to the hot sun for surface killing of possible organisms and then the fruit to be left on their crowns for drying for a day or two. The fruits the stem of which do not dry, should not be exported as it may deteriorate during transit.

While crating for long journeys, each individual fruit should be wrapped in paper or straw and possibly should be placed in separate compartments of a crate for about a dozen fruits. Crates should always be handy, as big crates are often broken during transit.

In case of local market the fruits should be picked fully ripe as it fetches a better price due to the full development of the special flavour.

ECONOMIC ASPECT

From the beginning of the present century pineapples have been canned and the industry has not only developed itself very highly but it has developed machineries which handle the fruits right from the peeling to cooking and canning in hygienic containers in a few seconds of time.

Today above 90 per cent of world total production is centred around Hawaii and the industry has developed very highly there.

Canning of pineapples in Hawaii has advanced tremendously due to the discovery of the 'Ginaca' machines,

which with cylindrical knives cut out the core and the rind and trim the ends of the fruits to fit in the cans, after slicing with assembly knives. After inspection they are graded and canned, then syrup is given and after cooking⁹ packed, all being done by machines, at the rate of about 100 per minute.

After canning of the whole pieces of the fruit, the broken pieces are crushed for canning of the juice. Then the core and the peel are utilised by the mills for the manufacture of sugar and power alcohol. Thousands of pounds of the white crystals of citric acid is manufactured annually for the drug trade as well as calcium citrate and vinegar. The dried waste known as pineapple bran is a valuable stockfeed.

The 'Pina' cloth manufactured from the fibres extracted from the pineapple leaves is a costly delicate fabric mostly used in the Philippines as well as in Formosa and China.

In India it is sometimes extracted for local consumption for use either by the shoemakers or for necklace string of the country girl. In Khasi hills it is sometimes utilised for the manufacture of fabrics by the tribal people.

For the canning of fruits there is an urge now in India and pineapple is the right thing for canning. The industry has not developed highly due to the poor market. The reception of the canned fruits in India, where people usually take fruit when ill, is the worst possible. One who will put some money for purchasing fruits for consumption without showing this 'extravagance' to others, will always try to purchase a *taja* fruit instead of those tinned—who knows when?

This golden fruit with its golden juice does not appeal to our countrymen. We must propagate to all, what a tremendous loss it is to the Nation, not to utilise its sources for the production and consumption of fruits that build up the fighting elements in the body and keeps the doctor away.

If we want to live strong, our slogan should be—
'Take fruit not when ill.'

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THE ORIGIN OF FAMILY-NAMES OR SURNAMES

BY LALIT MOHAN ROY, VIDYABINODE

Each class of creatures from the meanest to the highest has its own separate language for communicating feelings or thoughts to one another. An ant can understand the feeling of an ant although it has no tongue to speak. Barking of a dog is understandable by another dog. A cry of a monkey is intelligible to another monkey of the same class. Similarly, horse's neigh, cow's low, cat's mew, lion's roar, jackal's howl, goat's bleat, crow's caw and cuckoo's koo are cries which are understandable by the respective class of animals or birds. The cries of animals or birds and the method of their expressions of feelings and thoughts are inexplicable and static.

In the evolution of creation the human being is the highest manifestation of the animal-kingdom. God has given him everything that is required. 'God has made man after His own image' (image refers to intelligence), the Bible says allegorically. Man's voice is somewhat different from that of other created beings as he has got the requisite organ—the tongue as a perfect modulator of voice. In the primitive age man with the help of his voice and other means, such as gesture and sign, was accustomed to express his feelings and thoughts to his own kith and kin. With the advancement of knowledge and by dint of energy a branch of the human race has stolen a march over the other offshoots and has become civilized. The civilized people on account of their cultural development and inquisitiveness have invented the art of language. Thus, speech progressively developed by cultivation has become the spoken language of the civilized branch of the human race. Hence the Bible says:

(1) "And the whole earth was of one language and one speech.

(2) "And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar and they dwelt there."—*Genesis*, Chap. XI.

The Ramayana also says that there was one language and one speech. We cannot reject off-hand the sayings of our Holy scriptures. There must have been some truth in it. However, what that language is no body can say for certain. But the majority of the European scholars of the nineteenth century have so far admitted that Sanskrit is the eldest daughter of the unknown mother-language.

In Sanskrit *Bhasha* or language means the expression of thoughts and feelings by tongue.*

Man with the help of his tongue speaks and expresses his feelings of joys and sorrows and communicates the same to others. In this connection the learned scholar Max Muller observes in his famous book *Science of Language*:

"Language is nothing but a contrivance devised by human skill for the most expeditious communication of thoughts and who would wish to see it treated, not as a production of nature but simply a work of human art."—Vol. I, page 29.

Again he says: "Language is the work of man."—Vol. I, page 31.

Man belonging to an individual human race or nation and using this "cultivated" language gives names to all things, animate or inanimate, in order to distinguish one thing from the other. The more vocabulary it contains the richer is the language. It is due to creative and inventive genius of such a language that the 'family names' or 'surnames' of the civilized people of the world have originated.

So far as the origins of 'family names' or 'surnames' of the Hindus are concerned I have already dealt with them elaborately in some articles in Bengali under the caption *Upadhi Rahasya* ("Mystery of the Origin of Family Names or Surnames").*

In the first portion of my article I have tried my best to prove that the family names of the primitive civilized people first originated from the nomenclature of *inanimate objects*, such as mountains, hills, rivers, forests or wood, etc., and of *animate objects—animals and birds*, such as Lion, Tiger, Elephant, Cow, Bull, Bullock, Lamb, Serpent, Bird, Swan, Duck, Dove, Partridge, Hawk or Hawkin, Peacock, etc.

These surnames still exist amongst the different civilized nations of the East and the West. Their similarity goes to show that we the people of the East and the West must have belonged to the same stock of the human race, although we might have later divided ourselves into various groups, such as Asian, European, American, Russian, African, Mongolian, Caucasian, Australian, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese and so on.

We find in ancient Sanskrit literature that the people used to bear surnames or family names according to the denomination of lower animals, birds and inanimate objects.

* Vide Bengali monthly magazine *Nabya Bharat*, Bengali Era 1328, Sravan and Bhadra, and Bengali weekly *Naba Shakti*, July, August and September, 1929.

In order to substantiate my statement, I wish to put before you an English translation of a passage of the Sama Veda:

"People who are not revengeful and are forbearing like a *hamsa* (swan) even when tortured by their enemies, are called *hamsas* (swans). They and the *brisha* (bull) go to the *yajna-grha* (sacificial place or room) to perform the sacrificial rites."

In the Rig Veda (*vide* 5, 41 Sukta, 4 Mandala) we find that these *Hamsas* (Swans) lived in a place called 'Suchi' under the leadership of Brahma,* the eldest son of mother Aditi, the daughter of King Daksha. Even today we give an epithet to a very saintly man as *Hamsa* or *Paramahamsa*. Amongst the English people too, we find a class of people who still bear the surname, 'Swan' or 'Duck.'

In *Aitareya Brahmana* we have got instances that 'Serpents,' 'Cows' or 'Bulls' came to perform certain *yajnas* (sacrificial rites). Serpents and cows referred to therein do not mean that they belonged to the reptile class or the class of ordinary beasts. They were human beings like ourselves and held the surnames as such. This is not a presumption but a bare fact. Krishna-Dwaipayana Veda-Vyas, the great epic poet, says in his immortal Mahabharata, "This son of mine is a very great and learned sage. He is born of my wife who belongs to the serpent sect." It is needless to say that the wife of a human being cannot be a reptile serpent but a woman. The Mahabharata is replete with the description of the 'Naga' family (people who bear Naga or Serpent as their family surname).

It is said in the Mahabharata that King Parikshit was killed by a serpent, named Takshaka, who was born of mother Kadru, one of the daughters of Maharaja Daksha. There is a popular belief among the Hindus that King Parikshit was killed by snake-bite. To take revenge for the heinous act committed by Takshaka the serpent, King Janmejey, son of Parikshit, performed *sarpa-yajna* or snake-sacrificial rites to eradicate serpents from India. Takshaka is said to have been born of one of the daughters of Daksha Raj. How could he be a venomous snake? The story has taken an imaginative turn. The actual fact is that Takshaka was a man and not a venomous serpent who

killed the king Parikshit. King Janmejey performed the snake-sacrificial rites not to root out the reptile snakes from Hindustan but to crush the power of the Naga sect who were human beings and tried to overthrow the famous Indu* or Chandra dynasty, the then ruling dynasty of India. Takshaka was a king and one of the progenitors of the Naga family (serpent sect). His kingdom was situated on the north-western parts of India. The place Taksha-sila, the present Taxila brings forth to our memory the name of Takshaka, the renowned king of the Naga family.

Again we read in the Mahabharata that Arjun, the hero, had married Ulupi, one of the daughters of the Naga King of Pragjyotishpur (the present Assam Province of India). In the Gita we also find Lord Krishna saying, "Among the serpents I am Vasuki." Who was this Vasuki? Was he a venomous serpent? Certainly not. He was a human being like ourselves. He was one of the most powerful kings of the Naga family of the Epic age. Mention is made in ancient Sanskrit literature that he, too, was one of the progenitors of our Hindu society. People, who hold the surname or belong to the *gotra* (clan) of Vasuki are the direct descendants of the great king Vasuki. Due to misconception and confusion of synonyms, the Hindus of the dark age introduced the worship of the reptile serpent instead of worshipping the great Vasuki, one of the progenitors of the Naga family.

Modern historians may not accept the mythological stories as authentic but they cannot reject the living truth. For their guidance, I cite examples as proof of the continued existence of the Naga family from the Buddhistic period down to the present time. The names of Pingal Nag and Ding-Nagacharya, the famous Buddhistic scholars are not unknown to the literary world. The Naga Hills of the Eastern portion of India and Nagpur, the capital of the Central Province, bear out the fact that there must have been a powerful Naga dynasty who reigned in those parts of India. Even today there exist various sects of Hindus, especially in Bengal, who bear the surname or family name as 'Nag.'

It is described in the *Hari-vamsa* that the under-mentioned sects of the Kshatriya dynasty were driven out from the Hindu society of that time and they were compelled to leave India for the impurity contracted by slaying King Vahu, the father of King Saugar; the punishment was meted out by King Saugar under the orders of Vashistha Rishi: Saka, Yavana, Kamboj, Parad, Koli, Sarpa, Mahish, Darad, Chol and Keral.

From the above we see that *Sarpa* (serpent) and

* Due to the use of the same term there is a confusion over the word 'Brahma'. There were three Brahmas. The first Brahma is the creator of the Universe. The second Brahma refers to 'Lokapitamaha Brahma' (primogenitor or the great-great grandfather of mankind, i.e., Adam or the first created man). The third Brahma is the eldest son of mother Aditi. He is stated in our scriptures as 'Prajapati Brahma' (*Projanam Adhipati*), the supreme, executive officer of the people's government, just equivalent to the President of a democratic government. The third Brahma, the eldest son of mother Aditi had a son whose name was Atharva, his eldest daughter's name was Saraswati or Pathyastuti or Vak Devi who is adored by the Hindus as Goddess of Learning.

* From which word 'India' has derived its present name as thus: "Indu vansanam vassathanam" (Abode of the Indu-s or Chandras) —Industhan, 'Industhan,' slightly changing its form has become 'Hindusthan'; thereafter in Greek and English it has taken the form of India.

Mahish (buffalo) belonged to the Kshatriya class (warrior class). There was a very powerful monarch named Mahishasura who waged a hundred years war against the Devas. His kingdom was in the southern parts of India. The existence of Mysore State glorifies the name of its founder Mahishasura—(Mahishasura—Mahisur—Mysore).

There may be a historical fact behind the description of the Hari-vamsha. I venture to say that men bearing the surnames, according to the nomenclature of animals, are not rare in our society. I shall mention here some concrete cases. The surname *Sinha*, *Sing* or *Singha* (lion), exists among the Brahmans (as in the case of the Darbhanga Raj family), Kshatriyas (almost all the Indian princes irrespective of their castes bear the family-name of Sing), Vaishyas, Ahirs, Agnis, Tambuhiks, Mahishyas, Kayasthas and the Sikh community. The surnames *Hathu* (elephant) and *Bagh* (tiger) exist in the Kumbhari and the Kayastha communities of Bengal respectively. We also find, the word *Hathesing* is used as surname by a certain class of Punjabi Hindus.

In the Pabna District and the Rajshahi Division of undivided Bengal we find people who still bear the surnames, *Bhera* (lamb), *Patha* (goat). In the districts of Barisal and Rangpur (now in Eastern Pakistan) the family names or surnames as *Mahish* or *Mahishahu* (buffalo) and *Sial* or *Sialu* (jackal) can be found in the Namasudra community. It is also a matter for consideration whether Mahishayas of Bengal are the descendants of the Mahish family and Mahishadal of Midnapore District (West Bengal) is named after it.

It is a well-known fact that with the help of Sugreeva and his party the great Rama had conquered Ravana, the King of Lanka (Ceylon). It is described in the Ramayana that the Va-naras* were the inhabitants of Kishkindhya (the modern Madras Province). If we read the Ramayana critically and logically from the historian's point of view, we will have to admit that these Va-naras did not belong to the monkey-tribe of the forests, but they rather belonged to a very high and intelligent class of human beings. 'Va-nar' was the family name or surname of a sect of people with whom the great Rama made friendship. At present we do not find that any sect or tribe holds such family name. They must have been absorbed in

the society by a long process of absorption. Relics of the past can be traced, if proper research is carried out. Among the Madras Hindus we find a class of people who still hold the surname 'Bali'. Who can say that the members of this community are not the descendants of Bali, the eldest brother of Sugreeva and a true friend of Ravana whom Rama killed without any rhyme or reason. I should like to mention here that surnames originated from the denomination of lower animals are also noticed in the English society. A class of Englishmen still holds such surnames as 'Bull' or 'Bullock,' 'Lamb,' 'Beaver,' 'Wolf,' 'Fox,' 'Fish' 'Seal,' etc.

With regard to the family name 'Bird' I shall discuss later on. Here I shall casually mention about *Mayura* (peacock) dynasty which ruled in certain parts of India.

I leave it to the historians to investigate and say whether the present *Mayur Bhunj* State is named after the Mayura (peacock) dynasty. People holding the surname *Mayura* (peacock) cannot be found in our society; but the surname Peacock is found among the Britishers.

Now, I shall deal with the surnames or family names which have originated from the denomination of inanimate objects. The epithet 'Vana' or 'Aranya' (forest or wood) can be found amongst Hindu Sadhus (pious men), Sanyasis (ascetics) and spiritual guides belonging to different schools of religious faiths of Hinduism. The surnames 'Parbat' (hill or mountain), 'Nadee' (river) are not uncommon in the Hindu society. Such surnames are also not rare among Englishmen.

I shall now try to explain as to how the family names have come into vogue. In the primitive stage of the marriage system the female-folk were much more revered than the male-folk. This system is called the Matriarchal System. In order to substantiate my statement I shall refer to the sayings of our revered sages of the past. *Vayu Puran*, one of the oldest of the Puranas, says, "The Devas (men of erudition) are called or classified according to the names of their mothers." In *Hari-vamsha* we find that Raja (king) Daksha had many daughters. He got them married, ten to the King Dharma, thirteen to the King Kashyap and twenty-seven to the King 'Chandra' or 'Indoo' or 'Shome,' the son of Maharsi (great sage) Atri. The name of the mother of the Devas is stated as *Aditi*. The Devas are called Adityas. Similarly, the sons of mother Vinata are known as Vainateyas or 'Khagas' (birds), the sons of mother Diti are known as Daityas, the sons of mother Danu are known as Danabas (demons), the sons of mother 'Danayu' are known as 'Danayus' or 'Dashyus' (robbers); the sons of mother, 'Kapila' or 'Suravi' and of mother Kadru or 'Sarpa' are respectively known as Cow or Bull or Bullock or Buffalo and Naga.

* If we carefully search for the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word *Vanara* we shall have to admit that the Vanaras were human beings. The Sanskrit word *nara* means human being. Here, the word *nara* is only prefixed by *Va*, which is a diminutive form of the Sanskrit word *vati* or *var*, or *vanam* meaning water. (Latin: *Vinum*, Anglo-Saxon: *Win*, Gothic: *Wein*, German: *Wein*, Greek: *Oinos*). I think that the people of other provinces called them as Va-naras because they lived in a country near the sea-shore and were most efficient in sea-affairs and skilful in naval warfare. The construction of the bridge to Lanka under the guidance of the then engineer Jambuban (who belonged to the Va-nara family) is an instance of the great engineering skill on the part of the Vanaras.

I take this opportunity to elucidate further the family names in respect of *Vainateyas* (sons of mother Vinata—Bird). In the Gita Lord Krishna says, "I am Vainateya among the Birds." Who was this Vainateya? Vainateya had other names too. In some cases he was called as *Gurura* or *Stakshya*. He was a sage, a leader of the *Vainateyas* and one of the composers of Vedic hymns. The Vainateya, Gurura or Stakshya did not belong to the class of ordinary birds. He was the eldest son of mother Vinata. Her issues generally were known as *Vainateyas* (birds). Keeping in view the existence of family-names as *Mayur* (peacock), *Koel* or *Kaul* (cut-koo), *Bajpai* (hawk), etc., in our society and those as 'Woodcock', 'Dove', 'Peacock', 'Crane', 'Duck', 'Swan', 'Partridge', 'Eagle' and 'Bird' in English society, we can come safely to the logical conclusion that these different denominations are the direct outcome of the general term 'Bird'. That is to say, the people holding such surnames are the descendants of "Bird" family. The Matriarchal System has almost been abolished from our civilized society. Traces of this system can only be found among the hill-tribes and Keralas of India and the aboriginal tribes of Africa.

As and when the marriage system was well-established in society the matriarchal system was gradually on its decline and the patriarchal system took its place. The social leaders of the then civilized society made it a rule that family members should be known according to the names of their fathers. This system is called the *Patriarchal System* which has been in vogue in the civilized societies of human race since then. I shall clarify the matter by citing a couple of examples. Take for instance the name of Lokamanya Balwant Rao Bal-Gangadhar Tilak. Here, 'Balwant Rao' is the Christian name of Lokamanya Tilak, the word 'Bal-Gangadhar' is his father's name and the word 'Tilak' signifies the name of the forefather of his family. Similarly, take the names of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Chittaranjan and Subhas Chandra signify the Christian names of the respective individuals concerned. Das and Bose represent respectively the names of the forefathers of Chittaranjan and Subhas Chandra. According to the names of illustrious persons or progenitors of a family, surnames have come into use. For this reason we find today such surnames as Kaushik, Kashyap or Kashup, Bharadwaj, Parasar, Vyas, Vashista, Vatsa or Vatsayan, Gautam, Moudgalayan, Garga, Maitra, Surya-Dhoj or Surya-Vansi (descendants of Surya) and 'Chandra' (descendants of Chandra). In European society we find the same *Patriarchal system* prevalent. A few surnames are given below: George, William, Anderson, Ripon, Muir, Harrington, Morrison, Stalin, Truman, Roosevelt, Attlee, Makintosh, Gregory, Harrison, Washington, Evatt, Hopkins, Martin, etc.

It has become a custom amongst almost all the civilized nations to put surnames just after the Christian names of the individuals; the only exception being, in the case of the Chinese who prefix their surnames or family names and affix the Christian names. I give here a few examples: Sun-Yat-Sen, Chiang-Kai-Shek, Mao-Tse-Tung, Chou-En-Lai, Chu-Teh and Foo-Chung. Here Sun, Chiang, Mao, Chou, Chu, and Foo signify the names of the particular family to which Yat-Sen, Kai-Shek, Tse-Tung, En-Lai, Teh and Chung respectively belong.

In the Manusamhita it is said that the Chinese are a race of Kshatriyas. We also know that socio-religious customs and usages of the Chinese are in many respects identical with that of the Hindus. Due to my very little knowledge about the Chinese or Japanese language I regret my inability to subscribe more about the origin of surnames or family-names of these nations.

Here I intend to write a few lines about the famous "Surya" and "Chandra" dynasties of India which have given birth to family names or surnames of various nations of the East and the West. Pococke says in *India in Greece*—

"The Hindus had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, the Phoenicians, Greeks, Tascans, the Scythians or Goths and Celts, the Chinese, Japanese and Peruvians."
—Page 251.

I should like to say here that due to misconception and confusion of synonyms a very silly mistake has crept in the European scholars' writings. They have translated the word Surya-vamsa and Chandra-vamsa as *Solar race* and *Lunar race* or solar dynasty and lunar dynasty respectively. "Surya" and "Chandra" were human beings and sons of Kasyap Rishi and Atri Rishi respectively.

Persons existed and still exist in the societies both of the East and the West who hold surnames as 'Surya' and 'Chandra' in various forms. The difference is only on account of difference of languages. "Chandra" the son of Atri Rishi was one of the ('Projapatayah') presidents of the Republican Government of India in the Vedic age when India was the fountain-head of the streams of civilisation of the whole world. He is the progenitor of 'Chandra,' 'Indoo,' or 'Shoma' vamsa (Lunar dynasty). In India, people of different castes and creeds use 'Chandra' or 'Chanda' 'Chund' (the corrupted form of the word 'Chandra'), 'Shome,' 'Home' or 'Hum' (the corrupted form of the word 'Shoma') as family-names.

A good many instances have come to our notice that the occupation or the profession which a particular individual took up for his livelihood or a title conferred upon him as a personal distinction in appreciation of his merit have come into use as hereditary

family-name. It is too numerous to be detailed here as to how designations or denominations of occupation have become 'surnames.' I shall give only a few examples below where we find a strange affinity between our society and English society:

<i>Hindu surnames according to occupation</i>	<i>English surnames according to occupation</i>
Vais, Vanik, Krisak, Krishan, Chasi.	Farmer, Husband-man, Merchant.
Mochi.	Cobbler.
Jailey or Dhibar.	Fisher or Fisherman.
Swarnakar.	Gold-smith.
Karmakar.	Black-smith.
Kumbhakar.	Potter.
Tehsildar or Borai	Treasurer.
Purohit.	Priest, Pope, Bishop.
Appa	Peter.
Nayak or Senanayak (Leader of the Army).	Leader.
Pathak, Upadhyay,* Ojha or Ahuja, Jha, Acharya, (Acharia, or Charia in Madras).	Reader.
Dalal.	Broker.
Malakar or Mali.	Gardener.
Raj Kumar.	Prince.
Rajah, Roy, Rai, Ray or Rae, Rao, and Chakravarty and Bhuiya.	King, Baron, Duke.
Tantubaya.	Weaver.
Rishi.	Sage, Hermit.
Mohant.	Monk.

Arya, Bish or Bishi, Swamy, Goswami or Gosain, Probhu, Iswar. (Ayar or Iyer and Ayengar or Iyengar, the diminutive form of Sanskrit word 'Arya'). Lord.

The system of using surnames and the affinity thereof between the two different nations who are culturally, socially and religiously of different characters go to prove the national unity of Europeans and Asians. It may be presumed that we have come out of the same stock of the civilized branch of the human race.

* (a) In case of certain sub-sections of Bengali Brahmins, the word 'Upadhyaya' is being used as surname prefixed by the names of native villages of the ancestors, such as, *Mukhopadhyaya* (Mukherji), *Bandopadhyaya* (Banerji), *Chattopadhyaya* (Chatterji) and *Gangopadhyaya* (Ganguly). The word 'Acharia' or 'Charia' which is the diminutive form of the Sanskrit word 'Acharya' is used as surname by a few sections of Madras Hindus.

(b) The system of prefixing names of ancestral native places to family-names is prevalent among certain sections of Madras Hindus.

(c) There are instances in different parts of our country where the names of ancestral places only are used as family-names, such as: Bhatnagar, Malwa, Marwari, Malaviya, Sarvapalli, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Bhaduri, Rhygai, Paksari, Paldhi, Simlat, Digulgal, Taitabati, Butabyal, etc. Among the Britishers we also find many people hold names of places as their surnames, such as: Cambridge, Kent, Newland, Oxford, Holland, Franco, Eastwick, etc. What a strange affinity is there between the Hindus of the East and the Englishmen of the Far West!

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ERRATA

The Modern Review for October, 1951, in the article on "How the British Lost India":

P. 277, footnote: Read Maharaja Pratap Singh for Maharaja Hari Singh.

" " Read His successor Hari Singh was the imbecile victim in the Mrs. Robinson affair for this was before.

P. 281, col. 1, l. 20: Read two years for four years.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

1. **THE GREAT SENTINEL: A STUDY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE:** By S. C. Sen Gupta. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 243. Price Rs. 6.

2. **QUINTESSENCE OF GITANJALI:** By C. C. Chatterji. Published by Nalanda Publications, Bombay. Pp. 52. Price Rs. 2.

In his book Dr. Sen Gupta aims at a critical appraisal of Rabindranath's poetry, drama and fiction. He has generally confined himself to English translations of Rabindranath's works. Unfortunately, these translations can give only an imperfect understanding of Gururji's genius. Among other serious limitations, they suffer from sameness and monotony. With their pretty designs and luxuries of sentiment, they sometimes give a wrong impression—an impression of weakness. They once created in the West the legend of Rabindranath "the pale-lily poet of ladies' tables."

His later poetry, contained in *Purabi* and *Mahua*, *Patraput*, *Prantik* and *Navajatak*, *Rogasajyay* and *Arogya*, finds no mention in Dr. Sen Gupta's book. No study of Tagore can be satisfying without an understanding of them. It is difficult to imagine how *Songs of Love* do not include poems of *Mahua*. Who does not know that a greater and richer Rabindranath emerged out of the *Gitanjali*, *Gitimalya*, *Utsarga*, *Kheya* period? Firmer grasp, richer love for the earth and man, greater responsiveness to the problems of concrete life distinguish poems of the later period. Not cloying sweetness and languid diffuseness but passion, power and penetrating observation are their characteristics. Devotional poems and the mystic strain in Rabindranath's outlook have been given a disproportionate importance in Dr. Sen Gupta's book. The fact that Rabindranath is one of the greatest humanists of the age, has been lost sight of.

Dr. Sen Gupta shares the opinion of Fausset that Tagore had an imperfect sense of evil. In fact, it is his early poems that helped in creating such an impression. "I am a born romantic," he asserted in a poem in *Navajatak*. This romanticism was heightened by the peculiar conditions of his family. But in spite of all his reluctance, this great romantic was drawn into the maelstrom of life by the stupefying problems of his time—the vile greed and exploitation of Imperialism, the rise of Fascism, the rape of Abyssinia and Spain, the invasion of China, etc. In his later poems this awareness is becoming keener and keener. To the end of his life he continued to denounce these monstrous evils; he warned people against the hissing tongues of serpents belching out poison, all over the

world; he sent a clarion call to those who were preparing to scotch them. But he did not lose faith in man and declared that it was a sin to do so.

These are some of the chief points of our disagreement with Dr. Sen Gupta. There are others, for instance, his opinion on *Gora* and his remark that for lack of a penetrating sense of humour Rabindranath could not understand characters of different temperaments. This has been Dr. Sen Gupta's view uttered during the poet's life-time. His comedies and recorded conversations, however, prove the contrary. And he could understand and create wonderful characters like *Gora*, *Paresh Babu*, *Anandamayee*, *Nikhil*, *Bipradas*, etc., the like of whom belonged to the classes he knew intimately. But he did not know, for example, *Phagulals* and *Bishus* of *Rakta-Karavi* though he was intellectually aware of their problems and of the world-problem of which these are part. His range of direct experience was limited. He himself acknowledged this in several poems. He tried to compensate this lack of direct experience with poetry and passion of his own.

Like Rolland of the West, Rabindranath was the Great Sentinel of the East. He defended all his life the great human values—the ideals of Love, Freedom and Fraternity—which were menaced by ignorance and prejudice, greed and savagery.

Dr. Sen Gupta's book throws light on certain aspects of Rabindranath's genius. The style is lucid.

Prof. C. C. Chatterji traces the gradual development of the poet's thought in the English *Gitanjali*. He shows that the poems were chosen and arranged not at haphazard but with a purpose to reveal the successive stages in the poet's spiritual quest. The writer has gone straight to his task and avoided philosophical discussions not relevant to the scheme of the book.

SUNITI KUMAR GHOSH

RAMAKRISHNA: HIS LIFE AND SAYINGS: By Prof. F. Max Muller. *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora*. Pp. xii+200. Price Rs. 5.

A reprint of this life of Ramakrishna Paramahansa was long overdue. The book is remarkable in many ways, (1) it is the first full-fledged life of the saint in English, (2) it is from the pen of one of the greatest Orientalist savants of the nineteenth century, (3) its materials having been supplied by Swami Saradananda through Swami Vivekananda are authentic, and (4) the sayings are well chosen and bear the flavour of the original in translation. The get-up of the reprint is excellent.

RAMAKRISHNA MISSION: WHAT IT IS: By Swami Pavitrananda. *Advaita Ashrama*. Pp. 28.

This profusely illustrated brochure, priced only eight annas, gives in a nutshell the history of the Ramakrishna Mission, and shows the workings of its different branches in brief. This will serve as a guide book to those who will visit the Mission either as pilgrims or as sight-seers.

B. N. BANERJEE

MEMORIES OF MY LIFE AND TIMES,
Vol. II: *By Bipin Chandra Pal. Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Calcutta 6, Price Rs. 6.*

The first volume of the above book was published in 1932 immediately after the death of the author, and covered the period 1857-1884 of his life. The much expected second volume has seen the light of day only recently. This volume has been drawn up to the year 1900. Thus, roughly speaking the latter half of the nineteenth century has come under review in these two volumes. They are more than an autobiography as their title indicates. This volume opens with a very valuable introduction running up to sixty-one pages. The thought movements of the third quarter of the nineteenth century India, from the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny up to 1885, the year of the start of the Indian National Congress, have been delineated so crystal-clear that the student of the nineteenth century India can easily grasp the causes that led to our revivalism—social, political, cultural and religious. The following chapters, while depicting the ups and downs, hopes and despairs of the author's life, throw lurid light on contemporary history. The formative years of the Congress, the influence of Bijoy Krishna Goswami on the educated Bengal, our national struggles in the nineties, influence of Swami Vivekananda in America, the author's disillusionment with regard to the spread of India's mission abroad—everything has been told with a ring of sincerity rarely to be found these days. A few lines from the book on the influence of Swami Vivekananda at the time deserves to be quoted. When the author went to America, the Swami was still there. He writes:

"Vivekananda, however, captured American imagination by the force of his 'impudent' course. Keshub and Protap had been more or less apologetic in their reference to Hinduism. Hinduism, as they knew it, had no claims to either superior ethics or deep spirituality. It was all practically idolatry and polytheism and caste. This was in those days the universal judgment of Europe and America upon the religion of the Hindus. Vivekananda first offered a challenge to this universal British and American estimate of his national religion. . . . Vivekananda did not assign any name, did not argue his position but delivered his message with soul-compelling directness and simplicity . . . as truths that could not possibly be contested or controverted." (pp. 276-77).

An American greeted the author as an Indian, but on hearing the latter's mission told him to his face that "my place was not in America but in my own country, where I must work for the emancipation of my people to qualify them for discharging their high mission as teachers of the modern world." This prophetic utterance of the American determined the future career of the author, so to say. This book should be read, re-read and digested by our present generation.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

TWELVE YEARS OF KANNADA RESEARCH
(in Bombay State) 1939-1951: *Compiled by R. S. Panchamukhi. Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Pp. xxx+17. Price Re. 1.*

This is a record of the various activities of the Kannada Research Institute at Dharwar from its

foundation in 1919 down to the year 1951. That this work has been sufficiently fruitful there can be no doubt. As the author observes in the course of his useful survey, the Institute during this short period of its existence has discovered and explored 34 sites (of which however we miss the names as well as the period covered by them), examined and copied 850 inscriptions, collected a large number of coins (mostly copper coins of Vijayanagara and Mahratta dynasties), undertaken detailed surveys of a number of important monuments, secured a large number of stone sculptures and bronzes, formed a collection of about 1000 MSS., and published a number of monographs. All this reflects high credit on the authorities of this Institute, and above all on its learned Director who is the author of the present work. On the other hand, it is permissible to point out that the long list of opinions of scholars and "distinguished persons" with which the author has thought fit to introduce his record of the activities of the Institute and the list of its publications is wholly out of place, if not a positive drawback, in a work of this kind.

U. N. GHOSHIAL

NEGRO STATUS AND RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES (1911-1946): *By Anson Phelps Stokes. New York. 1948. Pp. 219.*

Presented by the United States Information Service, Calcutta.

The book under review is the Thirty-five-year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the purpose of which is the 'erection or improvement of tenement house dwellings in New York City for the poor families of New York City and for educational purposes in the education of Negroes both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians and needy and deserving white students through industrial schools, the foundation of scholarships and the erection or endowment of school buildings or chapels.'

The Report not only presents an account of the work done under the auspices of the endowment in the States and in Liberia, but also gives a brief, but satisfactory, account of the progress of the Negroes in education and industry as well as their rise in civic and social status. It draws pointed reference to the root causes underlying the present unhappy relationship, and shows it has been yielding steadily to recent economic changes and to educational and religious efforts of reform.

We recommend the Report for careful perusal by social reformers in India, and particularly by those engaged in the campaign against untouchability. For they have much to learn from workers engaged, in other parts of the world, in combating the feeling of racial discrimination.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE ISLAMIC STATE AND OTHER POLITICAL ESSAYS: *By Ajit Kumar Sen, Lecturer, University of Calcutta; formerly Reader and Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University. Published by Thacker Spink and Co., 3, Esplanade East, Calcutta. 1950. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book comprises vast materials that will go to indicate the reasons for what is happening before world's eyes since the establishment of Pakistan. Today the subject dealt with in the book discusses an issue big with conflict and political frenzy, leading to the loss of many millions in life, honour and property. The various dates of these studies, reprinted in book-form, are commentary on the mounting temper of the founders of Pakistan and their followers.

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In page 3 of the book, Ibn Khaldun, the first rationalist jurist among Muslims, is referred to as emphasizing the "disinctive feature of the Islamic State" without quoting his words—a lapse due to last minute carelessness, I am afraid. The Memorandum submitted by the author to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, raises a nice point—whether the absence of the words, "Islamic State" and "Koranic State" (p. 4) were deliberate, though in the speeches made on the occasion, none of the speakers failed to deliberately harp on these two words.

Throughout the book, the author shows how unhappy does he feel at this development. While I share his feeling I have often asked myself—whether or not there are certain ideas implicit in Islamic theory which made its followers incapable of accommodating non-Muslims in their State? Nowhere do we get the reply. And without an explicit reply the world will be left to wondering at the sight of a vast society foundering in a sea of mental distortions and its politicians deliberately indulging in hypocrisies.

The last article in the book, entitled, "Religion and Science in Democratic Theory," is informative, it gives a comparative study of Hindu, Muslim and other theories (pp. 131-141). I have occasion to thank the author and publisher for a "topical" book, as the phrase goes, though its value in the field of comparative politics will grow with the times.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HUMAYUN IN PERSIA: By Sukumar Roy, M.A. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Pp. xvi+113. Price Rs. 5.

This is a scholarly and well-documented work that attempts to throw light on an obscure episode of Mughal history. The author has laid under contribution a mass of Persian sources, both published and unpublished, some of which had not been previously tapped by any scholar. He has, by exemplary industry and perseverance, brought to our view some very interesting facts, regarding Humayun's adoption of the Shia creed and the treatment he received at the Iranian court. As a sample of his painstaking, it would be pertinent to point out that he has not remained satisfied with consulting a single copy of a particular MS., on a doubtful point, but used as many manuscript copies as he could procure. For instance, he has used four copies of *Tazkirat-ul-waqat* by Jauhar—I. O. MS., Punjab University MS., Sir Jadunath's copy, and Stewart's translation. It is therefore an admirable work, in so far as the exploration of sources is concerned. Unlike many of the modern historical researches which have a flimsy, slipshod character, Professor Sukumar Roy's researches have a solid quality.

It is however, in his weighing of the evidence and his presentation of the raw materials that scope for improvement exists. It is difficult to agree with him on many points (vide my paper—*Humayun in Iran*). We reproduce here a specimen of the style of narration: "From Sabzawar the royal party proceeded to Sufiabad. Abul Fazl and all other historians who follow him say that Humayun reached Sufiabad after having passed through Damaghan and Bistam. As Beveridge points out, Sufiabad lies far to the east of Samman and Bistam and would naturally be reached by Humayun before them. It was quite probable that Humayun went to Sufiabad either from Sabzawar or from Nishapur. As Sabzawar is nearer Sufiabad than Nishapur it is more probable that he went there from

Sabzawar" (p. 20). Comment on such a style in the middle of the twentieth century is superfluous.

N. B. Roy

THE PHYSICS OF MUSIC: By R. K. Viswanathan, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Physics, Annamalai University. Published by the same University. Price not mentioned.

Any music possesses three distinctive elements: melody, harmony and rhythm. Melody, as Professor Viswanathan describes, results out of a series of musical sounds set to a rhythm. Harmony is the relationship the successive sounds have with the tonal sound. In our country appreciation of music centres round melody, whereas in the West harmony is the centre of interest. However, in one thing both Indian and European music obey a fundamental principle: "Each limits itself to a definite scale or series of notes and its music proceeds from note to note by determined steps, measured by the musical intervals." And since the various melody patterns in Indian music may not be scientifically accounted for as may be in Western music Prof. Viswanathan has written the present book to rouse the interest of the musically-minded people in the study of the musical system. The book will also be of great help to the makers of musical instruments.

But the book is rather short of the ideal because of two things: (1) the book takes into consideration only the Carnatic system of Indian music; and (2) the book sets forth the experiments and observations of the Western scientists and does not compare the discoveries and inventions in the field of sound made by the Ancient Indians and recorded in the *Natyashastra* of Bharat, in the different *Vedas* as well as other treatises on music.

Prof. Viswanathan will, we suppose, make a comparative study of both the Eastern and Western systems of music and thus meet a very long-felt want.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

BRAHMASUTRAVRITTI-MITAKSARA (of Annam Bhatta): Edited by Sri P. S. Rama Sastri, Professor of Vedanta, Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore Government Oriental Series, Madras. No. XVIII. 1950. Price Rs. 7.

Among the numerous commentaries on the Brahmasutra of Vadarayana, that of Sankara is the most important from every point of view. A great number of exegetical works has grown around it. But it is hardly possible for an ordinary reader to get an idea of Sankara's contributions by reading all of them. The work under review is, as the name suggests, a short commentary on the Sutras. It summarises in simple Sanskrit the views of Sankara and occasionally quotes the *Bhamati*, the *Kalpataru* and the *Vivarana*. The commentary has been edited with the help of three manuscripts. But no variant has been cited.

The Sanskrit Introduction gives us some information about the Vedanta System and Annam Bhatta, the great scholar from the Deccan.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

VEDANTA DARSHAN, Part II (Chatussutri): Translated by Swami Viswarupananda and edited by Swami Chidghanananda. Published by Udbodhan Office, 1 Udbodhan Lane, Calcutta 3. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 3.

The foremost Sanskrit work on Advaita Vedanta is the original commentary of Sankaracharya on the Brahma-Sutras called Vedanta Darshan. A Bengali rendering of the same was done by Pt. Kalibara Vedantabagis towards the end of the last century. But that translation was more literal than lucid. Some decades later it was succeeded and surpassed by the second Bengali rendering undertaken by Pt. Pramathanath Tarkabhusan with the indefatigable collaboration of Pt. Rajendra Nath Ghose *alias* Swami Chidghanananda. Unfortunately that translation was left incomplete. Encouraged by Swami Chidghanananda, the preparation of the book, under review, was taken up by Swami Viswarupananda of Banaras who devoted seven years to a profound study and complete translation of this abstruse work. The whole rendering was thoroughly revised and edited by Swami Chidghanananda, above mentioned. This book contains the translation of the first four anhorisms of Brahma-sutras on which Sankara's Commentary is the most learned and philosophical. Translations of Sankara's Commentary and Ramananda Saraswati's gloss named *Ratna-prabha* on it as well as Bharatitirtha's *Vaiyasikanyayamala* are given in this book. The translator's explanatory note called *Bhavadipika* in Bengali is very informative and useful. It contains the essence of Bachaspati Mishra's *Bhamati*, Anandagiri's *Nyaya-nirnaya* and several other outstanding Sanskrit glosses on the famous aphorisms of Vyasadeva. The translation is quite close to the text and clear in exposition. The explanation will acquaint the readers with the vast literature that have gradually grown in Sanskrit on the Vedanta Darshan. When the remaining parts of the whole book will come out as promised by the translator, it will be a valuable addition to the growing literature in Bengali on Vedanta Philosophy.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

SIDDHIR PATH: By *Dhirendra Chandra Majumdar*. Published by *Yuga-barta Publishing House*, 47, *Pataldanga Street*, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

In five chapters, the writer has indicated the way to success in life—material, as well as spiritual. With apt illustrations from the lives of great men, he has tried to impress on our mind the need of sincerity, perseverance, punctuality and certain other qualities for the realisation of any noble ideal.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANKHYA BIJNANER A. A', Ka, Kha: By *Rabindra Nath Ghosh*. Published by *West Bengal Printing Works*, Calcutta. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 4.

This is perhaps the first book on statistics in Bengali. Statistics is a subject which is gaining importance in free India and a knowledge of its fundamental principles is becoming necessary for intelligent appreciation of the ever-growing volume of official publications and their data. In this Bengali edition the author has explained the fundamental principles of statistics in a clear and precise language and no great knowledge of mathematics is necessary for following the exposition of the author. For example, the chapter on correlation can be cited; the subject has been ably dealt with.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

MERA JEEVAN-PRAVAH: By *Viyogi Hari*. *Sasta Sahitya Mandal*, New Delhi. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is a collection of essays on various themes, autobiographical in their overall effect, by one of the leading Hindi authors who has, however, found his fulfilment more in the perpetual miracle of Life than in the mere magic of literature. Viyogiji's viewpoint and vision are vitalizing, a leaven of light in the dough of one's own intellectual "deeps" and darkness.

BACHON KE RAVINDRANATH: By *Yamini Kanta Soma*. Published by *City Book Company*, 15, *Bankim Chatterji Street*, Calcutta. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2.

A very interesting and highly readable account of the life and work of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, written expressly for children. Every Hindi-knowing boy and girl should possess a copy of the book, the excellent get-up of which is an additional attraction.

G. M.

GUJARATI

NEW LIGHT ON THE GATHAS OF HOLY ZARTHROSHTRA: By *Ardeshir F. Khabardar*. Printed at the *Sanj Vartman Printing Press*, Bombay 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 848. Price Rs. 20.

This monumental and remarkable work—the result of strenuous research work for more than a decade—is unique in throwing light on this somewhat recondite and controversial subject. His effort has been to show that what is found in the Hindu Vedas is found in the Parsi Gathas. The words and ideology are identical. He has transliterated the corrected original text in English, Gujarati and Devnagari script of all the stanzas of the seven Yasnas of the Ahurvaiti Gatha, and translated them into English and Gujarati prose and also Gujarati verse together with their transformation in the pre-Vedic written language, with all their accents. Full notes and explanations, astrological and phonetical references have added to the value of the work. Mr. Khabardar till now has to his credit many works in poetry and prose, but this particular phase of his instinct for research has come out for the first time. We are sure that both Indian and European scholars would welcome the work and also profit by it.

BHUVELNI TAPAS: By *Vimal Shah, M.A. and Mrs. Sarala Shah, B.Sc.* Published by the *Research Department of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha*, Ahmedabad. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 4-8.

Bhuvcl is a small village in the Petlad Taluka in Gujarat. Village-uplift is not possible till every little detail of village-life, domestic, social and economic, is known and you cannot know these details till you live in the village and share with its inhabitants its amenities and shortcomings. This is what this educated couple have done, and have disclosed every phase of village-life, marriage, sickness, funeral, song and play, faithfully and from first-hand knowledge. The inquiry was undertaken under the auspices and guidance of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, of which Manilal Nanavaty is the moving spirit. The book is a model one; statistics and suggestions, everything is there. It should inspire social workers to follow in the footsteps of the Shah couple.

K. M. J.

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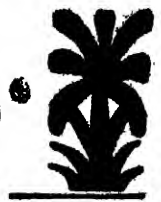
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



My First Interview with Gandhiji

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose has for many years been a student of Gandhiji's writings. In an article in *The Aryan Path* which forms the first chapter of his forthcoming book, *My Days with Gandhi*, he observes :

When I come to think of it, it appears strange that the two friends who were instrumental in introducing me to Gandhiji are both now languishing in jail, while the third, who brought me into closer contact with him later on, has herself left the fold of politics and has gone back to what was her primary interest in life, *viz.*, Art.

In 1934, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the North-West Frontier Province was in jail when his son Khan Abdul Ghani Khan returned from America after training in sugar manufacture. Ghani did not know where to go, for the house of the Khans at Utmanzai had been taken possession of by the British Government. So he sought refuge in Santiniketan, where he enrolled himself a student under Principal Nandalal Bose in the Kalabhavan or Art School, and lived under the guardianship of my friend Prof. K. R. Kripalani. It was in Kripalani's hostel that I often used to meet Ghani; and, later on, when the senior Khan Sahib came to Bolpur in the last week of August 1934, in order to meet his son, I had a chance of coming into close contact with this celebrated leader of the Pathans.

The Congress session was to take place about two months later in Bombay and Abdul Ghaffar Khan extended to Professor Kripalani an invitation to be his guest on the occasion. I went with Kripalani to Bombay and then left for a few weeks of photographing temples in the south of the Province. Then I joined Kripalani again and together we proceeded to Wardha on the 8th of November 1934. The Khan family had already left for Wardha in company with Gandhiji. We reached the place on the 9th of November, and were accommodated as guests in Seth Jammalal Bajaj's house, which is not very far from the railway station.

That same day Khan Sahib had an appointment with Gandhiji in the afternoon; and he very kindly asked me to go with him to meet Mahatmaji, with whom I had never had the opportunity of coming into personal contact before. While at Santiniketan, Khan Sahib had occasion to visit a small school in the untouchables' quarters at Bolpur where I used to live; and in introducing me he said that I was a Congress worker engaged in constructive work among the untouchable castes.

It was about half-past four when we were ushered into a room at the top of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha, where Gandhiji had taken up his residence since his abandonment of Sabarmati Ashram. Sevagram had not yet come into being, and he occupied a clean and spacious room with a broad terrace in front in the upper storey of a brick building.

When we entered the room, we found Gandhiji seated behind a small desk near the southern end of the room, close to a door which opened on to the terrace. A spotlessly clean white sheet of hand-spun and hand-woven *khadi* was spread over a *durrie* which covered almost the whole floor. The small desk in front had some paper and writing materials neatly arranged upon it. There did not seem to be many men about. Pyarelal, his secretary, was there, and a few women workers were also in attendance. What impressed me at the first glance was the perfect cleanliness and the almost ascetic simplicity of the furnishings in the room.

The time of the interview had been fixed outside the usual hours reserved for that purpose. When all of us had seated ourselves in a semicircle, Gandhiji opened the conversation. It appeared that there had arisen some difference between Ghani and his father. Abdul Ghaffar Khan had recently started a political journal in the Pushtu language which was his mother-tongue. He was naturally anxious to enlist Ghani's active support in the new enterprise, for his son had already earned a reputation as a writer in Pushtu, and educated men were very rare in the Frontier Province. While stating his case, the elder Khan Sahib said that he did not expect his son to serve as a soldier, but why should he not employ such talents as he had in the service of his uneducated countrymen? Ghani was, however, not agreeable to this and frankly confessed he had no interest in politics and preferred to work in a factory, be independent, and spend his leisure time in the pursuit of Art.

Gandhiji sat listening in silence, and when the two had finished, he turned to Kripalani and asked him what opinion Ghani's Principal had about him. Kripalani reported that the former had a favourable opinion of his talents but that Ghani was very erratic in practice. This might lead to a waste of any gifts which he might have at present. Kripalani also added that Ghani was never serious in his work but flirted with it. Gandhiji broke into a merry laugh and said, "Ha! Ha! See that he does not flirt with anything else." I never imagined Gandhiji could joke in this manner; but when he did, all of us joined in the laughter and the serious atmosphere of the room was appreciably dispelled.

Gandhiji now turned towards Abdul Ghaffar Khan and spoke in a more serious vein. He was of opinion that when God had endowed Ghani with talents in art, we had no right to harness him to any other purpose. All we could do was to help him in his own growth; and therefore, if Ghani promised to spend some time every year in Santiniketan, he would gladly find work for him in a factory. Kripalani now added that the Principal had also said that Ghani had a special talent for sculpture and, as he personally knew nothing of carving, Ghani could more profitably seek instruction elsewhere. Gandhiji, however, broke in and said, "No, no, Nandalal knows the poetry of sculpture, and Ghani must imbibe it from him."

Abdul Ghaffar Khan sat listening in silence and when Gandhiji pronounced his final judgment he took it with calmness, like the good soldier that he ever has been. What, however, appeared surprising to me was the tenderness with which Gandhiji treated the case of an artist in trouble. In the midst of the political tension through which the country was passing in 1934, he had perhaps the right to call even an artist to soldier's duty. For had he not once written to the poet Rabindranath Tagore many years ago that a poet should lay down his lyre when the house was in flames and associate himself in work with the famishing millions of his countrymen?

When Ghani's case was thus over, Gandhiji turned to me and asked me to say something about myself. It was an embarrassing question, but I succeeded in briefly recounting my antecedents. Then he said that Khan Sahib had informed him that I wanted to discuss a few questions with him. I then handed over to him four questions which I had brought in writing. He went through them carefully, and as none of the questions was of a private nature, asked me if he could discuss them in the present company. Of course, there was no reason for me to object, so he started his discourse. The report of the interview was later on sent to him and published after correction in *The Modern Review* of October 1935. It was subsequently reprinted with some notes in my *Studies in Gandhism*.

There is only one point which should be noted in this connection. Perhaps it is legitimate to point out that the answer on trusteeship and private property did not entirely satisfy me. For he did not stand solidly against private ownership of land or factories at the moment. But from his answer one could infer that if the question was pursued further, it would not be impossible to convince Gandhiji that a more radical attitude was not inconsistent with his non-violent position. But of this more later.

That same evening, we went out for a walk with Gandhiji. In spite of the fact that he was slightly bent with age, and put loose sandals on his feet, Gandhiji could walk very fast. We accompanied him across the dark-coloured, bare fields for over a mile, when he turned back home. But, as he did so, we noticed that he picked up a few pieces of stone which lay strewn in the midst of the fields. Khan Sahib and others also did the same, and, on his advice, I also picked up as big a block as I could comfortably carry. When we reached the Mahila Ashram, every one of us deposited his load on a heap which had already grown to a respectable size at a certain spot in the garden.

The fact was, the Ashram was a little way off from the main metalled road, and one had to walk along a sticky, muddy path in the rains to reach it. Some engineer had been called, but his estimate had been too high for the Ashram. So Gandhiji had proceeded in his own direct manner to deal with the problem of road-building. He had promised to collect all the necessary road-metal in the course of a few months and this, he expected, would reduce the cost of the road to a considerable extent. Thus, every morning and evening walk was meant not only for keeping the inmates of the Ashram fit but it was also to add to the "wealth" of the establishment, in a very different way.

In Gandhiji's opinion, there seemed to be no problem, however great, to whose solution the smallest individual could not contribute his mite. Indeed, he had the genius of discovering individual solutions in the most ingenious ways. His idea was, if we could multiply the number of dutiful individuals by many, that would lead to the solution of problems, however massive they might appear at first sight.

Gandhism Today--An Analysis

Franc Watson writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Soon after the beginning of the Korean War, I sat up late one night, trying to think out what Mahatma Gandhi might have said, or done, in the world situation that we are now facing without him. I took down his own writings from my bookshelf, and some of the books written by others about him, and I got out the notes that I had made of my meetings with him years ago.

I had no idea, that evening, that on the following day I should be talking to his son, Devadas Gandhi. I did not even know that Devadas Gandhi was in London for a few days. But when I did meet him, almost the first words he said to me were: "If my father were alive today, he would have gone to Moscow."

TWO ASSUMPTIONS

Something of the same thought had been running through my own mind. But I realised that it involved two assumptions.

The first assumption was that the Russians would give him travel facilities and admit him to discussion with their leaders. In view of Moscow's concern to influence public opinion outside the U.S.S.R. it might be that they would hardly have refused.

The second assumption was that Gandhiji himself would decide that the cause of peace might be served by his personal intervention in international affairs. He never showed any hesitation about placing himself in the very storm-centre of a problem while he was alive. But he had found those storm-centres among his own people or in their direct concerns.

I have always thought that one of the most significant things about Mahatma Gandhi was the concentration of his life's work upon the needs of his own country. His was a universal figure with a universal influence. But he recognised the task before him and did not dissipate his energies. Even the great doctrine of non-violence which could make an ideal appeal to all humanity, had a special practical reference to India's position in the last 25 years before independence, and in the first stage of developing and preserving nationhood.

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CLEAR PRINCIPLES

That is my personal view. It is the view of a Westerner who discovered, or thought he discovered, Gandhi through the Indian villages, and the Indian villages through Gandhi. I may easily be wrong. Indeed, anyone may be wrong in trying to relate Gandhi and Gandhism to a particular situation. For surely his life was what he called it—a series of experiments. The experiments were undertaken with the full force of his free personality. There were clear principles behind them, but even he did not pretend to foresee the application of those principles to any given event.

Even so, the principles themselves may give us some clue. I believe that one of them was a faith in internationalism based on nationalism—that is to say, on a purified non-aggressive nationalism. "National independence," he said, "is as necessary as individual independence," and again and again he showed that both those freedoms involve responsibilities.

A fully developed nationalism attained by just and truthful means was the first step; then comes voluntary interdependence with other nations for the good of the whole world. "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e., when peoples belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act together." A free India, voluntarily associated with the Commonwealth and playing her full part in a world-wide organisation of nations for peace—this, surely, was the goal to which he pointed.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

Gandhiji believed that India had a special and pacific contribution to make to the future, that all men of good will desire. "Peace I want among all mankind," he wrote, "but I do not want peace at any cost, and certainly not by placating the aggressor or at the cost of honour."

What, then, of non-violence? One could write at enormous length of the Mahatma's absolute devotion to *ahimsa*. The light within him burned steady and clear. I can only say that I can conceive situations in which, though he himself would take no part in military action, he would not condemn those who did so. The clearest example of such a situation would be that in which an aggressor, refusing an international summons to withdraw, is opposed by the united decision of free nations.

To me it seems that the question of armed aggression and interference between one nation and

another is, at this stage of the world's history, the most vital and immediate one. Others, I know, see the whole problems in terms of political belief—to be Communists or not to be Communists.

How can Gandhism solve that conflict? I can see the beaming smile with which he would describe himself as a revolutionary in some matters, a conservative in others. He thought Lenin a "master-spirit," but it was with Tolstoy that he felt kinship, because Tolstoy believed in a new social order as a function of human love, not as a function of blind economic forces.

NO VIOLENT SHORT-CUTS

The power of work and the power of capital should be balanced—that is how I read Gandhiji's answers to so many questions on the subject. He saw the solution of unjust inequalities in the possibility of human partnership. He spoke of "democracy disciplined and enlightened" as "the finest thing in the world." He refused to take short-cuts, especially violent short-cuts, towards an ideal situation.

It was this that most deeply shocked orthodox Communists. Voluntary modifications of the system were to them almost blasphemous. "Such ideas," said one critic (P. Spratt), "are obviously remnants of Mr. Gandhi's Victorian upbringing." Yet the evidence accumulated, before the forces of violence took Gandhiji's life, that he was nearer to the truth than any Communist dogma.

Gandhi's immense concern for the masses, his hold over them, his understanding of their material and spiritual needs, left Communism almost speechless. "The peasant type is an objectionable type, primitive and brutish," was all that they could stammer. But Gandhi saw in the peasant a free man, free to give his labour, free to enjoy the fruits of it, free to think and worship as his conscience bade him. "Communism of the Russian type," he wrote, "that is Communism, which is imposed on a people, would be repugnant to India."

MEANING OF IMPERIALISM

And that is what he would be facing today in our world—Communism of the Russian type imposing itself on many nations and threatening still further expansion a denial of the enlightened nationalism for which he worked, a denial of the free human spirit. Just as Gandhi could recognise the virtue in Communist ideals, so he was swift to detect the perversion of ideals for impure purposes of power.

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Arnold Sommerfeld
1868—1951

None knew better than he the real meaning of imperialism. My own countrymen have no illusions about that unyielding fight of his. He denounced it when it showed itself in Japan, and he would not have failed to see the corruption of power which has made the U.S.S.R. into a centralised imperialism.

Just before the World War, I asked him what the British should do for peace, "Give up your ill-gotten gains," he replied. I think I argued that that was what we hoped we were doing, and that not all of those "gains" were ill-gotten in the sense that he intended. But if we could imagine him going to Moscow today and being asked by the rulers in the Kremlin what they should do for peace, would he not give a similar answer?

Prof. D. M. Bose writes in *Science and Culture* :

The news of the death of Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld on April 26, 1951, as a result of a street accident in Munich, will be deeply regretted by a wide circle of students of atomic physics, who, without knowing him personally were deeply indebted to him for their introduction to the subject, by reading his famous book *Atombau und Spektrallinien*. The first edition appeared in 1918; with the development of the quantum theory of atomic structure, the scope of the book was widened progressively, and in 1928, a second

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volume on Quantum Mechanics appeared. The older generation of physicists in Calcutta will remember the course of six lectures he delivered on this subject in Calcutta during September 1928; each lecture was followed by very interesting and lively discussions, in which some of our leading theoretical physicists participated. It will also be remembered that in Germany after World War I, a brilliant group of theoretical physicists came into prominence, who contributed largely to the development of the quantum theory. Most of them were pupils of Sommerfeld, and included amongst others Ewald, Lande, Pauli, Hund, Heisenberg, Loudon Heitler and Bethe. Prof. N. R. Sen of the Department of Applied Mathematics of the Calcutta University studied under Sommerfeld in Munich from 1920.

The present writer first met Sommerfeld in Berlin in 1917, at a meeting of the German Physical Society held to celebrate the 60th birthday of Max Planck. The occasion was made memorable by an address by Einstein, on the faith of a theoretical physicist. We do not remember the details of Sommerfeld's address except, that when he spoke of some properties of the ether, he turned round and apologized to Einstein for mentioning a medium, which had at that time met with a temporary oblivion in the latter's special theory of relativity. In 1927, the writer again met Sommerfeld at the Volta Centenary Celebration at Como, when the latter described his new theory of metallic conduction in terms of Pauli's principle.

Sir J. C. Bose and Lady Bose met Prof. and Mrs. Sommerfeld in Munich early in 1928. During his visit to Calcutta, it was arranged that Sommerfeld would spend a week in Darjeeling with the Boses, but due to an unfortunate mistake the visit never materialized. The two scientists and their wives kept up a correspondence till the outbreak of the last war. Sommerfeld passed away one day after Lady Bose, and this was referred by Frau Sommerfeld in a letter to the writer, announcing the passing away of her husband.

The following account of Sommerfeld's life and activities is based on an obituary notice by Heisenberg, which appeared in the August issue of the *Naturwissenschaften*.

Sommerfeld was born in 1868 in Konigsberg, and included amongst his school friends Minkowski, Max Wien and Willy Wien. Later he studied Natural Science and Mathematics in the Konigsberg University, and amongst his teachers were Hilbert, Lindemann, and Hauritz. In 1893 he became an Assistant to Felix Klein in Gottingen; the latter became to Sommerfeld the ideal of a teacher, and in many ways his own teaching activities came nearest to that of Klein.

Sommerfeld occupied successively the chairs of mathematics in the Mines Academy, Clausthal (1899), and of mechanics in the Technische Hochschule, Achen (1900). In 1906 he received a call to occupy the chair of theoretical physics in Munich, which had previously been held by Boltzmann. At the time of Planck's retirement from Berlin, Sommerfeld received a call to Berlin, which he did not accept. Till his retirement in 1938, he continued to hold the chair of theoretical physics in Munich. He was made Professor Emeritus on retirement, but due to his having fallen in the bad books of the Nazi Government, Sommerfeld was not permitted to enter the Institute of Theoretical Physics. Nothing daunted he utilized his enforced leisure in writing out the course of lectures he used to deliver on theoretical physics. Commencing with Mechanics he brought out his whole course of lectures on theoretical physics during the next ten years. The last

volume on Thermodynamics he left incomplete. These volumes bear witness to the masterly didactic method of exposition of the various branches of theoretical physics for which Sommerfeld's lectures had become famous.

Sommerfeld's earlier publications were of an applied mathematical character. The experience he had gained in the manipulation of partial differential equations and the facility he had acquired in the complex integral representation of cylindrical functions, proved to be of great service to him later when dealing with problems of atomic physics. His first great work was a four volume treatise on the theory of spinning tops, which he commenced in 1895 and completed in 1910. His activity as teacher in the technical schools at Clausthal and Achen brought him in contact with technical problems, and led to his well known investigations on the hydrodynamics of the viscosity of lubricants. He then turned his attention to problems of theoretical physics, with investigations on electromagnetic waves, the field of a moving electron, diffraction of X-rays. During his first years of his stay in Munich, he investigated some problems of the theory of relativity, in continuation of the well-known work of Minkowski. Another publication of this period still forms the foundation of investigations on the stability of laminar flow of liquids.

From 1911 Sommerfeld became interested in the application of quantum theory to problems of atomic structure. The foundation was laid in 1913 by Bohr working in Rutherford's laboratory in Manchester, and gave rise to what is known as Rutherford-Bohr atom model. Bohr had only considered circular orbits of



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electrons for his hydrogen atom. Sommerfeld considered the more general case of elliptical orbits, and taking into consideration the variation in electron mass with energy, he published in 1915 his well known formula for the fine structure of lines of hydrogen like atoms. He applied his results with great success specially to the interpretation of X-ray spectra.

From now on his interest was centred on problems of atomic structure. His famous treatise on *Atombau und Spektrallinien* first published in 1918 contributed more than anything else to the spread of knowledge of atomic structure. At the same time he made his Seminar a centre for atomphysics, which was regularly attended by physicists from all the leading countries. Sommerfeld's investigation on the theory of multiple structure of spectral lines and of their Zeeman effect have been of great influences in their interpretation according to the quantum theory. With the rise of Quantum Mechanics about 1925, Sommerfeld applied his wide experience of partial differential equations to the elucidation of Schrodinger's equation. He and his pupils then turned their attention to the electron theory of metals, and with the application of Pauli's principle were able to account for many of the not then understood properties of the metallic state. During the 30's Sommerfeld was engaged in the mathematical treatment of the statistics of the atomic shell, with the specific heat of metals and allied problems.

Great as has been Sommerfeld's contribution to the advancement of Physics—it should not be forgotten that Friedrich and Knippings investigations on X-ray diffraction in crystals, based upon the theoretical prediction of Laue, were carried out in the laboratory of

his Institute of Theoretical Physics in Munich—his influence as teacher on his pupils was no less important. With the example of Felix Klein as ideal, he strove with all his personality to attract fresh generations of students to his branch of study, to awake in them the joy which comes from exploration and discovery, to the beauty of a mathematical formula, and to the mysterious fascination of a not fully understood relation between phenomena. He realized quite early, that from lectures alone no complete understanding of a science is possible; he gave to his students quite early in their course, exercises on which they could test their powers, and which could be later employed in solving actual problems in physics. His success as a teacher was unique. There is scarcely any country, where theoretical physics is taught, in which there is not at least one professor who has passed through Sommerfeld's school. He was the recipient of innumerable academic honours. In 1928-29 he undertook a world tour, in course of which he visited India, Japan, and the U.S.A.

Heisenberg relates an amusing story of Sommerfeld's habit of visiting before or after attending a physics colloquium, the well known Hofgarten Cafe. There on marble table tops many mathematical formulae were worked out. It is related that Sommerfeld and a colleague of his had on one occasion tried to evaluate an integral, which in the short interval before a colloquium could not be worked out. As Sommerfeld came back to the same table on the following day, he found the solution already there. Evidently another mathematician had been there after they left, between the partaking of coffee and pastries had evaluated the integral.



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Policy for Preventing War and Preserving Peace

The following note is reproduced from *Pravda* Editorial, February 20, 1951, as published in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* :

The Soviet people accorded almost enthusiastic welcome to J. V. Stalin's interview to the *Pravda* Correspondent on which the attention of world public opinion is now focussed.

All the working people of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly approve J. V. Stalin's statement that *the Soviet Union will continue also in the future unswervingly to pursue a policy of preventing war and preserving peace.*

An endless stream of comments on J. V. Stalin's historic pronouncement is pouring in from all parts of the world. The millions of partisans of peace are drawing in J. V. Stalin's words fresh strength for the struggle for peace and against the imperialist aggressors.

"... Stalin's wise directive," writes the Chinese newspaper *Sinwenjihpao*, "helps the peoples of the world to get a clear grasp of the trend of development of the international situation... if we do exert all our efforts in the struggle for peace, in accordance with the wise directive of Stalin, victory will be ours."

J. V. Stalin's statement was greeted with general approval in the People's Democracies, which together with the Soviet Union are marching in the vanguard of the powerful movement for peace, democracy and socialism.

In the statement of J. V. Stalin the plain people of all countries have found the answers to questions now agitating all mankind. Workers, peasants, the urban middle classes, women and the youth in the capitalist countries give their wholehearted approval to Stalin's words which point out the way of preventing war and preserving the peace.

J. V. Stalin's statement exposes the organisers of the preparations of a new aggressive world war.

"... In the United States of America, in Britain, as well as in France there are aggressive forces thirsting for a new war. They need war in order to receive super profits, to rob other countries. These are the billionaires and millionaires who consider war as a lucrative source of colossal profits." (J. V. Stalin).

On orders from the aggressive forces, the Governments of the USA, Britain and other capitalist countries are spreading the sanguinary colonial war against the peoples of Asia in an effort to plunge mankind into the abyss of a new world war. Propelling their countries along the course of military adventures, the imperialist aggressors nevertheless fear the masses of the people who do not want a new war and stand for the maintenance of peace. The imperialists are trying to enmesh the people in a net of lies, to deceive the people to represent the aggressive war they are preparing as a defensive one and the peace policy of the peace-loving countries as an aggressive one.

J. V. Stalin exposed before the whole world the foul schemes of the warmongers and revealed the criminal methods used by the imperialist aggressors in their endeavours to start the conflagration of a new world war. Referring to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister Attlee as an example, J. V. Stalin showed how the reactionary governments are slandering the Soviet Union, hoping in this way to justify their armaments drive, to deceive the peoples and compel them to take part in a new aggressive world war that is being organised by the American ruling circles.

The task of all supporters of peace today is to persistently expose day in and day out the schemes of the imperialist vultures, to reveal to the peoples through concrete examples the criminal machinations of the foes of peace, to fight with still greater vigour against the intrigues of the instigators of aggression and war.

The peace-loving peoples are becoming increasingly convinced that the United Nations, founded as a bulwark for the maintenance of peace, is developing, under the pressure of the American imperialists, into an instrument of war, into a means for unleashing a new world war. UNO has adopted the shameful resolution on the aggressiveness of the Chinese People's Republic. The peace-loving Korean People's Democratic Republic attacked by the American aggressors, and the Chinese People's Republic which is defending her borders and trying to regain the island of Taiwan seized by the Americans, have been qualified as "aggressors" by the will of the aggressor nucleus of UNO. UNO is thus adopting the inglorious course of the League of Nations; thereby it buries its moral prestige and dooms itself to disintegration. Developing into an instrument of aggressive war, J. V. Stalin pointed out, UNO at the same time ceases to be a world organisation of nations with equal rights. UNO is now in essence an organisation for the Americans catering to the needs of the American aggressors, rather than a world organisation.

In his interview to *Pravda*, J. V. Stalin pointed out the only sure road to the maintenance and consolidation of peace. Every word of Stalin's is permeated with unbreakable faith in the forces of peace which can foil the blood-thirsty designs of the imperialists.

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J. V. Stalin's pronouncement has shown that a new world war is not inevitable, at least for the present. The destinies of peace depend upon the determination of the popular masses, upon their persistence and unity in the struggle against the danger of a new war.

"Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in enmeshing the popular masses in a net of lies, deceiving them and drawing them into another world war."

"This is the reason why a broad campaign for the preservation of peace, as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of paramount significance."

This directive of J. V. Stalin will mobilise all supporters of peace for a still more energetic and persistent struggle against the imperialist instigators of wars. It fires the hearts of millions of common folk in all countries with unshakable confidence in the victory of the great cause of peace.

The forces of peace are incalculable. The camp of peace headed by the Soviet Union is growing stronger day after day. The mass movement for implementing the resolutions of the Second World Peace Congress is spreading in all countries. The widest sections of the people are firmly determined to struggle for peace. The mighty army of peace supporters is solidifying its ranks and raising still higher the great banner of the struggle for preventing war and preserving peace in the whole world.—*Tass News Agency of the USSR.*

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Balzac

Jacques Madaule pays the following tribute to Balzac, one of the greatest novelists of France, on the hundredth anniversary of Balzac's death in the *News from France*, 1950:

The hundredth anniversary of Balzac's death has at last given France the opportunity of gauging the value of this great genius. I say "at last" because it does not look as if his native land has so far done full justice to the author of *The Human Comedy*. There are many reasons for this which it may perhaps be useful to examine, for they may throw some light both on the genius of Balzac and on the genius of France.

France does not lack any more than any other countries writers whose vastness is one of their outstanding characteristics. I only need mention without claiming to give a complete list, Rabelais, Diderot, Victor Hugo or Claudel. Balzac belongs to this line of writers. But it is worth nothing that none of these writers has enjoyed undisputed glory in France. For the qualities of taste and moderateness weigh against them and the latter are thought, rightly or wrongly, to be typically French. People will no doubt argue that in Victor Hugo's case, his popularity has always been immense. But in his case it is in fact a matter of popularity, and not of that appreciation by the cultured public which Montaigne for example has never lacked.

Balzac too was popular in his centenary. One only has to consult the files of any important local public library to see that Balzac's great novels are among those books which are most frequently borrowed. But on the other hand he was often reproached for his careless style, Stendhal or even Flaubert were frequently preferred to him. It is outside France that Balzac won his greatest glory and it is there that he was willingly considered as the French Shakespeare, a quality to which neither Corneille, nor Molière nor even less Racine could lay claim.

Yet is there any writer who is more French than Honore de Balzac. Though he travelled abroad and even as far as the Ukraine, it is France and France almost alone which is the setting of his immense work. The few foreign characters which he depicts are there only to bring out the reality of France in greater relief, for it would be incomplete if foreign help did not figure in it. His profound admiration for the Swede Swedenborg is the only explanation for his setting "Sepharia" in the Scandinavian countries, and sometimes in the *Scenes from Military Life* he had to accompany the Grande Armée over the routes of Europe. But they are only exceptions which prove the rule.

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It is not only the framework of Balzac's universe which is French; its spirit and its structure are French, too. If one analyses this idea deeply one can easily see that Balzac's genius is the real genius of France which explains perhaps why it has not been recognised there.

Or at least that it has been recognised only with a certain reluctance. For is that not because Balzac hit home too hard, and that he gave to France a picture of herself which was not sufficiently like what she would have wished to be and was too much like what she really was? He depicted France at the time of a gigantic political and social transformation. The literary rendering of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic epic is the world of Balzac. He saw middle-class France irresistibly take the place of aristocratic France, and his picture deserves all the more credit because, in the last twenty years of his life, which are the fertile years of the *Human Comedy*, all his sometimes naive sympathy went towards the declining aristocracy. Yet I doubt if anyone gave him credit for it, neither the nobility whose irrevocable decadence he underlined, nor the middle classes whom he did not spare in his judgment.

Then it was impossible to classify him. All the currents of his time flowed across him, yet not one of them can claim him entirely for its own. People still argue today about the real nature of his political convictions, and about the tendencies of his religious beliefs. As for literary schools, he stands majestically above them, and without being paradoxical one might say that no one in France was nearer to European romanticism than this realist novelist. Feeling also ran against him because of his desire for power which made him attach as much value to the success of a businessman as to the glory of a writer. Everyone knows that he was hardly

successful as a businessman, but his extra literary ambitions alienated from him the admiration of literary circles.

Thus he crossed in solitude the first half of the last century, leaving behind him with a never tiring generosity armfuls of masterpieces. They grew and multiplied like the innumerable shoots on a great oak tree in spring time. The publication of some hitherto unpublished works, and the researches to which they have led astonish us by their revelation of this prodigious fecundity. That this abundance could be combined with a certain orderly perfection; that this overflow could nevertheless pierce the very depths of life was something which a critic as intelligent as Sainte Beuve (1) found hard to believe. But the limitation of a Sainte Beuve, particularly of a Sainte Beuve bittered and aged in his later years, are not the frontiers of France.

Will Balzac ever be a classic, that is to say one of those writers from which posterity draws inexhaustible examples and models? I do not think so. But it is in exactly the same way as Shakespeare too is not a classic. England venerates him but does not imitate him for one does not imitate the inimitable. France will do likewise for Balzac from now on. The echoes of the quarrels in which he was mixed up have died down. A hundred years, and years laden down with history, have put a sufficient space of time between us and him for us to be able to judge without shrinking from now on the stature of this solitary giant. France has just recognised what she so far had not fully realised, that Balzac is one of the greatest of her sons, one of those whom she cannot refuse to share with the whole of mankind, of whatever language, race or colour.

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era, all provided with a detailed description on their way of life, is far more than simply an eye-witness account of a country and a period, it is the very pulse of life, the perpetually renewed struggle between our desires and our fate. Balzac's universe, however imaginary it may be, is a real universe, the laws of which in the end work their will on their creator, annihilated by his creation and lost in his vast and subtle game. Balzac's generosity which I mentioned just now, cannot be measured by the number of his works, but by the suppression and in the end the disappearance of their creator. Balzac died a hundred years ago, but as yet we are nowhere near having explored all the paths and all the possibilities of his work.

As for France, just as she spreads over Europe at the time of the Revolution and the Empire, now, with Honore de Balzac she is spreading throughout the whole of mankind, no longer in the way her moralists did, who reduced the singular to the abstraction of a plan, but in the way of the naturalists who by inductive reasoning, draw from long and numberless descriptions a few vast laws, majestic and simple, like the ebb and flow of the tides. No less art was needed to support this prodigious expansion than was needed to reduce diversity to formulas. After all Balzac was a prodigious artist. It is no bad thing that his centenary should have given the opportunity to support this truth by a massive weight of evidence.

Henri Matisse

Raymond Cogniat gives the following critical estimate and appreciation of the artistic

work and style of Henri Matisse, one of the greatest painters of France, in the *News from France*, 1950 :

The year 1950 might almost be called the Matisse year, for it has brought the painter so many expressions of admiration.

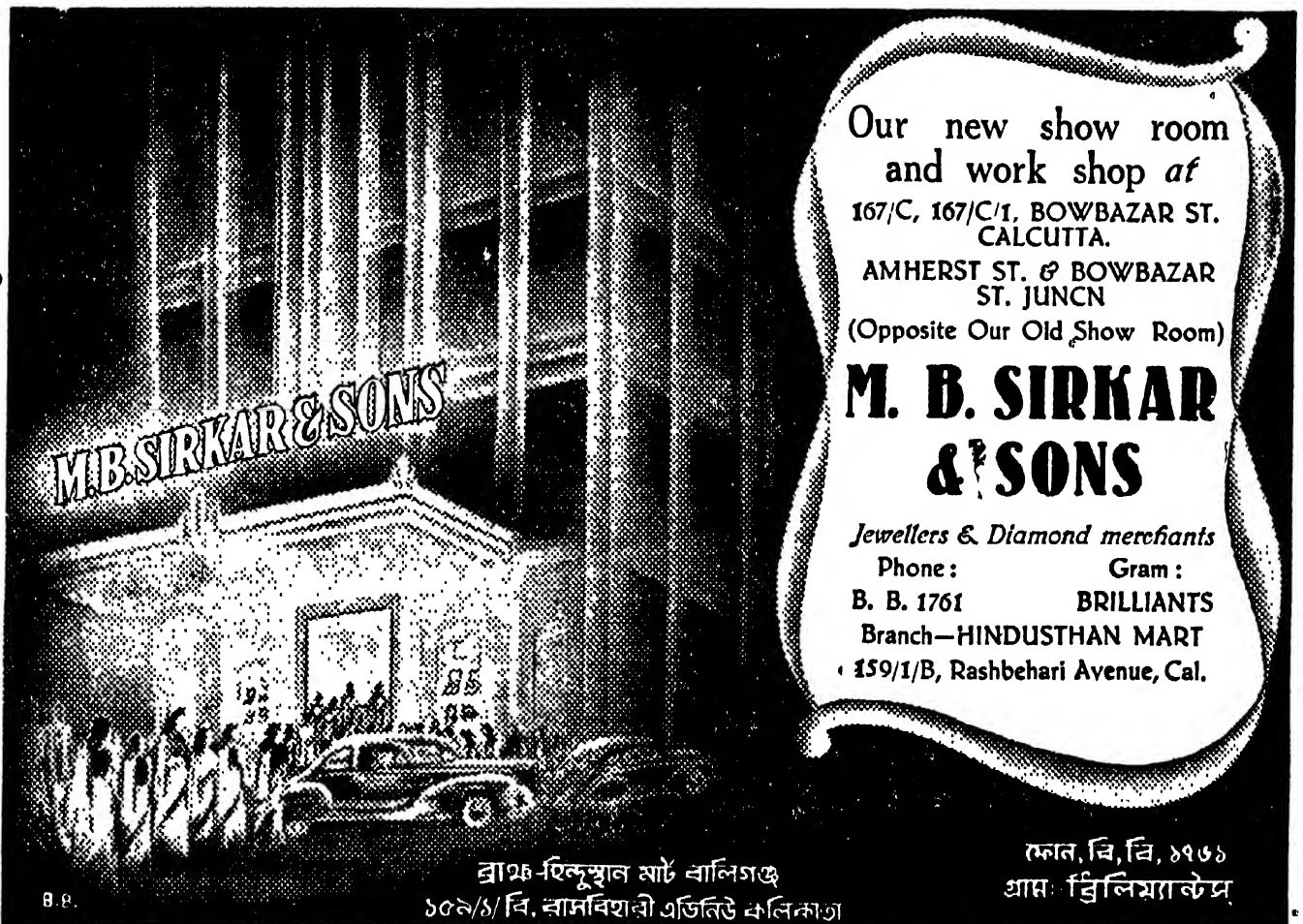
The new Modern Art Museum at Nice opened with a great Matisse exhibition. In the Spring a Fauves Exhibition at Zurich gave the work of the great artist the position it deserved; while at Venice, under the auspices of the Biennial Exhibition, there was a double exhibition, the retrospective one with the Fauves Exhibition at the International Pavilion and an exhibition of Matisse alone at the French Pavilion.

At the very opening of the Biennial Exhibition the work of Matisse attracted such universal attention and created such an impression that the International Grand Prix was awarded to him by a large majority.

As soon as the exhibition was over, many towns in different countries asked to be allowed to show the collection made for Venice, and Matisse and several other lenders gave their consent for Milan and Rome.

Meanwhile, in his peaceful retreat on the Riviera, Matisse is busy putting the finishing touches to the building and decorating of the chapel he has planned entirely alone for a religious sisterhood at Venice. (South of France).

The Milan Exhibition has just opened and the great painter's success is repeated by the reception afforded him by critics and public alike. In the Sforzesco Palace the works grouped in different periods initiate the visitors to the varied aspects of the work of Matisse, trace the evolution of his art from his youthful works, stamped



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even through their general greyness by subtle impressionist influence down to the latest works treated on a very broad scale, and through the perfect peace of which are revealed the great French painter's joy of life and serenity.

It is only by means of an exhibition of such dimensions that can be realised perfectly the fundamental ideas that inspire Matisse's aesthetic beliefs. At first sight it might be thought that no comparison could be made between the point of departure and the point of arrival, that those quiet representations of atmosphere, those gentle landscapes, those peaceful interiors of half a century ago have nothing in common with the brilliant polyphony of colour of the latter years. But, as you go from canvas to canvas, an aesthetic system takes gradual shape and to understand its meaning, reference must be made from the start to a statement published by Matisse himself in the *Grande Revue* at the beginning of this century.

Did he not, in fact, from that very period affirm his intention of creating an art that might bring repose to man after his day's work, that might be a relaxation as comforting as a good armchair. And by way of illustration for these pages, that are nearly fifty years old, no more convincing pictures could be found than the recent canvasses painted on the Riviera in which the great plane surfaces, great calm surfaces blaze in all their splendour, blaze only in the fiery beauty of their colour.

To attain such purity—for it is only apparently simple and is in fact an extremely skilful synthesis—what research, what ferments are revealed by the intermediary works. The aim that Matisse proclaims in his profession of faith does not confess that he was at the same time pursuing a rediscovery and at times even a recreation of the plastic elements that fell to his use. In actual fact, this extreme simplicity consists of inventions that are not easily discovered at a first approach, yet they are essential. An analysis of his aesthetics would carry us too far; but without going into great detail, there are two particularly important inventions that are enough to raise the work of Matisse to the highest peak of contemporary art, namely, colour and line.

In the field of colour, the invention of Matisse is concerned with perspective. Before him the third dimension in painting was expressed either by superposing objects above one another as in primitive and Oriental painting, or else by lines vanishing on the horizon as in the geometrical perspective familiar to us since the Renaissance. Matisse gives the impression of depth through the arrangement of colour in space and he has carried his researches so far that he has been successful in conveying the impression of depth without any drawing or outline or line of perspective. The plane surfaces in his painting are conveyed simply through the medium of colour. In other words, he obtains through colour effects that once depended on line.

As for drawing, to understand Matisse's contribution, his outline drawings must be studied particularly. There one is surprised to see how the actual line successfully

suggests substance. The outline of a face or the folds or shape of a garment give the illusion of enclosing entirely different substances. This is a skill we have grown accustomed to through other painters, in particular Rembrandt, but it remains nevertheless a virtuosity vouchsafed only to the greatest, and that is equal to saying that Matisse extracts from drawing the quality which is usually attributed to colour.

Thus there is in the art of Matisse a sort of double inversion which explains why his paintings seem to us both extremely simple and yet very new; it also explains why his imitators—and there are many—can take on a semblance of his style without ever succeeding in imitating him.

Through this double contribution, Matisse renews all the themes he treats, whether on the smallest scale or on the largest, whether in book illustration or in mural decoration his method remains valid and new.

Is it the feeling of having mastered such important problems, is it the feeling of a task well done during a long lifetime that gives Matisse that exemplary serenity through which all his qualities appear and that conquers the most diverse publics? Certain it is that no shadow of anxiety remains in his latest composition. The world presented to us by Matisse has nothing of the dramatic. He has found a stability which is not resignation and is better than self-conscious wisdom.

But this serenity has not brought universal admiration. In spite of the assurance breathed by his work and the irrefutable enrichment his work brings to art, he still has many opponents. The supporters of academic art have not been mollified by his peacefulness nor by his success. At the other end of the scale, the supporters of revolutionary art find too much charm and too little fighting spirit in his work. In spite of this, Matisse is not the nervous and timid man of the middle path, but loyal to his own ideas he does not let himself be carried away beyond his own good reason by the ideas of others.

New York Times Draws Wide Acclaim on 100th Anniversary

New York, September 19.—The *New York Times*, one of the world's foremost newspapers, is now in its second century of publication.

Congratulatory messages from prominent men and women throughout the free world—including President Truman—were received by the *Times* yesterday on its 100th anniversary. Newspapers in the United States and in other countries praised the *Times* editorially.

The *Times* itself reaffirmed editorially its "firm faith that a hundred years from today, in the hands of men who are not yet born, the *New York Times* will still be established as a free newspaper in a free land."

Truman extended his congratulations in a message to Arthur Hays Sulzberger, president and publisher of the *Times*. The President said:

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"My congratulations to the *New York Times* on its 100th anniversary. I congratulate the *Times* particularly for consistently maintaining the highest journalistic standards. Your great newspaper has given its readers wide news coverage and reporting which has been generally fair and accurate."

"The *Times* is a newspaper serving well both its own community and the country as a whole. Of course, on this anniversary, special credit is due to Adolph Ochs (publisher of the *Times* from 1896 until his death in 1935) for making the *Times* the outstanding newspaper it is."

"I wish the *Times* continued success."

Newspapers in Great Britain, France, Belgium and other European countries praised the *Times'* centennial in editorials.

The *London Times* said :

"All who care for the vigorous survival of journalism based on a sense of responsibility will join in congratulating the *New York Times*."

The *Manchester Guardian* described the *Times* as a "great paper not because it was for this or against that but because it goes to infinite trouble to get and print all the news it can."

The first edition of the *Times* was published on Thursday, September 18, 1851. It contained four pages, contrasted to the 64 pages of its centennial edition.

The front-page of the four-page first edition indi-

cated the *Times'* early interest in world affairs. More than half of the page was devoted to items from Europe.

The newspaper contains approximately 300 pages each Sunday. It maintains a huge staff of men in national and foreign fields. Airplanes flying at more than 300 miles per hour carry the *Times* to Europe and to South and Central America. Remote continents receive it abroad fast ships.

The *Times'* slogan is "All the News That's Fit to Print."

This slogan, U.S. Senator Herbert Lehman noted in a Senate-floor address in Washington, is justified by the *Times'* performance Lehman asserted:

"All the great crisis of our history since 1851, and of the world's history, have been and are being recorded in the pages of the *Times* with ever-increasing scrupulousness for accuracy and details."

"Foreign correspondents of the *Times* at many points of the globe have almost diplomatic standing, by virtue of the power that resides in this newspaper. It is a power based largely on its repute for truth, integrity and incorruptibility."

The *Times*, Lehman pointed out, is read by Soviet officials in Moscow "with almost the same care as an official document from Washington."—*U/SIS*.

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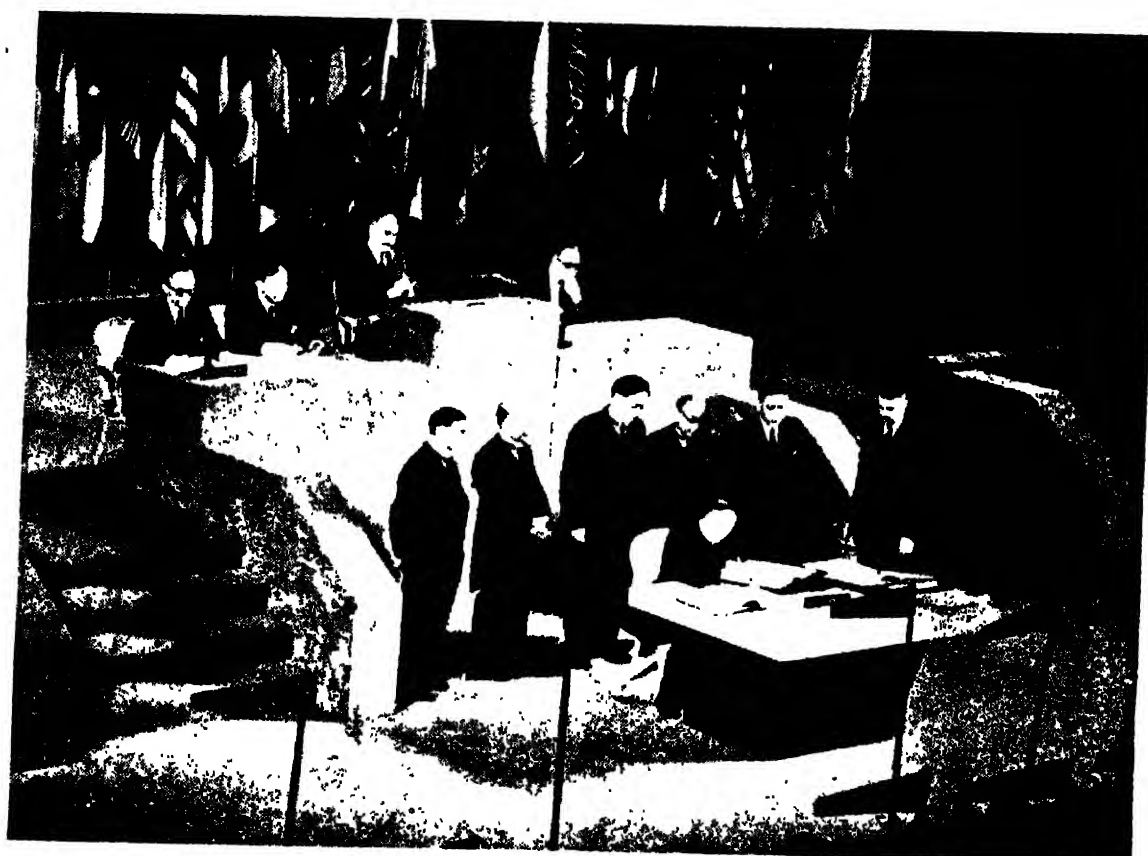
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The Chinese Cultural Delegation in New Delhi. The photograph shows among others Prime Minister Nehru, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sm. Lilavati Munshi, Mr. Ting Si-Lin, the leader of the Delegation and Sri K. M. Munshi



Shigeru Yoshida, the Japanese Prime Minister, signs the Treaty of Peace with 48 nations at the final session of the Japanese Peace Conference at San Francisco



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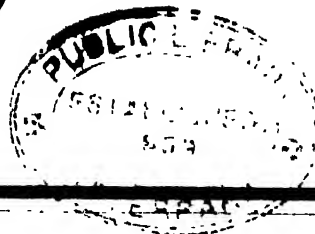
THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1951

Vol. LXXX, No. 6



Whole No. 540

NOTES

The Congress Election Campaign

In last month's editorials we wrote,

"We do not know whether Pandit Nehru realizes that he is on trial. We do not refer to the elections. Our Nationals are backward in their ideas of exercising the franchise, which is a direct consequence of the low level of literacy—less than 25 per cent—in the country. Elections are a gamble therefore. . . ."

Judging by Pandit Nehru's campaigning speeches he is still unaware of the fact that he—more than the Congress—is on trial. We shall deal with that later. But the elections are now as much of a gamble as it was a month back. Further, the jockeying for power in the ranks of the dozen or so of the parties in opposition has bettered the chances of the Congress. The strength and the weakness of the Congress are both demonstrated thereby. The strength lies in the unitary organization which, however decrepit and shaky, still stands the country over, and the weakness in the definite exhibition of distrust displayed by the intelligentsia, as evinced by the total volume and number of the independents and parties in opposition.

The Congress has chosen its symbol well. It evidently believes it would be able to lead the illiterate or partly literate masses to the polls, like the yoked bullocks in the Congress symbol. It only needs the picture of a man with a Gandhi-cap twisting the tails of the bullocks and driving them to the polling booths, to complete the simile.

The Congress has made many declarations of faith in the past and Pandit Nehru's particular coterie, which is almost a caucus, has added promises galore before and after coming to power. All these have been observed in the breach mostly, after the passing of the Father of the Nation. We have therefore to examine carefully all the protestations of the mighty in the Congress, now that the elections are on. We will say in passing that whatever criticism we make, these do not bear any reference either to Mahatma Gandhi or

his great disciple Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We refer to the more ornate and immensely loquacious mantle-wearers and shoe-steppers.

The Congress manifestoes released in our home-province, or State, bear the following claims and promises. The claims are:

1. *That it was instrumental in the termination of British Rule and in the achievement of Freedom for India.*

We do agree that Congress, starting from its inception in the eighties of the last century, achieved much of it, and that Mahatma Gandhi was the Man of the Hour. But those that are claiming that they did it by themselves are uttering less than half-truths. The I. N. A. movement of Netaji Subhas was the greatest factor in the disaffection of the British organised Indian army, and that ultimately led to the British decision, as did the underground movement by the Socialists and other groups, who are all outside the present Congress.

2. *It claims that it has consolidated the intransigent Native States firmly into the Union of India.*

We admit that Sardar Patel's achievement was great, but we say it now, that a whole host of others, mostly from outside the Congress ranks, helped and their share of credit is being hi-jacked by the present dictators of the Congress.

3. *It claims that it has planned and legislated for Zeminidary abolition and the distribution of land amongst the real cultivators.*

It is an well-established fact that the decisions involved were arrived at long before the Congress came to power, and if any credit belongs anywhere, it should go as much to the Leftist groups, as to the present arbiters of the Congress.

4. *It claims that it has staved off Famine in spite of great shortage of Food.*

"We admit that it has succeeded where the British failed miserably. But the immense expenditure of assets, the enormous wastages and the resultant cataclysmic corruption that has infected the entire administration, are the price the people have to pay. What has the Congress to say to that?

5. It claims that it has, and is, Rehabilitating Refugees successfully in a planned fashion.

What caused the refugee problem? As for rehabilitation, the less said the better, where planning, costs and morals involved are concerned.

6. It claims that it has given Universal Suffrage.

It has, and let us see the outcome!

7. It claims that it is giving the country, planned Compulsory Primary Education.

Seeing whom the Congress has put in charge of these plans, we can only treat this statement as a joke, which would be comic if it were not so tragic.

8. It claims that it has started Prohibition.

It has, but as yet the issue is not clear.

9. It claims that it has started Great Schemes for Irrigation and Food production.

The truth is that the schemes were planned by the American specialists before the Congress came into power. That John Matthai as Finance Minister did his best to see that they materialize and after John Matthai was obliged to quit the Ministry, his successor, Pandit Nehru's man, has done his level best to scotch at least two of the major schemes in the most afflicted area. Incidentally this Minister has been allowed to stand as an independent, and John Matthai's nomination paper was rejected!

10. It claims that it has established a secular State.

If it pleases our fetish-worshipping Prime Minister and his satellites, who are more intent on shibboleths than on realities, we shall concede this. But we would advise them to read Dr. Katju's letter to the *Times*, reproduced elsewhere in these Notes.

11. It claims that it has abolished untouchability.

This is the gift of the Father of the Nation to his peoples. His unworthy successors would be presumptuous to claim it.

So much for the claims. Now come the pledges and promises. We shall declare right at the start that if Pandit Nehru had kept his promise to the Nation, that of giving nominations only to men of integrity and moral fibre, then these promises would have had some substance. Judging by what he, and his satellites, have done, the least we can say is that these pledges are of the same substance as dreams are!

The Congress pledges itself to bring the millennium in the land if its Nationals put it back in power for the next five years. It did promise so in August 1947.

and who is there in this sub-continent of ours, big and small, who does not feel in his very bones as to how those promises were kept in the four years passed? Who that is, excepting the Corrupt, the Black-marketeer and the Political Adventurer?

The Congress promises amongst other things to "Free the people from Want" and to substantially raise the national standard of Health and Education. In view of what has been done in the last four years, we are tempted to term these promises as frivolous. But maybe that Pandit Nehru imagines that he has the powers of a Messiah or a Mahdi, and that he will be able to encompass a miracle even though the forces of corruption and immorality within the Congress have been far enhanced by some new nominations!

The Congress renews its pledge regarding *Refugee Rehabilitation and Linguistic Provinces*. From our direct experience in both these matters, so far as West Bengal and the Bengali race is concerned, and judging by the treatment meted out to all Bengalis by our "brothers" in Bihar and Assam, we have no hesitation in declaring this pledge as dishonest.

The Congress has made great play with its much vaunted Five-Year Plan. This, and all such schemes, could only materialize if the Congress had first of all enforced a Reform plan within its ranks. It is true that a few good men have been brought in, here and there, in the Congress ranks. But one swallow does not make a summer, nor do half a dozen or so. We have nothing to say against these well-intentioned gentlemen who have been inveigled into accepting Congress nominations. But we have no illusions regarding the powers of those few and so we have little hopes about their ability to transform the forces of corruption and immorality that have further entrenched themselves within the ranks of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru's Electioneering

We have our position clear regarding Congress claims and promises in the previous note. We present here some extracts from Pandit Nehru's speeches and one from Sri Gadgil. There are some confessions which would be all to the good if they are sincere.

Addressing his first election meeting in Travancore Sri Nehru said he had accepted the responsibility of Congress Presidentship because he felt it would be wrong for him to run away from it. "I accepted the responsibility for the time being, realizing that the Congress is not functioning as we wanted it to.

"The Congress is not me or any group of persons, but is a force—a great movement of the Indian people. Unfortunately because of circumstances, the intimate contact, which should always remain with the people, has been weakened. I know that and I am sorry for that but we have to revive it."

It was not possible to combine the work of the coming elections and the reorganisation of the Con-

guess. Therefore, he had come to the conclusion that the work must be taken in hand after the elections were over.

Speaking of the Congress election manifesto, Sri Nehru said it was easy to write down anything and shout slogans. "We wanted to be practical and realistic and, at the same time, as idealistic as possible. We have put forward what we have considered a realistic programme in our manifesto."

Sri Nehru stated at Madras on the 27th November that he would set about "in right earnest" reorganising the Congress—"not superficially but from below"—after the elections.

"I can do it effectively only if the Congress wins the elections," he said. "Though the Congress might have fallen into error here and there and though in many places it was in the hands of cliques and groups which weakened the organisation, the mission of the Congress is not yet over. It is the only organisation with a positive programme."

Referring to the Congress Organisation, Sri Nehru said that the Congress was evolved after generations of good work and it had got into the heart of the people and it had survived all disasters and powerful enemies. It was true that the Congress got entangled into small things forgetting its objects. It went far off from the people and worked in groups and factional spirit.

Sri Nehru stated that the Congress which was working in the Socialist direction had to go much that way, because, after the independence forces of reaction had stood against many economic programmes and plans. The Congress had to fight till the darkest forces of reaction which culminated in the assassination of Gandhi were uprooted. The Congress had been weakened in spirit by these prevailing forces. Here he narrated how he had to "entangle himself in the Congress organisation" of which he became the President. "I took it up in earnest and I will work in earnest to fight the reactionary forces"

Sri Nehru deplored in strong terms the continuance of Madras Muslim League. He warned Madras Muslims that they were ill-serving their own community.

Pandit Nehru failed to tell the Muslim Leaguers in Madras that all would be well if they followed the example of some notorious Muslim Leaguers and communalists in West Bengal and accepted Congress nomination.

Sri Nehru described the alliance of the Socialist Party with Dr. Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation as a "strange and extraordinary combination."

The Congress President was amused at the Socialists' criticism that the Congress had become the "Conservative Party" of India. "Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is Winston Churchill, they say," he said. "Mr. Churchill is a very great man, misguided in the past in regard to India, but very great."

Shri N. V. Gadgil, the Union Works Minister speaking at an election meeting in Poona said a vote for the Congress Party in the ensuing general elections would ensue ordered progress while a vote for the others would mean increased disorder and perhaps disaster.

While admitting that two parties the one in power and the other in opposition, were essential for a sound working of democracy, Shri Gadgil, who was addressing the cantonment association, put two questions. Do you want to have in our country conditions similar to those existing in France at present, where the governments are extremely unstable or do we want to put in proper one party, which will enjoy the majority for another five years?

In the interest of democracy, Shri Gadgil said, the failures and shortcomings of the Congress Party should be forgotten for the time being. He admitted that the Congress Party had made mistakes sometimes but he felt that India should have the Congress Government in power for at least another five to ten years.

Shri Asoka Mehta, General Secretary, Socialist Party, in reply to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's remarks at Madras on November 27 last about the Socialist Party's alliance with the Scheduled Castes Federation, says that the Socialist Party has been interested for a long time in a closer understanding, and possibly integration, with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That such an understanding, both with the Scheduled Castes Federation and Adivasi Mahasabha could be reached only on the eve of the elections was an accident.

Shri Mehta adds: "I repeat that it is not a mere election agreement. The Socialist movement in India must draw to it the support of the submerged sections of our people."

"The basic agreement that we have with the submerged people and their organisations is that in India today we have to work for structural changes and not mere functional adjustments. It is here that a dividing line separates the Socialist Party, the Scheduled Castes Federation and the Adivasi Mahasabha from the Conservative Congress that Pandit Nehru leads today."

India's Foreign Policy

There has been some speculation of late, amongst informed circles, regarding the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru and his advisers. Mr. D. F. Karaka, writing in the November 28th issue of *The Current*, assumes that a new orientation has occurred due to the causes as tabled by him. We are unable to confirm his statement, as the situation has not crystallised as yet, but there are straws in the wind, nevertheless, which indicate some change:

Observers close to Pandit Nehru, indicate that a perceptible change has occurred in the last few months

in our foreign policy, the sole architect of which is Nehru himself.

The hysterical rush towards Communism and its satellites has been stemmed; the hitherto unnecessarily aggressive attitude towards America and the Western Democracies has been halted. From an unreal neutrality which appeared to favour Soviet Russia and Red China on every vital issue, Pandit Nehru has plotted a new middle course: a real, balanced, defensive neutrality which while it does not hitch India to the American star, does not preclude a smooth, working arrangement with that power and the promotion of mutual respect between the two peoples.

This is perhaps the most important change that has occurred in India, and in Asia, since the Communist exploitation of Asian nationalist sentiments the effects of which are clearly seen in many Far Eastern countries.

The most important factor responsible for this change is the realisation which has come to Pandit Nehru of the true import of Soviet aims in Asia as different from their protestations.

The following factors have contributed to that realisation:

(1) The authentic evidence of and concerning Korea;

(2) The violation by the Chinese of our territorial integrity and Mao's challenge to Nehru's leadership of Asia;

(3) The change in the tone of the confidential reports of Sardar Panikkar from Peking;

(4) The circumstances in which our diplomatic mission "dissolved" in Gyantse;

(5) The confidential reports and conversations with men like Sri Benegal Rama Rau, recently returned from the U. S. who must have informed Nehru of the genuine goodwill for India still existing in the American circles that matter;

(6) The tactful, firm but friendly and patient attitude of America's recent Ambassadors to India, Dr. Henry F. Grady and Mr. Loy Henderson;

(7) The unmistakable evidence produced almost daily by our Military Intelligence of the activities of the Kremlin's Agents and Red Chinese fellow-travellers.

The situation in Tibet, following the Chinese *coup*, is clearly indicated in the following news item which recently appeared in the daily press:

The Tibetan Government has, with the approval of the National Assembly (Tsongdu), which met earlier this month, ratified the Sino-Tibetan Treaty signed on May 23 in Peking, according to a report from Lhasa.

Three high emissaries from the Panchen Lama have arrived in Lhasa with valuable gifts and ceremonial scarves for the Dalai Lama. The Panchen Lama is expected to reach the Tibetan capital by the end of December on his way to Shigatse. His caravan, comprising 1,500 camels and 600 mules, will be escorted by 2,000 Chinese cavalry.

A high Chinese official, Mr. Tung Ko-ha, has

arrived in Lhasa with 2,000 more Chinese troops. One thousand soldiers from the Lhasa Garrison have been despatched to Shigatse, 57 miles west of Gyantse.

With the arrival of 500 Chinese soldiers at Gyantse earlier this week the prices of commodities have gone up in Tibet's third largest town owing to the liberal circulation of silver dollars by the Chinese in payment of services and supplies. Rice has been imported from Bhutan at Rs 100 per maund. Daily arrival of more troops in Gyantse is expected.

The Tibetan authorities at Gyantse will every week bring 600 maunds of firewood from Shigatse for the Chinese troops who have refused to use yakdung as fuel.

Chinese officers have selected the largest house in the town belonging to Tibetan officials for their headquarters. They have also requisitioned 48 other houses for Chinese troops. Later they will disperse along the Indo-Tibetan trade route to occupy the trade centres of Phari and Yatung. They will also re-establish the checkpoints, on Tibet's southern frontier, held by the Chinese in 1910, prior to the Chinese evacuation of Tibet on the return from exile in India of the 13th Dalai Lama.

American friendliness is being evinced at a high level now as the following news items would show. Appreciation of such concrete sympathy will duly mature as the public come to know:

Dr. Bryce De-Witt, a distinguished physicist, who during World War II was engaged on a research project at the atomic bomb plant in California, U.S.A., is now in India as a visiting professor at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

He is here under a Fulbright grant on the invitation of Professor H. J. Bhabha, Director of the Institute, with whom he is collaborating on a special research project.

During his proposed one-year stay at the Institute Dr. DeWitt is scheduled to deliver a series of lectures to advanced students in the field of pure physics.

In 1949-50, Dr. DeWitt was a member of the School of Mathematics, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton University, and was the National Research Council's post-doctoral fellow in 1950. In the same year he took his Ph.D. at Harvard University.

India has received substantial help in the past, from American specialists in the River Valley schemes. Fresh aid in the same form is in the offing, in a very tangible form, as the following news-item goes to show:

The U. S. Reclamation Bureau has announced that arrangements are being made whereby five American engineering specialists will be sent to India to assist in the development of India's water and power resources.

The specialists will include a dam engineer, a construction engineer, a concrete control specialist, a

mechanical engineer and an electrical engineer. They will leave for India early next year, and are expected to remain in the country from two to three years.

The specialists will "provide technical service and consultation" to the Indian Government and will have "consultative and technical authority, but no administrative authority," the Bureau said.

The U. S. Technical Co-operation Administration (Point Four) will pay the experts' salaries.

The Persian Tangle

There seems to be little hope as yet of the solution of the Anglo-Iranian dispute, once the oil-fields and the refineries of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

All attempts at mediation from diplomatic angles having failed, and there being little hopes of the impasse being resolved after the fruitless termination of Dr. Mossadig's mission, a new attempt is being made from an economic angle. Whatever the results, the attempt should be welcomed, for as time passes the situation becomes even more desperate.

The World Bank announced in a formal statement in Washington on 20th November that it would be willing to consider any proposal under which it might assist in reaching a solution of the oil dispute.

The Bank said it could enter into oil negotiations only if asked by both Britain and Persia. But the management would be willing to consider any proposal which offered some prospect of success in breaking the deadlock.

"Suggestions have been made to the management of the Bank from several sources that it might be able in some manner to assist in a solution of the Persian oil problem," it said.

"Naturally the management would be willing to consider any proposal whereby the Bank might effectively assist in the solution of an important problem that directly affects two of its members and indirectly a number of others."

"However, before the Bank could take any positive official action, it would have to be requested to do so by both Governments involved and no such requests have been received."

World Bank chiefs are understood to be examining the plan sympathetically and have already studied their statutes to see if there are any legal snags.

If Britain, Persia and the Bank accept the plan the whole operation of extracting and refining oil from Southern Persia would be done in the name of the Bank. The oil would also be sold in its name.

The Bank would be responsible for earmarking a share of the proceeds—25 per cent has been suggested—as compensation to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for Persia's nationalization of the industry. It would administer the rest of the income for the Persian National Oil Company.

• Britain's Charge d'Affaires in Teheran, on 21st November, presented to the Persian Acting Prime

Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Kazemi, a copy of Mr. Eden's recent statement on Persia.

The Persian Premier, Dr. Mossadig, said over the Egyptian radio network last night: "Persia supports Egypt in her holy national struggle."

The Persian Government will send a plane to Cairo on 22nd November to bring Dr. Mossadig home, according to usually well-informed sources in Teheran. He is expected to be in Teheran on Friday.

The Bank Rate

The Bank of England's decision to raise the bank rate, has been followed by the Reserve Bank of India which has made an announcement of a similar rise in its rate. This decision has come as shock and a surprise. The increase in the Indian bank rate from 3 to 3½ per cent together with the withdrawal of the Reserve Bank's support to Government of India Securities has come with the declared intention of fighting inflation. Some people in the financial circles have all along held the view that the Reserve Bank of India and the Finance Ministry have, in their attempts to check inflation, not been utilising monetary and credit controls to the extent possible. There have always been men who differed. In their view, the more imperative need in India was price control and expansion of production. India for some more time to come should have followed a cheap money policy. The major sector of the Indian money market is, unlike England, unorganised. Alteration of Bank rate produces results as anticipated only in a country where an organised money market exists. In our monetary policy, specially at the present moment, nothing should be done which can be utilised as a handle for increasing costs and decreasing production. We desperately need lower costs and higher production. The action of the Reserve Bank in increasing the Bank rate has produced a result exactly opposite of what was anticipated. In addition, this action, followed by subsequent announcements of the Reserve Bank, has introduced an element of uncertainty in the money market which has already produced a very damaging effect on our economic field. It has been rightly criticised in financial circles that the Reserve Bank's attempts at justifying the measures it took for raising the value of money betray a lack of proper appreciation of the rights and privileges of a central banking institution. The markets are almost unanimous on this point, some have gone so far as to dub the Reserve Bank's action as amateurish. Firstly, there was no need for the long press note the Reserve Bank issued explaining the reasons for raising the Bank rate and trying to show that its action was independent of the Bank of England's decision, where a brief press note could have been sufficient. If any explanation was considered necessary at all, it should have come from the Finance Ministry. The Reserve Bank is now a nationalised institution and thus has no power to lay

down policies independently of the Finance Ministry. But even more tactless was its supplementary press note conveying the Reserve Bank's decision to withdraw its support from the market. It is the accepted practice of the Central Bank of a country not to disclose its intentions about open market operation by public announcements. Its intention is indicated in its actions. This announcement has caused much panic in the money market which could be avoided.

In Britain, the inflation today is essentially a product of Government policy in superimposing a large rearmament programme on an already fully-employed economy. They have a case for applying restrictions selectively. The weapon of Bank rate alone cannot do this. The Chancellor, therefore, has confined his increase to a token amount, stiffening up the short-term market structure a little to indicate that money would not be so easy henceforth. But so far as the economy of the country particularly in industry is concerned, the practical effects must flow from any consequent action applied by the joint stock banks in their loan policies. In India, we have not reached anywhere within miles of a state of full employment. We have no rearmament programme even distantly resembling that of Britain. In addition, more than three-fourths of our money market is unorganised and outside the control of the Reserve Bank, being unresponsive to policies laid down by that body. In the industrial sphere we have little to select for applying restriction, while in our agricultural sphere we desperately need more money at cheaper rates of interest. We fail to understand how our Financial experts expect to obtain the same results in a country where the economy is predominantly agricultural by copying the financial policies of a highly industrialised nation. Such a policy is bound to produce very bad results in an agricultural country. Here, taking advantage of the higher bank rates the rates of indigenous finance will move up and therefore agricultural costs of production and movement will also rise and would thus make for higher costs of production. As the Governor of the Reserve Bank, the present Finance Minister wrongly advised the then Finance Ministry on devaluation which cost the nation tremendously in money and prestige. Now he has committed another blunder which has severely struck Government of India's credit at its very root.

Hinduism and the State

It has been the practice amongst a certain type of newspapers abroad to give vent to their anti-Indian feelings under any guise whatsoever. The *Times* of London has been lately thus conducting a campaign against India, the main argument being directed against the possibility of a secular State being firmly established in India. It is in reality a veiled attempt at the justification of the "two-nation" theory of the Muslim League.

The following letter written by Dr. Karlasnath Katju, exposes the hollowness of the arguments advanced. Besides contradicting the false propaganda launched by the *Times*, this letter should also serve to educate the more ignorant amongst our politicians who are in the habit of decrying all things "Hindu" under completely mistaken assumptions that Hinduism means fanaticism or orthodoxy of the nature of Islamic or Catholic bigots:

"Sir,—Your recent leading articles indicate the opinion that Hinduism and a secular State cannot go together. I suggest that your view proceeds upon an incorrect appreciation of the basic doctrines of Hinduism. In western Europe and America, professedly, the entire social structure is founded upon Christian faith and civilization. In the past the State discriminated between Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and other Christian groups; there were inquisitions and persecutions, and in England Catholics were excluded from public employment. Today law has abolished these discriminations. Its language is undoubtedly wide, but actual practice is the test, and public social opinion. Consider, for instance, the plight of coloured people in the United States and South Africa. The same considerations apply to the predominantly Muslim countries in North Africa and western Asia. The social structure rests there upon Islamic civilization.

"The Christian and Muslim faiths are exclusive in their nature. Their adherents believe that there is only one way to the salvation of mankind. Non-believers being in error, the faithful are enjoined to carry the message of Christianity and Islam among them and bring them into the fold. That duty has been well discharged, sometimes with great violence. I suggest that historical religious traditions render the establishment of a genuine secular State in Christian and Muslim countries difficult.

"The ancient Hindu doctrine, on the contrary, commands toleration of all other faiths. A devout Hindu is taught that God is one, though called by many names, and all places of worship are equally sacred, be they temples, mosques, churches, or synagogues. Therefore, for Hindus no question of persecution or of conversion, voluntary or forcible, arises. Again, the relationship between a Hindu and his God is personal. Congregational worship is neither enjoined, nor encouraged, nor practised. Accordingly, religious beliefs have never formed an integral part of the political life of the country. For centuries, so long as India remained free, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and other sects lived in harmony and enjoyed equal political rights. India gave shelter to, and welcomed, early Christians and Muslims and Parsis from Iran, who practised their religions and suffered from no disability whatsoever. Here there never has been a State religion so-called.

"It was because the genius of the race so definitely inclines that way, and in the Constituent Assembly members were predominantly Hindus, that a real secular State was so readily established in India. The Indian caste system misleads but, originally based not on birth but on vocation, does not form an essential part of Hinduism. The Indian Constitution expressly abolishes "untouchability" and forbids its practice in any form whatsoever. It provides that all citizens, theists and atheists alike, are equal before the law, entitled to its protection, to freedom of conscience, and to profess, practise, and propagate their religion, and are equally eligible for public appointments. The State is not only religiously neutral, but has paramount authority to make laws governing, for example, the status of women, marriage, divorce, succession to property and other social matters, superseding existing rules, whether based on religious tenets or not. These provisions are in consonance with our ancient doctrine whereby territorial, tribal, and even family custom was a source of enforceable law, and could abrogate or modify rules prescribed by ancient law-givers.

"Finally, prohibition of all discrimination between different citizens in India is not merely lip-service but of actual day-to-day application because of the composition of its population. A visit to any Indian city would, by its many places of worship, show how diversified are its religious and racial elements. I stress again that Hindu doctrine and tradition do not countenance anything but a secular State as understood in the western countries."

The Plight of the Bengali

• The plight of the Bengali people after the partition, has very seldom been expressed in so very few and so very poignant words, as by the Governor of West Bengal, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, on the occasion of his visit to Nagpur. We support every word of his, but would add that the only hope of the Bengali is in the revival of the indomitable spirit of faith and adventure that their forbears displayed in the past.

Presenting an address of welcome on behalf of the Bengali Association, Justice Sen referred to the plight of lakhs of Bengalis ousted from their hearth and home as a result of partition and said they looked to Dr. Mookerjee with hope. Another address was presented on behalf of Mani Mela.

Replying Dr. Mookerjee said, "I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me." I am fully conscious of hardships of the Bengalis, I have had personal experience of these. Like you all here I also am a Bengali. I have seen the plight and privation of those who, bereft of their hearth and home, deprived of their wherewithal, snatched away from their kith and kin, have been constrained to seek shelter in West Bengal.

"I do not quite know what relief I can render

them. For they are so many and our resources are so limited and small that in trying to help all we might be able to help none, so little will come to the share of each.

"The Bengali is completely broken today. His pride and his culture are no more. He is a beggar today. And I am afraid, constant importunity to others will one day give rise to resentment and refusal. I do not know how you Bengalis here are faring, but to me it seems generally speaking that a Bengali today is unwanted everywhere. Our only hope is God.

"I can give you no hope, no encouragement. With the passing of every day our condition is getting worse and worse. All that I can say, is, I will try to do what little I can, but with what results is not for me to say. For to raise any hopes would be a fraud on you.

"I wish I could spend more time with you all, but I am in the hands of others and must rush back for another engagement."

Society and State

According to Indian traditions, society was the supreme expression of human association, and the State was its instrument to realize the purposes which it felt to be necessary, desirable and conducive to the highest ideals of conduct. But modern dispensation has reversed the relation; the instrument has become the master and dictator. This unnatural arrangement is at the root of the evil that plagues us. And it is time to halt and neutralize its effects.

This can only be done by recalling humanity to their true function and purpose in this world. The framers of the Indian constitution have laid it down in clear language. The Social Order, it has been said, approved and aspired to by the people, is based on the following principles:

India shall be a Sovereign Democratic Republic based on—

- (I) *Justice*—social, economic and political.
- (II) *Liberty*—of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship.
- (III) *Equality*—of status and of opportunity.
- (IV) *Fraternity*—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

On the eve of the elections, we should like every candidate and voter, man and woman, to re-dedicate themselves to the service of this eternal quest of the human spirit. That will enable them to raise this process of selecting the best representative to the Legislature above the dust and heat and littleness of controversy.

Unfortunately the majority of people in this country are not only illiterate—and therefore unable to settle for themselves the line of thought and action necessary for their social weal, by means of perusing the written counsels of the wise—but are also so bewildered by the problems that beset them from all quarters, that no hopes for the future can be entertained unless a band of informed and selfless workers be formed into a mission of uplift.

This is Politics

The *New York Times* in its issue of November 12 last gave a heading to the article of its London correspondent, Raymond Daniell—"Arguments are in Reverse"—that shows that in politics, in day-to-day politics at least, there is nothing absolute. The heading is quite justified as the description below will show:

"In the banked longitudinal benches to the right of the Speaker, there now sit Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and Richard Austen Butler, leaders of the Conservative Government, who for six long years sat on a corresponding bench on the opposite side of the House. That side is occupied now by Clement Attlee, Herbert Morrison and Hugh Gaitskell, leaders of the Opposition.

"So much for the physical change. It is less striking than the metamorphosis that, superficially at least, has overtaken the philosophical and ideological approach to national problems by speakers for Labor and the Conservatives. Both have been busy in the last week taking words out of each other's mouths.

"It was surprising to hear Mr. Butler, a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, pleading the case for more 'austerity' and more controls in almost the same words as Sir Stafford Cripps might have used. It was even more confusing to hear spokesmen from the Labor Opposition using the same arguments against denationalization of steel. Mr. Churchill had used earlier against nationalization of this vital industry

"Yet that was exactly what happened in the first week of this Parliament. Mr. Butler, faced with an economic crisis, resorted to drastic import cuts and imposed new restrictions on credit and currency. He said also that strategic stockpiling would have to be slowed down, prompting some Labor speakers to observe that if any of them had made such a proposal they would have been accused of selling out to Aneurin Bevan.

"Mr. Butler was attacked also by Maurice Edelman, a Labor member, for driving the 'last nail into the coffin of private enterprise' by raising the bank rate (the rate for making money available to financial markets) one-half of 1 per cent. And Mr. Attlee, who so often has been accused by the Conservatives of putting Socialist doctrines before the national interest, arose at one point to assert that the Conservative plan to restore the steel industry to private hands was 'a mere piece of doctrinaire private adventure.'

But the strangest of all was the appeal of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Gaitskell to Prime Minister Churchill to abandon plans to annul the nationalization of steel in the interests of 'national unity,' because it would be 'unpardonable' at this time of crisis 'to create further uncertainty' in an industry so important to defense. These were almost the very words used by Mr. Churchill in his unsuccessful effort to induce

Labor to postpone the nationalization act more than a year ago.

"It was a week in which the Conservative speakers went out of their way to express their devotion to the social services and the principles of the welfare state, and in which the Labor speakers sought to prove themselves the housewives' friends by attacking proposed cuts in food imports and advocating a slashing of imports of tobacco, gasoline and wines.

"The Labor Party speakers tauntingly accused the Conservatives of a belated conversion to Socialist principles now that they had the responsibility of governing the country. The Opposition guffawed at Conservative retorts that they did not know until they took office how grave a crisis confronted Britain after six years of socialism.

"In one other respect, party roles have been reversed. In the last Parliament, it was Conservative pressure that kept Labor members in their seats at all sessions and far into the night for fear of snap divisions that might bring the Government down. This time Labor has the power to hold the Conservatives in thrall and seems to mean to use its power.

"In the last Parliament, Conservative moves to amend the King's address, which outlines the Government's program, were attacked by Labor as unprecedentedly contentious. But now Labor has adopted and accepted the precedent."

This reversed roles have emboldened us to entertain the hope that Winston Churchill will prove to be a more accommodating politician to negotiate with. In the case of Ireland he and Lord Birkenhead took the lead in shaking hands with murder represented by Michael Collins. On this experience Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das built the theory that the Tories in Britain were more amenable to pressure and were more ready to yield power to under-privileged classes or countries. Trusting to it, he started negotiations with Lord Birkenhead through Lord Lytton, then Governor of Bengal. It was just before his Faridpur speech as President of the Provincial Conference—his last political will so to say. That episode has not been cleared yet. One witness is still with us—Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee. At that time it was the talk of the town that it was at Miss McLeod's house at Belur Math that Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and Lord Lytton met, that Dr. Mukherjee was the go-between. It is up to him to clear the mystery.

We will look with a certain amount of curiosity to what Winston Churchill does to restore balance to his country's economy. Politics in Britain depends now on the success or failure of his attempt. Ministries may have to come and go.

If the post-election picture is strange, stranger still is that, given by the *Worldover Press* observer, Maurice Cranston, of the mood of the British people on the eve of the elections.

"It has been said that the British people never vote to put a good government into office. They think no government is good—only that some are less evil than others. Certainly in Britain today you will hear little passionate and positive advocacy of either party which is contending for power on October 25th. Uppermost in Labor voters' minds is the thought, 'Keep the Tories out!' Conservatives are dominated by the corresponding imperative, 'Put Labor out!'

"Prime Minister Attlee chose a crucial moment for the poll. This country is on the edge of its worst economic crisis yet. Everyone knows there will be a fuel shortage this winter, since the mines have frankly failed to yield the coal the winter will require. Before the war there were in Britain 2,000,000 unemployed people and several million badly paid people who could not afford coal to heat their homes. Now that these people have work and good pay, they demand coal. But the mines Labor has nationalized have not provided the extra coal to satisfy this new market Labor rule has created. The responsibility is one the Labor Government neither can nor should repudiate.

"But the crisis to which Britain is moving at ever increasing speed is something more serious than a shortage of coal. Her imports are rising and her exports falling, both sharply. In 1950, Britain was exporting goods worth £229,000,000 more than she imported. Despite steadily increasing output, the rise of prices for so many of her essential imports began to cut export gains in proportion to import expenditures. Between January and April of this year the balance was reversed as compared to the good year of 1950, and imports were running at £130,000,000 more than exports. Between May and August that adverse balance rose to £630,000,000.

"There have of course been export gains before: seriously in 1947 and less seriously in 1949. The 1947 crisis was relieved by Marshall aid; the second by cuts in the social services. Both were also relieved by the general process of recovery from the war. Nothing of the kind can be expected to dull the impact of the coming crisis. The party returned on October 25th must face an economic challenge more searching than any in the history of this country.

"The surprising thing is that neither party has faced these issues at all squarely. The Tories have been rather more frank than the Socialists, but the policy they recommend is, to a degree, nebulous. More production and more work, they say, is the key to the question. And, of course, they are right. But what methods does the Tory party stipulate to achieve more work and more production? First, a return to the profit incentive. They promise to unfreeze profits and unfreeze wages. The prospect of such a program has already given heart to the investing class, and on the day Mr. Attlee announced a general election, stock exchange prices rose by several million pounds."

In passing we may remark that after the election the market crashed to the tune of a £800,000,000 fall in prices!

"The working class takes less kindly to the slogan, 'More work' means an end to restrictive practices in industry. That would increase production. But it would be a very optimistic Tory who hoped that a Tory government could succeed where Labor governments have failed in making trade unionists abandon restrictive practices. *The Economist*, the journal of informed capitalist opinion, has long recommended a small measure of unemployment as a means of keeping the working class productive. But no Tory candidate, to this correspondent's knowledge, has dared to put this policy to the electorate.

"The positive side of Tory addresses to the public have been remarkably similar to those of Labor. The ends which are envisaged—rearmament, social welfare, a foreign policy tied to U.S. and Commonwealth development—are shared by Tories and Socialists, strange as that unanimity would have seemed 30 or even 10 years ago. It is one of the ironies of the present situation that both the leading British parties should be agreed on fundamental lines of progress at a time when there is slight chance of much progress being made.

"The British public is in large measure being offered a change of man rather than a change of principle. The Tories say they will be 'empirical' where Labor has been 'doctrinaire.' This may well be a wise way of arguing. However, the Tories will probably catch more votes by complaining about the sharp rise in the cost of living, although the rise here has been markedly less severe than in free-enterprise countries like France.

"Furthermore, there is at the back of many voters' minds the belief that the United States will deal more generously with a Tory than with a Labor government. Rightly or wrongly, the British suspect that the closer a European government approximates that of Western Germany or France, the more money Americans will invest in it."

Anglo-Egyptian Tension

Egypt has been waging a two-front war—one against continuance of British control over the Suez Canal area, and the other against the same control over the Sudan. This she has been doing in the name of—"Unity of the Nile"—the area watered and enriched by the gift of the river Nile.

The story of Anglo-Egyptian "con-dominion" has been often told in these pages. The year 1899 which saw the defeat of the Mahdi, the prophet among the Sudanese, brought about this dual rule arrangement. But these 50 years have made many changes in the minds and aspirations of the people of the Sudan. And Britain has been trying to accommodate her policies

to these. An appreciation of these are given below in order to enable our readers to rightly understand the facts behind front-pages news.

In 1948, the British Governor-General promulgated an ordinance, setting up a Legislative Assembly and an Executive Council in the Sudan. In spite of Egypt's protest the plans to hold elections to the Assembly were proceeded with. Quite a noise was created at the election. The parties favouring union with Egypt, in large or small measure, formed a United Front and boycotted the elections. Anti-election demonstrations were held which were dispersed by the police. In some instances, the police opened fire to disperse mobs. Parties, which favoured independence for the Sudan, contested the elections.

Those favouring union with Egypt are not of one mind. While Wad el Nil (Nile Valley) demands complete fusion with Egypt Ashigga (Brotherhood) wants self-government under Egyptian sovereignty. Ittihadian Party (Unionist) stands for Dominion status under Egyptian Crown with the right to secede. Ahmar Ittihadian (Liberal Unionists) want eventual independence through a preliminary stage under Egyptian Crown. Nor are the champions of the independence of one mind. The Umma (People's Party) wants independence now and here, the question of republican or monarchical constitution to be decided by subsequent plebiscite, while others ask for independence on republican basis. Some want independence after a transitional period under international trusteeship. However soon after the new Assembly met, it adopted by 39 votes to 18 a motion, sponsored by Umma party, asking the Governor-General to approach the Condominium Powers for a declaration, granting self-government to the Sudan before the end of 1951. Egypt at once declared that she would not be influenced by the vote of the Assembly 'The electorate by which the Assembly was elected represented only one quarter of one per cent of population,' Egypt did not refuse self-government, but it should be on the basis of unity of Egypt and the Sudan.

'The Nile is the life stream of Egypt. The control of the Upper Nile is a question of paramount importance to Egypt. But Egypt cannot refuse to take note of the growing movement for independence in the Sudan. It might have been fostered by interested parties. That does not alter the fact that it exists.'

The latest reports (November 24) from Khartoum, the Sudan's capital, are not re-assuring to Egypt and her supporters in the Sudan. The *Times* correspondent in that city anticipates the "likely" split in the "Struggle Front"—that ill-assorted groups which were trying to offer a united front to Britain and her pretensions. This "Struggle Front" is made up of the Ashigga and other minority pro-Egyptian factions. And the leader of the former, Mr. Dardini Ahmed Ismail, president of the small "Unity of the Nile" party, has retired from

politics, declaring that "the pro-Unity party is not led by honest people." He is said to be respected by all parties, and his retirement is apprehended to be the end of the "Struggle Front." As we write these lines (November 27), there is no hopeful news from the Sudan.

The Communists of the "People's Democracies" label have been fishing in these troubled waters. Egypt's claim for undisputed rule over the Sudan does not constitute "shackles of enslavement" in China Communist eyes. And the real villain of the peace is not Britain but the United States.

This is the line of propaganda that the Soviet ruling class have made fashionable. Their fellow-travellers in other countries have accepted it, and propagate it with all their might. Even Indians are found in this company illustrating once again that Europe has yet an appeal to many of us. As the English-educated class amongst us used to ape Europe's fashion, so do these people do today. Political freedom has not freed them from the "shackles" of a new imperialism.

North Atlantic Pact Signatories

These 12 States, big and small—Great Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Iceland, Portugal and the United States, have been organizing themselves to halt a Soviet Union attack on their democratic habits all in the name of peace. The latter also have been making great noise about their peaceful intentions. Their Peace Conferences have become a regular feature in newspapers of the world. We have thus got used to these war-and-peace cries.

There has developed a certain competition between these group of Powers. The Atlantic group have been trying to recruit to their ranks Spain, the last relic of "Fascist" attempt to rule a civilized people, we are told. The United States, as their leader, have been nursing this idea, and General Franco is reported to be putting up his price. The matter is being discussed in the press, but owing to the prejudices of democratic opinion in the Western world, it has not come before the U.N.O.

Meanwhile, a Mediterranean Pact is in the offing with Turkey and the Arab States as partners. The Soviet Union has warned Turkey that should she choose to join it, an unfriendly act will be committed against her. But for all practical purposes there is already an understanding by which Turkey has been receiving financial aid and military equipment in order to enable her to stand up to Russia. The age-long Russo-Turkish feud is being whipped up. Strange things happen in politics, the ally of today is the enemy of tomorrow and *vice-versa*. So, the world jogs on in spite of wars and revolutions.

Asian Solidarity

On 29th October last Burma's Prime Minister, Thakin Nu, told a Press Conference at Calcutta that he had discussed with the Indian Prime Minister in New Delhi various matters, including steps Burma and India should take with regard to Japan. Both India and Burma, who did not participate in the San Francisco Conference on Japanese Peace Treaty, were now awaiting the ratification of the draft treaty by the Governments of the countries concerned.

On the internal situation in Burma what he told us was reassuring. The general elections in the third batch of districts would be held on November 16 and the last instalment of elections was due to take place in December. According to the present schedule, the new Burmese Parliament would come into being by January 4 next year. He said that the process of coming into being of a separate Karen State was on and as soon as Karen insurrection in some parts adjoining the Karen majority district had been controlled, the inauguration of the new State would be formally done. For the present, Parliament members from the Karen areas had formed a Council for Karen affairs and elected from amongst them one as a Minister for Karen Affairs, who would automatically become the first head of the newly created State after its inauguration.

Nowhere in Burma were Communists or any other brand of rebels so strong as to face the Government forces. But as they conducted their sabotage operation from difficult hide-outs, it required sufficient troops to completely weed them out.

Burma had two five-year plans. By executing the first, the Government would 'liquidate finally' the insurrectionary forces in the country, and the other visualised nationalisation of all lands with payment of compensation.

On developments in Asia, the Burman Prime Minister appears to have ideas that are almost identical with India's. Speaking on Asian politics as a whole, the Burmese Prime Minister said there were some people who 'were out to cause disruption in Asia.' He did not specify who those people were but added, 'they are some individuals.'

Some countries in the East were yet to be completely free, and unless all the Asian countries were free, solidarity of Asia would not be possible. Indo-China's case is an instance of the determination of a European power—France—to continue its old practice of exploitation. Thakin Nu also informed the world that the three Prime Ministers of India, Burma and Indonesia would be meeting soon to decide their course of action.

Leaders of India's thought and life—Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhiji, Srinivasa Iyengar, C. R. Das—had spoken on Asian solidarity. It was left to Netaji to show how it could be practically done. That responsibility

has fallen on men like Thakin Nu. But the greatest stumbling block to it is the separatist conceit and ambition of the Islamic world. But as a first step we would be satisfied with South-East Asia's solidarity. That is possible almost immediately if the Masjumi Party of Indonesia is controlled, and the U.S.A. does not use the Philippines to twist the idea. These two "ifs" contain the future.

Inter-Racial Relations

The prejudice of white-coloured people, or "colourless" people as Mrs. Besant used to call them, has become a subject of controversy even in the 62-nations U.N.O. Its General Assembly has been sitting at Paris for its sixth annual session, and India has lost no time in bringing her charge-sheet again against Dr. Daniel Malan's realm. The South African Premier is of Dutch parentage, and is generally known in that country as one of the Boer leaders, whose colour-conceit is of the fiercest. But under their skin the Briton is as much infected by it as his Boer neighbour. This in a nutshell is the problem in South Africa, nay all over Africa. For, the Boer-prejudice has spread, and threatens to engulf the whole continent where the whites hold political sway.

In view of the catastrophic nature of this issue, involving her children, India has been obliged to challenge this outrage on the ethical basis of human relations. She gave South Africa a Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who for about 20 years fought for the self-respect of coloured peoples, as also of his own people resident there. They are a tiny minority of about 300,000 while the whites are 3,000,000, and the Bantus, the natives of the country are about 70 lakhs.

And since the foundation of the United Nations Organization, India, an original member, has been persistent in attempts to right this wrong. But the Anglo-Saxon Powers—U.S.A., Britain, Australia, New Zealand—have been observing some sort of neutrality which is fraught with danger to all concerned, whites and non-whites alike. This has been brought out in a pamphlet issued by the Institute of Race Relations of South Africa. The quotation below gives the argument in its reality; it also shows that thinkers even in South Africa are striving their best to rid their body politic of this poison. It has been quoted in the *Indian Opinion* as the front-page feature. The weekly was founded by Gandhiji nearly 50 years back and is now edited by his son Shri Manilal Gandhi:

"In spite of the numerous recommendations made by interested organisations and skilled observers over the past fifteen years in particular, South Africa has largely turned a deaf ear to the warnings that unless some provision were made for the training and ultimate absorption of the rising generations of Non-Europeans as useful citizens into the community, such potential citizens would become

a burden, if not a menace, to the society which rejected them.

"Regardless of whether one considers that such Non-Europeans should be integrated into the South African society of today, or whether they should be isolated into their own society, the problem is left untouched; for, in either event they cannot become useful citizens unless they have been given the aims and aspirations of such and the necessary training and guidance to harness their tremendous potential to a useful purpose.

"More spectacular problems, like those of the recent war, have been allowed to eclipse the urgent need of providing for the training of this vast group of people, so that today South Africa is faced with the alarming problem of dealing with thousands of Non-Europeans who, because they have been unable to see any prospects of bettering themselves socially or economically, have turned in sheer hopelessness to the idle and lawless alternatives left to him.

"Threatened by the monster they have created, the European citizens of the larger South African centres have, seemingly, still no conscience regarding their deed, and it would appear no real appreciation of the magnitude of the problem that their thoughtlessness (if not deliberate neglect) has brought about. They demand that lawless Non-European youth be removed from the Townships and placed somewhere out of the way. No one is particularly concerned as to just where it should be placed, but all are agreed that it should be removed. However convenient such a measure might at first prove, it is obvious that the problem as such would be left untouched. What provision has been made for the mounting stream of children growing daily nearer to adolescence? When they are youths will they have been offered any hope of a self-respecting, useful life within a community which values them as fellow-citizens?

"Whatever measures are taken to deal with the present ugly situation, and it is to be hoped that this will not be required to deteriorate before some measures are taken, South Africa must ensure that no stone is left unturned to transform this vital, useful energy into a national asset. More attractive avenues of employment must be thrown open to the Non-European as an incentive of greater educational qualification and higher degrees of trained skill, and every effort to settle this large section of the community as a happy, healthy and useful body must immediately be taken.

"No monies, time or trouble spent on such a campaign, could be considered too great, for, if we do not destroy this monster and remove its cause, it will undoubtedly destroy us."—*Press Statement by South African Institute of Race Relations.*

Soviet's Economic Reports

Soviet newspapers and commentaries reaching us tell us of the stupendous advance in the condition of the people from Russia to Mongolia—all under the inspiration of the "great Stalin." It has become the habit of Soviet writers to credit the Soviet dictatorship with super-human powers. It is this spirit to which R. D. Cole refers when he called Communism a sort of religion, minus belief in an after-death life and in heaven.

But there are people who question this habit and

challenge the very basis of Soviet progress reports. One of them, Harry Schwartz, professor of Economics, Syracuse University (U.S.A.) in his book, *Russia's Social Economy*, gives a quick survey of its marked features from the October revolution to the 4th Five-Year Plan (1950) with State Socialism and its other derivatives. This book is reviewed in the September (1951) of the *Political Science Quarterly* of the Columbia University, and we are enabled to give our readers a summary of his doubts about the statistics flaunted before the world. The confusion created in our mind by these appears to be shared by others. The following lines are relevant to the subject:

"On the deficiencies of Russian statistics, a perennial source of frustration to all students of the Soviet economy, Schwartz has a full summary of the present state of the debate, to which he himself has been a frequent contributor. He agrees with most other Western observers that Soviet statistics are not purposely falsified: the rapid development of the Soviet economy after 1926-27—the year the prices of which are taken as constant weights in measuring production—is the basic technical factor exaggerating the growth of physical volume of production. After 1930, the U.S.S.R. was producing many products never before made in the country as well as improved versions of goods already made in 1926-27. These new goods, valued at later prices, received a much higher weight in the measuring of industrial production than if 1926-27 prices had been used. Thus an upward bias is imparted to the official index. An additional tendency toward exaggeration exists in the case of consumer goods because of inadequate measurement of small-scale private production in the late 1920's. Thus the increase in consumer goods' production in official statistics for the 1930s reflected mainly the growth of output of large state enterprises, while neglecting to take account of the counterbalancing decline in consumer goods' production caused by the extinction of small producers."

To show that the human element is as frail in the Soviet territories as elsewhere, the following extract from the *Worldover Press* is given below:

"As a social phenomenon rather than a cause for finger-pointing, it is instructive to note that the Soviet Union, as well as the United States, has been having its troubles with crooks and corruption in high places. According to the *Leningradskaya Pravda*, one Zvyagin, Director of Store No. 6, Kalinin, embezzled over 3,000 rubles. He was allowed to make restitution, then discharged with a warm recommendation as a "faultless worker." In a new post on the strength of this character reference, Zvyagin promptly embezzled again. The Leningrad paper recounts case after case of falsified book-keeping entries, outright theft by officials, and in one warehouse the stealing of goods valued at 200,000 rubles. Similar cases of gross corruption have been reported from many parts of the U.S.S.R., for example, by the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, the *Sovietskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo*, etc. In

one of the best-advertized consumers' unions, at South Kazakhstan, concealed shortages, embezzlements, unlawful spending of funds, and other offenses, brought losses amounting to 1,423 800 rubles."

"Santiniketan Revisited"

Under this caption is published a small article in the November 17 number of the *Vigil*—Delhi Weekly—giving the "reactions" of some of the Ashrama inmates to "the recent evolution of the Ashrama into a Government-sponsored seat of learning." The writer, evidently an old student, reports developments which, to say the least, are depressing, to people who are admirers of the poet's experiment in the making of men and women in India. Pioneers such as India's "Sentinel" have invariably experienced the drowsiness of their companions in the watch for the integrity of the soul, and Rabindranath could not expect to escape it. But we still like to believe that the men and women on whom has devolved the duty, shouldered by the poet almost alone during his lifetime, are awake to the sacredness of the trust left by him.

We will allow the writer to describe in his own way the states of mind prevalent in Santiniketan.

"... all of them were symbolised in the new barriers and barricades which have been put up around open spaces,—those lungs with which in days of yore you breathed in the Eternal in space and in spirit.

Tagore, observed one of the old residents, proceeded, while building up the institution, from the village to the universe. Now the city has been made the starting-point and the prayer of the administrative staff appears to be, 'O Lord God, let a city of Gold arise on this erstwhile old Jerusalem, the paradise of a poet's dreams of the divinity of humanity turned into golden vision and golden wheat, silvery song and self-sacrificing, nay, Self-realizing service.'

Said another of the inmates, young in age but with his roots in the teachings and traditions established by the Poet, "The Poet has sung of the distant being brought near. Today, alas! the near has been made the distant. To go to your fellow-inmate you have to take a round-about path, for the barriers have made it impossible for you to go direct to him. Further, during working hours you cannot approach Authority as one human being approaching another human being, as you did before, but through a mediator, be that mediator inanimate like the red-tape or animate like the P. A. to the Boss. Look at the multiplicity of offices and equipments and appointments."

"The human touch," remarked a third, grown grey in the service of the Poet's ideals and activities, "has disappeared altogether. Three to four decades ago the Poet described the then prevailing system of education in the country as if it were a tin of a popular brand of condensed and 'congealed' milk, untouched by the human hand, and in protest he created Santiniketan. But now even here they meet one another like the characters in the Poet's play, 'Kingdom of Cards'!"

"The field has been turned into a factory,"

declared a fourth. "For, standardization has taken the place of spontaneity, and commercialization, of consecration."

A fifth summed up the change that has come over the institution in recent months thus, "Block, lock, and flock!" What he implied was that more blocks of big buildings dot the green, more locks are put on policies and programmes, and the flock of sheep is increasing so fast in size that it is becoming wellnigh unmanageable.

Was the omission from the Act of the words, "Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam" anticipatory of the shape of things to come? For, today, when going round the institution one has to make a special effort to contact the spirit of Quiet, the spirit of Concord and the spirit of Cohesiveness which once constituted the glory and greatness that was Santiniketan,—a Home and Heaven of the spirit."

The writer has thus expressed his disillusionment in the last paragraph. We share his feelings with regard to the omission from the Act the words "Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam" enshrined in the life of the Ashram by the Maharshi. In the columns of this journal we have more than once condemned this vandalism. But to our sorrow neither "Visitor," the Rashtrapati by the right of his exalted office, nor the Chancellor, Shree Jawaharlal Nehru, appears to appreciate the enormity of this act of State, sanctioned by the Central Legislature by votes of the majority. This one act has pricked the bubble of democracy—respect for the feelings of millions of human beings—to us. Will it be made an election issue in the district of Birbhum at least?

These are fears that many of us share. And it is impossible to think of a bright future. This the conductors of *Science and Culture*, India's foremost science journal, do in their November number just to hand. Their suggestions are worth trial.

"The future of the *Visva-Bharati*: It appears to us that it will be difficult to fit in the following Santiniketan Institutions in the general scheme of a university. These are:

(i) The Rabindra Bhavan, which will be the national collection of all materials concerning the Poet's life and activities. (ii) The Sangit Bhavan, whose chief responsibility will be to preserve the correct tradition of rendering the Poet's songs, festival of the seasons, plays and dance dramas. The devising of improved musical notations, for more precise transcription of the Poet's musical compositions, will also be its responsibility. The role of the Sangit Bhavan will thus be in many respects similar to what Wagner intended Bayreuth to be, the repository of his music dramas. (iii) Kalabhavan's future will depend largely on the personality and capacity of the Director selected to succeed the great artist Nandalal Bose. Creative artistic activity does not ordinarily form part of university work. (iv) Regarding the Santiniketan School it is desirable that the school campus should be separated completely from that of the University,

and it should be placed in charge of a committee who are conversant with Rabindranath's educational writings including the Poet's School, and have understanding and sympathy for his ideas.

"The rest of the Institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan can be incorporated in a university with two main groups of activities:

(a) Consisting of the well-developed post-graduate departments of art, specializing in research and study of the religions, literature, history, philology and languages of the main cultural groups in India, and of Asia. When funds permit and suitable trained men become available, a department of comparative study of Western culture and religion can be opened, centered round the Dinabandhu Bhavan.

(b) The rest of the college departments of Santiniketan, suitably expanded for the purpose, together with as many departments of the Institution for Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan, as can be fitted into the scheme, can form a splendid nucleus of a Regional University; we use this expression in preference to the term 'rural university' coined by the last University Commission. This regional university will be able to provide training in, as well undertake investigations pertaining to problems of agriculture, soil conservation, afforestation, rural economics and industry, health and village rehabilitation problems, affecting part of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore districts, all of which possess similar ecological characters. It should be the responsibility of the Government of West Bengal to support the regional university financially, as well as by maintaining under joint management with the University departments, experiment stations for agriculture, soil conservation, afforestation nurseries and health organisations. Such collaboration has become the practice in the U.S.A. with very satisfactory results. It is time that a trial should be given of this procedure in this country."

History of India's Railways

The re-grouping of India's Railways centred at Bombay, has given an occasion to the Press to refer to their start and growth. We summarize from the *Sunday Times* (Madras Weekly) what a correspondent writes on the subject specially with reference to South India:

"As a purely experimental measure the construction of three lines: (1) from Calcutta to Raniganj; (2) from Bombay to Kalyan and (3) from Madras to Arakonam was sanctioned in 1845. As there was no capital in India and British capital being unwilling to embark upon such enterprises the East India Company had to accomplish these early constructions by guaranteeing a fixed rate of interest on the capital invested by the British Companies. It was on the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie that the construction of trunk lines was taken up by the

Government, and it was Lord Dalhousie that drafted the first plans and sketched the routes for the main trunk lines. But in this plan the attention was not directed to connecting contiguous trade points, and to exploring thoroughly the trade of each district and each region through which the railway passed by a systematic construction of feeder lines. Instead, the scheme followed was to construct grand trunk lines traversing the length and breadth of the country and connecting the big cities of the interior with the big ports of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By 1875 most of the big cities were so connected by grand trunk lines constructed by British-guaranteed Companies who were sure of five per cent interest on their investment. Protection against famine was one of the main reasons for the railway extension in India. The Famine Commission of 1880 found that greatest mortality due to famine was found in those tracts in which transport facilities were worst. In 1884, the Railway Committee reported that the railway extension should be pushed on vigorously in India for the development of internal trade and also for the economic improvement of the people. The development of railways produced the most important effect of levelling up of prices of food-grains and also of being instrumental in helping the growth of Indian industries especially coal and cotton, not to speak of many others.

"From the early years of the present century the Government embarked upon a programme of more intensive railway development with the result that between 1900 and 1914 nearly 10,000 miles of new lines were opened up. Some idea of progress of railway construction in India may be had from the following figures: Between 1844 and 1870 only 4,255 miles of railway lines were opened to traffic, and during the next ten years another 4,239 miles were added thus bringing the total to 8,494 miles in 1880. Between 1880 and 1900 which was the period of the new Guarantee system 16,258 miles were opened up while during the next 14 years 9,904 were added, thus bringing the total to 34,656 in 1914. In 1932-33, there were 42,950 miles of railway lines opened to traffic. After this period attention was directed to the construction of interior lines with the double object of opening up of new lines and developing of traffic on main lines. Shree N. Gopalaswami Iyengar has pointed out in his Railway Budget speech (1951) that all railway expansion is starved and there is great need to open up the unopened country to the other parts of the country by laying fresh railway communications. Great and extensive areas still remain untouched by railways.

"The whole history of railway expansion in India bears testimony to the two indisputable and irrefutable facts: (1) that the railways have not merely become self-supporting but are yielding good returns; (2) that

the railways have led to the great development of the country in every way. Hand in hand with the development of irrigation, there must go on expansion and development of railway communications also. Calculations whether the new lines will be paying or not need not frighten the authorities in view of the successful and profitable results obtained in the development of railways in India. There is a great need for railway expansion and it is the duty of the State to see that every 'habitable part' is brought within the easy reach of a railway line.

"So far as Rayalaseema is concerned many new railway routes have been recommended by both the former 'Ceded Districts Development Board' and the present 'Rayalaseema Development Board.' Plans for constructing the following routes which pass through Rayalaseema and the Mysore State have been submitted to the authorities, both Central and of concerned States. Mr. K. Hanumanthiah, President of the Mysore State Congress and also a member of the All-Railway Finance Committee, has promised that he would get these lines investigated; the presidents of Hassan and South Canara District Boards have agreed to put forward these lines for consideration before the members of the Central Government. The following are the new lines proposed:

(1) The Central Broad Gauge Railway route connecting north and south branching off at Guntakal and passing *via* Uravakonda, Kalayanadurg, Sira (Tumkur District), Chikkanayanahalli, Tiptur, Hassan and Mangalore.

(2) Converting the Metre Gauge from Hassan to Mysore and the proposed Sathyamangalam line into Broad Gauge.

(3) Metre Gauge connecting Kalyanadurg with Tumkur.

(4) Metre Gauge connecting Devanagiri (Mysore State) with Hindupur, Lepakshi, Bagepalli, Madanapalli, Chittoor and Madras.

When these lines have been constructed, there will, no doubt, be a network of transport. But how they will affect irrigation and navigation throughout this vast country-side has to be considered, and that can only be done by a Central organization who are not moved by regional considerations or enthusiasms. The past has taught how the railways affected adversely the sanitation and health of the country, and the food productive capacity of India. In Montgomery Martin's annals it was told that the Tanjore area was the second biggest rice-producing region, the first being Burdwan. What they are today we know. Burdwan is malaria-stricken and flood-infested. Is Tanjore any the better?

World Health Organization and South-East Asia

The fourth session of this organization's South-East Asia Regional Committee closed its sittings during the last week of September last. Dr. Svasti Daengsvang, chief delegate of Thailand (Siam), had

presided over the session, and Dr. Antonio Luis De-Sousa Sobrinho, Director-General of Portuguese India acted as Vice-Chairman. Dr. Nani was the Regional Director. Delegates from different countries in South-East Asia attended, their names being:

Afghanistan: Dr. Ghulam Haider Maher.

Burma: The Hon'ble U Khin Maung Lat, Minister for Social Services; Mrs. Aung San (Daw Khin Kyi), Director of Women and Children's Welfare; Dr. Maung Gale, Director of Medical and Health Services.

Ceylon: H. E. Mr. D. S. De Fonseka, Minister for Ceylon in Burma; Mr. A. J. Joseph, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Health and Local Government; Dr. W. A. Karunaratna, Medical Officer of Health.

India: Lt.-Col. C. K. Lakshmanan, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta; Dr. C. V. Ramchandani, Assistant Director-General of Health.

Indonesia: Dr. M. Soerono, Secretary-General, Ministry of Health; Dr. R. H. Mamoon, Medical Officer.

Thailand: Dr. Svasti Daengsvang, Deputy Director-General of Public Health; Dr. Sombun Phong Aksara, Medical Officer.

French India: Dr. Lacour, Chief of Health and Prophylaxis Services, Pondicherry.

Portuguese India: Dr. Antonio Luis de Sousa Sobrinho, Director-General of Health Services; Dr. Fachoco de Figueiredo, Director of Medical College, Goa.

The Director deplored the insufficient funds of his Regional Committee to allow provision of quantities of equipment and supplies while under the Technical Assistance-assisted programmes equipment and supplies were limited to 25 per cent of the total costs.

The Committee in a resolution requested the Regional Director to draw the attention of the Director-General of WHO to the Committee's strong views on this question.

The endorsed regional programmes budgets for 1952 and 1953 provide the continuation of the present projects and launching of new ones in the control of malaria, tuberculosis, yaws, venereal disease, typhus and the promotion of maternal and child health services. The programmes agreed to include also assistance for strengthening educational and training institutions; provision of medical and teaching missions and refresher courses in paediatrics; launching of mass BCG campaigns; expert consultants on public health, leprosy, nutrition, dietetics, health education, population control; provision for health demonstration areas and rural health units; assistance for promoting local production of DDT, antibiotics and other essential supplies; establishment of thoracic surgery centres and assistance in plague research.

The other subjects discussed by the Committee were: long-term planning of regional requirements—

Fellowship Programme—Improvement of Dental Hygiene—control of trachoma and population problem.

There were Sectional Meetings in addition. Burma's Minister of Social Service, Mr. U' Khin Maung Latt, inaugurated the Tuberculosis Conference. The Director emphasized the point that it was essential that Asia should find means to reduce the vast pool of infection. BCG vaccination did not provide the whole answer but could play an important part.

This Conference was initiated by the United Nations Children's Fund whose Regional Director, Mr. S. N. Keeny, described the purpose of the Conference. Their interest in financing the Conference was owing to the special importance of BCG vaccination in protecting children. He hoped that as a result of pooling knowledge and experience the Conference might develop methods suitable to Asian conditions for conducting campaigns cheaply enough to reach all those needing BCG vaccination. Mr. Keeny stated that UNICEF was prepared to provide supplies, equipment and top international personnel so long as its resources lasted.

Some evidence that BCG vaccination may protect against leprosy as well as against tuberculosis was placed before the Conference by Dr. Dharmendra of the Leprosy Section of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. Dr. Dharmendra is at present carrying out a survey for WHO of the leprosy situation in Burma. Scientists had long recognised tuberculosis and leprosy as sister diseases, stated Dr. Dharmendra; he gave a brief account of recent research which seemed, moreover, to suggest that persons who had gained immunity to tuberculosis through BCG vaccination might at the same time gain immunity to leprosy. He emphasised, however, that much more research would be needed before definite conclusions could be drawn.

The experts unanimously agreed that BCG vaccination was harmless and was to be recommended as a means of fighting tuberculosis, especially among young people, in Asian countries where there was a high rate of infection and where it was out of the question to introduce on a sufficiently large scale the costly anti-tuberculosis measures which had been successful in Western countries.

Among the more important of the Conference's recommendations were that proper supervision to ensure the maintenance of a consistently good technique of testing and vaccination was essential, as was the systematic re-testing of a proportion of the persons vaccinated in order to check the results achieved.

How History is Written!

The following interpretation of events during the "Swadeshi" era appears in a volume—*History of India*—written by two Ph.D.'s; which students of the Calcutta University have to read and accept as truth. The book was published in 1944:

"An extremist party developed within the Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a great son of Maharashtra, who found able assistants in Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. The Partition of Bengal strengthened the hands of this party, and in the Surat Congress of 1907 there was an open breach between the moderate and extremist sections. Simultaneously a terrorist movement was organised in Bengal. Lord Minto took repressive measures, some prominent leaders were deported without trial . . ."

In these few lines has been summarized a whole chapter of half-truths. The terms "extremist" and "moderates" were coined by Anglo-Indian journalists, and no Indian should use it in the serious discussion which a history is supposed to contain. The birth of the "terrorist movement" ante-dated the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, and from a historian's point of view Maharashtra should be given the place of honour in pioneering it, for in 1897 Damodar Chapekar shot to death Rand and Ayst. About repressive measures these two historians have jumbled the dates. The "Fuller" regime in East Bengal, the organized dishonour of Hindu women caused a reaction, so also the forcible dispersal of the Barisal Conference which caused Hindus to use the bomb and revolver to terrorise the British bureaucracy and their agents—the followers of Nawab Salimullah of "Dacca. Then did Lord Minto put his "lawless laws" into motion. This narration and chronology is given in order to show that cause and effect are not as represented in that piece of writing.

"Widows" of Partition

Sometime ago a Meerut news told us that a question has been raised by the case of certain Muslim women whom the press christened as "widows of Partition." The question was,

"Can those Muslim women who refused to accompany their husbands to Pakistan apply for dissolution of marriage?"

This problem has baffled lawyers here. It is reported that in a number of cases, Muslim parents refused to send away their daughters with their husbands to Pakistan. What will be the fate of such women now? Muslim law provides for many eventualities in which a woman can apply for divorce. The Muslim law-makers, however, could not foresee the formation of Pakistan and eventually they set no provision for the dissolution of marriage on these grounds.

So far as we know the privilege of divorcing belongs in the main to the male Muslim. In the present case, the male is in Pakistan, the female is in the Indian Union. So the Muslim parents in India have taken the law into their hands and are determined to keep their daughters out of Pakistan's reach. And the lawyers are confounded.

Shree Chakravarty Rajagopalachari

In our comments on Bengal's Governors since August 15, 1947 we referred to the way in which "C.R." as the South Indian politician is lovingly called by his friends, succeeded in re-gaining the esteem of Bengalees by the sheer appeal of his intellect and freshness. The London *Economist* writing on his retirement writes with admiration of this "shrewdly independent thinker, a realist and a moderate—attributes all too rare in revolutionary ranks." "Almost inevitably, a leader in such a struggle is apt to become embittered and to brand all who are not with him as against him. Yet, while he yields to none in patriotic ardour and determination, the clarity of Shree Rajagopalachari's thought has never been clouded by his feelings, and no crisis has ever stung him out of the gentle persistence characteristic of his speeches and writings."

The writer appears to deplore that "C.R." was not elected first President of the Republic of India, and he has contrasted with him Babu Rajendra Prasad who is noted for his wise good humour, his tolerance and his chairman's skill in evolving agreement; while another greatly respected moderate of broad views and conciliatory disposition, Khwaja Nazimuddin, is Governor-General across the border in Pakistan.

We have a certain feeling, however, that "C.R." would have done equally well, if not better, in the present Indo-Pakistan relation. His realism would have made concessions that we would not have liked.

We wish him peace of mind and rest, and expect that out of these would come out interpretations of India's culture on which he can speak and write with understanding and penetration. May God grant him peace and a long life!

Women's Co-operative Industrial Home

This institution owed its birth to the pioneer spirit of Lady Abala Bose, wife of Acharya Jagadish Chandra. We do not know that there is any other institution in India that can claim to sell goods made by women, sold by women in shops mainly conducted by them. This story has to be retold today when Lady Bose is not long with us and amongst us. When the institution was started in 1935-36, its necessity was felt as a result of experience gained by the work of the Nari Siksha Samiti (1919) with its subordinate institutions—Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan (1922) and the Mahila Shilpa Bhawan (1926). Both these combined the rudiments of general education imparted through Bengali with an intensive course of education in home industries. The original fund of Rs. 6,000 was supplied by the Central Government. Subsequent help has come from the same Government with Bengal—West Bengal as the legal intermediary. This help has been rendered inevitable by the "refugee" problem. Under this head come about Rs. 10,000; the West Bengal Co-operative Ministry supplied about

Rs. 13,000; and the same Government made a lump-sum grant of Rs. 1,500, and has for about eight years been paying Rs. 225 every month as help to a women's industrial school.

But more can be done. We have been shown how in their attempts to co-operate with the "Grow More Food" campaign, their vegetable garden has been fully financing its expenses now. The Food Minister has visited the Home, now centred at Kamarhati, on lands where there had been military structures measuring about six acres with extensive *jheels* (lakes) and tanks, an ideal place for a colony of women who have been forced to earn their living while learning certain suitable industries and crafts. Promises of help have been made, but these have yet to take shape. With regard to the basic industry of weaving, it is being literally kept starved. The Supply Minister, Shree Nikunja Bihari Maity, has presided over the Home's meetings, made promises that have failed to materialise. The monthly requirements of the looms are about 1,200 pounds of yarn, while they get only 300 pounds.

This difficulty has been created by the Central Government's yarn distribution policy, and the Central Minister, Shree Harekrushna Mahatab can remove it. We draw his attention to this matter. The same difficulty is met in the supply of dyes for colouring yarn and for printing the finished products. The supply of lower count yarn has forced on the Home the necessity of specializing in the weaving of bed-sheets, of door and window curtain as also of rough towels. Shree Nikunja Bihari Maity is an unwilling partner to creating this handicap in an industry which is as much to his interest to advance as of the women who are co-operatively organized for an experiment in associated work.

The long-term plans elaborated by the Secretary are the usual things—poultry-farming, fishery, bee-keeping, electrically-driven tractor. Most of these have proved successful in the Bani Bhawan branch at Jhargram (Midnapore). On the last, we have the best authority to say that a tractor will sit idle for more than 9 months in the year. Six acres are no job for it. When these acres have been put to the utmost and best use, the enlargement of the colony will be a proposition that can be seriously discussed. This enlargement raises questions. For, there are other claimants to be considered. And a women's colony should be satisfied with its 6 acres.

Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh

The three merged districts of Madhya Pradesh cover an area of 30,000 square miles and have a population of 25 lakhs, or about 85 persons per square mile. Most of the people are scheduled as aboriginals and their backwardness is a challenge to our conscience. The common features are: lack of communications,

extreme poverty, chronic drunkenness, high incidence of VD and yaws, and a tribal system of internal government. On certain days in the week, whole groups of villages, including even children, get intoxicated out of their senses. Nudity is common in several parts and many people subsist on a diet of roots and raw meat.

The development of this region, comprised in the three districts of Raigarh, Surguja and Bastar, has now become the concern of the Madhya Pradesh Government. In spite of their potential forest and mineral resources, these districts are at present completely unproductive; and although the Madhya Pradesh Government gets a subvention of Rs. 45 lakhs from the Union Government, it is incurring a revenue loss on them.

Nevertheless the Madhya Pradesh Government is doing its best. A system of metalled roads is being built up and several bridges have been constructed. Schemes for schools, uplift centres and medical aid are taking shape.

There is, however, no definite plan of development and much of the work is on the traditional lines of the more advanced districts.

A post of an officer of the rank and seniority of a Commissioner is therefore necessary. He will supervise the work of the three district officers, select and train his personnel, co-ordinate the various activities and take quick decisions on behalf of the Government. Although this Commissioner should be administratively responsible to the Madhya Pradesh Government his appointment should be approved by the Central Government and his salary paid in part by the Centre, because one of his main duties should be to establish a closer contact between Delhi and Nagpur in this field than exists at present. He will scrutinize the expenditure and secure grants from Delhi. He will be responsible to Delhi for the Central Government schemes.

Similar officers could also be appointed in other States. The cost will be small compared with the supervision and control which these officers will ensure. They will also prevent some of the present wastage of money and manpower.

There is no dearth of good officers in our country and there should be no dearth of finances for tribal development. What is needed is a proper system of planning and proper management.

The above is taken from an article in the *Harijan* of November 24 last written by "Mohitgar" who apparently is a man who is actively associated with the uplift of the "tribals," the original inhabitants of India who had once supplied kings, administrators, soldiers and commanders to vast area in this country. Today their descendants are found retired to deep forests and hilly countries and maintaining a sub-human existence for fear of alien touch and a

measure to protect their own patterns of conduct. Their progress in modern setting is a problem that is almost international, every State having its under-privileged classes. In India, there may be special characteristics of their life worth preserving. But that would require a spirit of understanding and fellow-feeling that has not been generally found in human history.

"Mohitgar" writes with knowledge, and we share his views except the suggestions about a paraphernalia of officers, high and low. It is notorious that a bureaucracy stifles sympathy, imagination and initiative—qualities that are found rarely in the bureaucracy. Perhaps, these are inevitable. But we have still faith in human nature to hope that whole-time disinterested and non-official workers will be available for all the activities that have to be carried if India of our aspirations is to be built up. "Mohitgar" is a living example of this.

Anti-Indianism in Pondicherry

The *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Pondicherry was assaulted at a restaurant for being an Indian, and he was asked to leave if he valued his life. This is not an isolated instance; if it had been so we would not have noticed it. But it has become a habit with a small section of Franco-Indians to indulge in these pranks. They fear that the French possessions in India, small places, three or four in number will form part of the Indian Union as Chandernagore has chosen to do. And for reasons unexplained they do not appear to relish this prospect. These hyphenated Indians are indeed a sorry lot. And during his sojourn on earth, Sri Aurobindo had to tolerate their hostility. They dared charge him the "Mother," and the inmates of his Ashram, with being more French than Indian. This because the "Mother" claimed France as the land of her birth, and Sri Aurobindo was a lover of French culture and the Ashramites had no individuality of their own.

This perverted mentality had moved them to attack the Ashram even, and in June (1947) last a spokesman of this spiritual fraternity had felt the necessity of issuing a statement explaining the attitude of the "Master" in this particular matter. We publish it as it appeared in the Indian press as a record for reference for all times.

"He (Sri Aurobindo) feels certain and has expressed it more than once, that the different parts of India, whoever may be their present rulers, are bound to join the mother country and that India, free and united, will become a dynamic spiritual force bringing peace and harmony to the war-scarred world and suffering humanity in general.

Asked whether this meant that Sri Aurobindo desired Chandernagore, Pondicherry and other French settlements in India to join India, the spokesman said: "Certainly so." He (Sri Aurobindo)

has prophesied that these small foreign pockets in India would sooner or later become one with India and India would become the spiritual leader of the world.

As a spiritual home the Ashram as such adopts a neutral attitude towards the burning question of the day in Pondicherry, namely, the referendum to decide the future of the French settlements in India, the spokesman said. He, however, strongly refuted the notion in certain quarters that the Ashram is pro-French and referred to one of his public statements wherein he stated, nobody here (Ashram) is for the continuation of the French rule in India."

J. M. Rakshit, Rustomji Patel

Jamshedpur has reasons to commemorate the memory of two of its citizens—Dr. J. M. Rakshit and Mr. Rustomji Patel. As reported in *Tisco Review* of October last, we summarize their life-story:

Dr. J. M. Rakshit, for eighteen years Chief Medical Officer of the Steel Company, died in Calcutta on the 22nd September, 1951.

Born in 1891, he took his M.B.B.S. degree from Bombay University and his F.R.C.S. from Edinburgh. He was also an L.M. of Rotunda. He joined the Steel Company on the 1st February, 1927, as Deputy Chief Medical Officer, becoming Chief Medical Officer on the 14th November, 1931.

A first class surgeon, a popular and efficient administrator, a keen sportsman and in every way a worthy citizen, Dr. Rakshit participated in a variety of civic activities, but was particularly interested in the promotion of sports and games in Jamshedpur. He was President of the Bihar Cricket Association, of the Jamshedpur Sporting Association, the Jamshedpur Young Men's Association, the Milance and a member of a very large number of sporting, social and cultural institutions. He was also District Surgeon of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, Jamshedpur.

Mr. Rustamji P. Patel, prominent businessman and one of the foremost citizens of Jamshedpur passed away on the 21st September, 1951.

Born on the 16th July 1888, he was at the age of 12, left on his own resources by the untimely death of his father at the early age of 32 in South Africa where he too had early gone to seek his fortune. Struggling against seemingly impossible odds, Mr. Patel made his own way in life without becoming cynical or ruthless in the process. Once fully established and prosperous, he assisted a number of young people in different circumstances to meet the difficulties which he had had to face alone in his youth.

Mr. Patel was associated with almost every known institution in Jamshedpur and Jugsalai. He was Vice-President of the Jamshedpur Notified Area Committee and a Trustee of the Jamshedpur Charitable Trust. He was a member of innumerable committees of social service institutions and it appeared to be a tacitly acknowledged convention by all citizens of Jamshed-

pur that whenever any worthy cause required a scrupulous treasurer in the organisation, Mr. Patel was the obvious choice.

Mr. Patel showed the deepest interest in education and had greatly contributed to the Jugsalai High School and the Jamshedpur High School both in funds and in service. He was its secretary and honorary treasurer and treasurer of the Jamshedpur High School.

Mr. Patel had left marks on the social life of Jamshedpur and he will be greatly missed by thousands of friends and admirers. A large number of institutions will find it impossible to fill his place.

Sadhan Chandra Roy

Bengal has lost an experienced electrical engineer by the death of Sri Sadhan Chandra Roy in his 72nd year. Second elder brother of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Sadhan Chandra was an engineer of note to whom more than any other, the present success of the Shillong and Gauhati Electric Companies are due. Naturally enough his activities were extended to the other fields of commerce and industry. We tender our condolences. May Sadhan Chandra Roy's soul rest in peace!

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Lajpat Rai, O. P. Samuel

Born on June 11, 1901. He was the son of a well-known Arya Samajist of Karnal district. At home, under his father's influence, he was nurtured in an atmosphere of revolutionary social progress. He was an undergraduate of the Punjab University when the agitation over the Rowlatt Report first began. The Report, and later on the Act based on it, rudely awoke him to the realities of the Indian political situation. Then followed the Jallianwallabagh Massacre and other Punjab wrongs which reacted violently on his sensitive mind. When Gandhiji's call for Non-co-operation came in 1920, it found a ready response from him; he left College and joined the national struggle. After some-time, however, the young scholar returned to his studies as many did, but he could not keep away from the field of politics. So, while continuing his studies he found a place for himself in the Tilak School of Responsive Co-operation then led by Lala Lajpat Rai who took him into service under him in conducting the *Bande Mataram*. Deshbandhu Gupta thus had his start in journalism under one of the makers of modern India. His training consisted partly of taking down the editorials for the paper, dictated by Lala Lajpat Rai.

After leaving College finally, Deshbandhu again joined Congress work; for some time he was engaged in organising Congress Committees in his native district of Karnal. Paying a visit to Delhi for inviting some of the leaders to Karnal, he took a prominent part in organising boycott of the Prince of Wales'

visit. The Government's plan was to stage a welcome to the Prince with the co-operation of the depressed classes for which a conference was convened. The Delhi Congress Committee upset the plan by capturing the conference so as to carry it along the path of Non-co-operation. This success was in a great measure due to the bold and energetic efforts of Deshbandhu Gupta. He was soon elected Propaganda Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee.

Before long, he was arrested and put into Naini Jail. It was during his stay here that he came into contact with Swami Sradhdhananda and his subsequent political career was shaped by the joint influence of the idealism of the Swami and the personality of Gandhiji. On his release from jail in 1923, Deshbandhu Gupta found a job in the Swadeshi Store in Delhi. Sometime in 1923, Swami Sradhdhananda founded his well-known paper *The Tej* and invited him to become its first editor. The murder of Swami Sradhdhananda in 1926, threw additional burdens on him, and he had now the sole charge of *The Tej*. It was his ability as a journalist no less than the memory of Swami Sradhdhananda's martyrdom, that very soon made *The Tej* a powerful organ of Indian nationalism.

The paper ceased publication for a while in 1931 as a protest against the Government of India's Public Safety Ordinance of that year when the Civil Disobedience Movement was on. He had, in the meantime, been sent to jail for a year in connection with his work for *The Tej*.

In 1942 when the Congress launched on the "Quit India" Movement, Deshbandhu Gupta stopped publishing his paper in response to Gandhiji's call. It was the only Urdu daily to participate thus in this last struggle for India's freedom. Deshbandhu Gupta was at this time taken into custody together with some of his colleagues in the paper and put into detention for a fairly long term. In 1946, he was elected to the Indian Constituent Assembly. In 1950, he was elected Chairman of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, he was also President of the Delhi State U. N. Association for some time till last year. Early in 1951 he was elected Chairman of the Indian Federation of the United Nations Associations.

Lajpat Rai was born in 1917 at Sheor in Bhopal State, he belonged to a Seth family and was the son of late Ranjit Singh, a landlord in Bhopal. The family originally came from Pindri, district Karnal (Punjab), but later on settled in Bhopal. He had his early education in Bhopal and Pilani (Rajasthan) and showed promise as a public worker from his student days. He took part in all important political movements during the last decade. He was a prominent worker of the Bhopal Branch of the All-India States Peoples Conference. He was for a considerable time

Private Secretary to Janab Asaf Ali, and acted as such till the latter became India's Ambassador in Washington. Later, he worked as the Secretary to the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly; he was appointed Secretary to the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in 1949. He was a prospective candidate on Congress ticket for the House of the People from Bhopal Constituency. He was to have left for Bhopal on his return from Calcutta after attending the meeting of the Standing Committee of the A.I.N.E.C. A young man of amiable nature and pleasant manners he was popular in the model *basti*, the locality in Dlehi where he lived. He leaves behind him a young widow, old mother, one younger brother, three sons and one daughter, a large number of relatives and friends to mourn his premature death.

O. P. Samuel, known amongst his friends as "Siss," was connected with the advertising profession in India for 23 years. He was one of the pioneers of Indian advertising and greatly helped to improve the quality of its service. He was a delegate from India to the recent International Advertising Conference held in London. His work at the Conference had gained for India a good response from the Press abroad. This success brought him into the *Free Press Journal* (Bombay) as its manager, and his death removes a great figure from the journalistic world of India.

There were thirteen other deaths owing to the air-crash at the Dum Dum airport on November 21 last. Most of them were cut off from their career in its height. Deshbandhu Gupta, Lajpat Rai, O. P. Samuel will be almost irreplaceable in their offices. To the families of these men we tender our condolences (God grant them strength to bear this loss.

Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas

We regret to record the death of Shoorji Vallabhdas, who breathed his last in Bombay on the 14th November at the age of 64. He was associated with the old All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha from its inception, and was a member of its Managing Board. He took interest in *Go-seva* also.

His courteous behaviour, sense of humour, regular and clean habits and kindly disposition, together with his keen business acumen, judgment of men, and capacity to detect sharp practice, were pleasing to all.

He was a devoted follower of the Arya Samaj and its generous patron. About a week ago, he sent a sum of Rs. 12,600 and odd which had been lying with him to be utilized for helping constructive workers in distress. The amount has been credited with the A.I.S.A. for being administered according to his instructions.

In the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Village Industries Department in particular, has lost a valuable friend in him. May his soul rest in peace!

CHURCHILL'S VICTORY IN 1951 BRITISH ELECTION

Estimate of an Asian

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

IN the General Election of October 25, 1951, although the British Labour Party had more votes—taking the total votes cast in Great Britain—than the British Conservatives,—the British Conservatives under the leadership of Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill have won the victory. Industrial centres with large working class population voted for the Labour, while the rural districts favoured the Conservatives. On the basis of popular votes, the Labour won; while on the basis of constituencies, the Conservatives a minority party (from the standpoint of popular votes) won. Thus this victory of the Conservatives is not a very secure one. However, ascendancy of Mr. Churchill in British politics is a revolution affecting not only British politics but world politics as a whole.

To be sure, Mr. Churchill, on the basis of his former utterances at Harvard University and also Fulton (Mo), will try to strengthen Anglo-American partnership in every possible way. He will try to convince Mr. Truman that the British Conservative Party will make "Anglo-American collaboration in world politics" the cardinal principle of British foreign policy. Mr. Churchill will abandon the British policy under the Labour Government in so far as it was opposed to increased armament production and formation of solidified "United Europe" against Soviet Russian expansion. Of course, Mr. Churchill will ask for greater economic aid for Britain, so that for purely financial reasons, she may not have to supply war materials like rubber and other articles on large quantities which may be useful to Soviet Russian war economy. In fact, Mr. Churchill will try to formulate an Anglo-American Foreign Policy, as he did during the late Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, which will be most beneficial to Britain. Indeed Mr. Harriman has been given the role of the late Harry Hopkins and the former has already gone to London to consult Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister of Britain, will play an important role in helping Mr. Churchill in carrying out his world policies. In this connection, one should carefully read the speeches of Mr. Eden last summer during his tour in the United States, specially at the University of Denver. In these speeches Mr. Eden emphasised the point that Anglo-American world partnership in world affairs is the most important factor in maintaining world peace. To be sure, the United Nations is a very important instrument for furthering the cause of peace; but in

the field of practical politics Anglo-American co-operation is more important than the United Nations. Mr. Eden tried to convince his American friends and audience (and he did not have very great difficulty in carrying out his purpose), that America needs British support no less than British needs American support to maintain their mutual interests.

II

In Anglo-American collaboration, the question of checking Soviet Russia in Europe will have its first place. It seems that there will be no difficulty in pursuing a common foreign policy and common defense policy which will amount to this: Germany must be utilised to the fullest extent in matters of European defense against any further Soviet Russian expansion. However, the question of economic recovery of Germany which may again become a serious competitor of Britain may be a sore point for Britain. But Mr. Churchill will find it difficult to oppose American policy of full collaboration with Germany, inasmuch as Mr. Churchill has been an ardent advocate of a United Europe in which Germany should be accorded an equal partnership.

Mr. Churchill will do his best to re-assert British power in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. This will bring him face to face with difficulties with Egypt and other Arab countries as well as Iran. It seems that the United States Government has taken a stand regarding the Iranian oil issue to the effect that Britain should honour the nationalisation of oil policy of Iran, while Iran should make a reasonable settlement regarding compensation due to Britain which owns more than half of the shares of the Anglo-Iranian Company. To avoid any anti-American reaction in the Middle Eastern oil countries, America will not take an out-and-out pro-British stand against the Iranian claims. It seems that Britain will have to accept a compromise solution on Iranian Oil issue, as it may be worked out at Washington.

In solving the Anglo-Egyptian dispute, Mr. Churchill and his Foreign Secretary will have to stick to the programme of the Labour Government, which adopted the policy of maintaining British forces in Egypt and the control of the defence of the Suez Canal and also continuance of indirect British control over Sudan. It is also certain that the Egyptians will not quietly surrender to British usurpation of Egyptian sovereign rights under the cover of a treaty. If the Anglo-Egyptian statesmen have the far-sightedness

which is needed to solve the present crisis, they should follow the wise policy of Viscount Allenby in Egypt, instead of the present policy of aggressive demonstration of British power in Egypt. Field Marshall Viscount Wavell in his study of *Viscount Allenby in Egypt* has clarified that

"It would have been easy enough with the force at his (Allenby's) disposal to take stern measures of repression and retaliation; but these could only make it more difficult to arrive at the friendly understanding with the Egyptian people without which our (British) position in Egypt would have been impossible."—Viscount Wavell: *Allenby in Egypt*, London, Oxford University Press, 1944, page 41.

During the era of 1919-22 when the Wafd Party of Egypt under the leadership of Zaglul Pasha was determined to end British protectorate, British statesmen of the type of Milner, Curzon, Lloyd George, Churchill and others were opposed to making any concession, unless Egypt first agreed to sign a treaty which would safeguard British rights in Egypt, to maintain forces in Egypt for the defence of the Canal and continuance of con-dominion in Sudan. Viscount Allenby, the then British High Commissioner in Egypt and a British patriot, was also an advocate for upholding British rights, but he suggested that the British should at first renounce the protectorate over Egypt and then under a new friendly atmosphere should negotiate a treaty. Viscount Allenby was denounced by many Tories of those days; but in the end his wise statesmanship prevailed. The British did end the protectorate and then a new treaty between Egypt and Britain was signed.

It is to be expected that due to American stand for moderation, Mr. Churchill's Government will not favour continued forced occupation of the Canal zone and further antagonising the Egyptian people. If the Anglo-American statesmen follow Allenby's policy, then the Egyptians will follow the Turkish example of full collaboration with the Anglo-American Powers. Bullying tactics will not work in Egypt; but it may have its repercussions against the Anglo-American Powers (specially the United States) in Arab lands. Arabs, like the rest of the world, know that Britain, without American aid and support, would not be willing to risk using force in the Middle East. If America wishes to avoid trouble in the Middle East, then she will have to make it clear to Mr. Churchill that moderation and conciliation with firmness will be the policy for them to follow.

It has been a matter of speculation on the part of many that Mr. Churchill and others may suggest that the Jews (the State of Israel) should be used against the Egyptians. To be sure, the Jews are not in friendly terms with the Egyptians and the present Anglo-Egyptian conflict has comparatively improved Israel's position in world politics. But every Jewish statesman must bear certain amount of suspicion

against Messrs. Churchill and Eden, the architects of the Arab League to be used against the French and the Israelis. Furthermore, many far-sighted Jewish statesmen would regard it to be a great folly for them to encourage British aggressiveness against Egypt or any part of the Middle East. To be sure that Israel should actively co-operate with the Anglo-American Powers and Turkey for the defence of the Middle East; but it will not be to the interest of Israel to act as a mere tool of Mr. Churchill's policies in the Middle East and thus worsen Israel's relations with Egypt and other Arab States.

To check Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese aggression in East Asia and the Pacific, the American Government will continue to co-operate with Japan. Under these circumstances, Mr. Churchill will have to co-operate with America. But Mr. Churchill's prime interest in the Pacific is to protect Hongkong and also secure the major part of China trade. To assure these objectives the British Government recognised Communist China. But any aggressive collaboration of Britain, America and Japan may induce the Chinese Communists to take over Hongkong which will be injurious to Churchill's prestige and Britain's vital interests in the Pacific. In the past Mr. Churchill had been very stubborn regarding the retention of Hongkong at any cost. One of the causes of the rift between Churchill and General Chiang Kai-shek was that the latter wanted to recover Hongkong while Churchill even threatened the end of Anglo-Chinese collaboration. In the Cairo Declaration, Churchill forced General Chiang to omit the mention of recovering Hongkong from the British. It is however clear that the British cannot retain nor recover Hongkong without American support. Therefore Churchill will try to play China against Japan, but will have to co-operate with the United States in the Pacific, as Australia has agreed to do.

III

Mr. Churchill during his election campaign and on various occasions has repeatedly suggested that he would try to have a conference of Stalin-Truman and himself to settle all outstanding problems and to further the cause of peace. What may be the outcome of such an effort?

It is needless to emphasise that Churchill's main interest is to protect British interests all over the world. It was once reported that while some one opposed Churchill's proposition of making an alliance with Soviet Russia, the veteran British statesman answered that he was opposed to Communism but would not hesitate to make an alliance with Soviet Russia—even with a Devil—to protect and further the interests of the British Empire. It is also a historic fact that Mr. Stalin, to get Churchill's support against the Nazis, at a conference in Washington, through M. Molotov, gave full support to Churchill against Indian Freedom, while Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek were

in favour of Indian Freedom. Thus an Anglo-Russian deal may not be improbable.

In fact, Mr. Eden will have the opportunity of seeing M. Visnisky at the Paris meeting of the United Nations and broach the subject. If Soviet Russia agrees to recognise British interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East and South East Asia, then Britain would support Soviet Russia's claims in Central Europe and the Balkans. None should forget that Churchill, to appease Stalin, agreed to Soviet demands in Poland, which has resulted in Soviet control over Poland. If such an agreement between Soviet Russia and Britain be possible (which will be popular in Britain), then Churchill and Stalin would try to induce Mr. Truman to join them in a Three-Power Pact by which America will be given assurance of non-interference by Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese allies, in the Pacific.

If such an agreement be arrived at among Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States, it may take the form of a *new super-Yalta*, with Churchill as the chief architect, Stalin as a supporter and Truman as a follower. But it should be expected that this super-Yalta will not last very long as Neville Chamberlain's pact with Hitler at Munich, which had the full support of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his supposedly anti-fascist advisers. So far as Britain will be concerned, this agreement with Stalin will be definitely directed against economic and political recovery of Japan, Asian countries and Germany which will become a source of greater tension in these lands, which might later on give a chance to Soviet Russia to win over Germany, Japan and other Asian countries in the ever-widening sphere of expansion. Will Truman agree to any such agreement?

IV

Mr. Churchill is no friend of the Asian peoples. His attitude towards them has been typically fascist—political, economic and racial imperialism. He was not only opposed to Indian Freedom but he was one of the main architects of partition of India. He wholeheartedly supported the Moslem League of Jinnah and his programme and gave every possible aid to bring about Pakistan which is a cancer on the side of India. During the Hyderabad dispute his sympathy and support was for the Nizam and opposed to India. It is notorious that Mr. Churchill and his friends have been actively supporting Pakistan in regard to Kashmir dispute.

India knows that irrespective of any political party, Churchill has been and remains an enemy of India and his government will do its best to use

American support against India's vital interests. This will force India, unless America can convince the Indian public that America is not anti-Indian, to seek support from elsewhere. It would mean that India will try to cement Indo-Chinese-Russian collaboration and support Egypt in every possible way except going to war against Britain. There is certain indications in this direction. Mr. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to Peking, is going to attend the United Nations Session in Paris where India will again champion the cause of Communist China for the Seat of the Security Council. It has been also reported that Mr. Nehru has given an interview to the effect that he favours Egyptian sovereignty over the Suez Canal.

In case Mr. Churchill continues to pursue anti-Asian policies and receives American support the result will be the rise of anti-Anglo-Americanism all over Asia, including Japan. The Japanese have not forgotten that Churchill was opposed to any compromise with Japan before the Pearl Harbour attack. In fact, the Japanese believe that Roosevelt's unbending opposition to Japan was partially, if not greatly, due to Churchill's anti-Japanism. Nationalist China as well as Communist China is opposed to Churchill's policies. Today Iran, Egypt and all the Arab States are suspicious, if not hostile to Churchill's policies. Any mistake in dealing with Asian countries, following Mr. Churchill's demands which may ignore sovereign rights of Asian countries, will be utilised by Soviet Russia to spread her influence in Asian lands.

To be sure, Anglo-American Powers with their Atlantic Allies and with the support of Japan, Germany and Turkey will be able to hold their own against any combination of Powers in favour of Soviet Russia in Europe and Asia. Wise statesmanship on the part of America demands that, due to British policy—Churchillian policy—against Egypt, India and other Asiatic peoples may not be induced to make a common cause with Soviet Russia.

I wish to emphasise that Indian statesmen should realise that their making a common cause with Soviet Russia, to check any possible mischief which might be caused by Churchill's policies, will be most dangerous for the future security of the State. The safest policy which should be pursued by India is, while preserving friendly relations with other nations, to have close collaboration with the United States, Japan, and that China which is not an ally of Soviet Russia. This will further the cause of her national security and Asian independence.

New York City, November 4, 1951



IRRIGATION IN INDIA

Its Past and Present

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

THE success of agriculture certainly depends in a very large measure upon, *inter alia*, adequate and regular water supply. There are many reasons why the cultivation of land in this country is not as efficient comparatively and as productive per unit of land cultivated or labour employed as in other countries, notwithstanding certain advantages of soil and climate. Amongst these, the scarcity, uncertainty or irregularity of water supply may easily rank the highest. The main source of our water supply needed for agriculture is, of course, the annual rainfall. Thanks to the wonderful working of Nature, rains come to water the parched lands on more or less fixed date so as to facilitate the several stages of agricultural operations nicely dovetailing them one into the other.

NECESSITY OF IRRIGATION

The rainfall, though on the whole abundant, often fails, on an average once in a decade, *e.g.*, the normal annual rainfall varies from 460 inches at Cherrapunji in the Assam Hills to less than 10 ins. in Western Rajputana. This shows that not only is the rainfall inadequate but it is also unequally distributed throughout the seasons. By far the largest portion of rain in the country (except south-east of the Peninsula) falls between June and October. During the rest of the year it is very little. It is because of this tendency of rainfall and its liability to failure that before the era of railways and canals "ghastly famines ravaged the country periodically and scarcity was the common lot of the people over large areas in many years." Thus the water is not available precisely as and when it is required though in the same season it may be in excess in some parts and deficit in others. Where it is in excess it causes heavy floods which damage the land or standing crops; while where it is deficient it creates conditions of scarcity bordering upon or eventuating in a famine. Successful cultivation cannot be assured for any considerable period unless facilities are available for watering crops artificially when necessary.¹ "It was because of the realization of the supreme importance of irrigation that in India it has been practised, from time immemorial, to supplement and conserve the rainfall by construction of wells and storage reservoirs, and by bunding streams."²

Some Crops Require More Water: Besides, some crops like rice and sugarcane require a regular and

abundant water supply which is rarely provided except in the most favoured regions. The intensive cultivation of land under the pressure of increasing population has made second or winter crop necessary and this requires artificial supply of water in the absence of winter rains.

Earlier Cessation of Rainy Season: In some years the rainy season ends earlier when agriculture requires more water. So if crops are not watered, India has to face the terrible famines which cause untold miseries and hardships to the population. So in order to overcome these chronic droughts irrigation is necessary.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS FAVOURING IRRIGATION

There are certain geographical factors which have led to the development of irrigation in India. They are:

(1) The rivers rising from the Himalayas are perennial, as they have their courses through the perpetual snows of the Himalayas, which give them constant supply of waters.

(2) The slope of the plains is so gradual that the canals which are taken out in the upper courses of the rivers can easily irrigate the land in the lower valley.

(3) There is an utter absence of the rocky ground in the northern plains and this enables the easy cutting of the canals.

(4) The soil is fertile which makes the greatest use of irrigation and

(5) The clay in the sub-soil is in such a depth that acts as reservoir for the rain water which sinks through the porous alluvium of the plains and which is later tapped by wells.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF IRRIGATION WORKS

The geographical factors have determined the predominance of a particular kind of irrigation method in the particular portion of the country. There are three main types of irrigation works—canals, wells, and tanks. All those sources irrigate about 50 million acres of the Indian soil. Of this area, about 50 per cent is irrigated by canals, 30 per cent by wells, 10 per cent by tanks and 10 per cent by other sources.

All kinds of irrigation works are not suitable for every kind of soil, *e.g.*, the alluvial tract is specially suitable for canals and wells, in the crystalline tracts irrigation from tanks is most extensive and in the Deccan tract a considerable area is cultivated under wells.⁴

The area under irrigation in India is over 50 million acres. This is the largest of the areas irrigated in any country of the world, two and half times the area irrigated either in U.S.A. or in Pakistan. The acreage irrigated in India exceeds the combined acreage under

1. Bernard Darley: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. 1, p. 148.

2. *Ibid*, p. 148.

3. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 325.

4. H. S. Chatterjee: *Indian Economics*, p. 32.

irrigation in U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Japan and Italy.⁵ These five countries, between them, occupy roughly ten times the area of the Indian Union. The following table gives the extent of irrigation in India as compared with Pakistan:

Irrigation in India and Pakistan, 1945-46
(in thousand acres)

Region	Irrigated area	Net area sown	Irrigated area as percent- age of net area sown
Undivided India	70,700	286,216	24.5
India	48,228	236,808	20.2
Pakistan	22,482	49,418	45.0

The length of India's irrigation channels is over 60,000 miles, more than two and a half times the circumference of the earth. Years ago Sir Charles Trevelyn observed:

"Irrigation is everything in India. Water is more valuable in India than land, because when water is applied to land it increases its productivity at least six-fold and generally a great deal more; and it renders a great extent of land productive."

In India, irrigation has a two-fold purpose, viz., a protective purpose to ward off the famine in certain areas and a productive purpose to increase the productivity of the soil.

WELL IRRIGATION

The well-irrigation is the most important and most indigenous form of irrigation in India. It is well suited to the poor farmer, because it is cheap to build, it requires no elaborate machinery to work it, and does not need any specialised engineering skill to build or work it. The wells used include fissure wells in rocks, spring wells and tube-wells which vary considerably in depth, or tubes of small base from which by power pumping large supplies of water can be obtained continuously throughout the year.⁶

Well-irrigated Areas: Well-irrigation is more important in:

(1) The Indo-Gangetic basin. The Western U. P. is particularly noted for well-irrigation. In fact, "the whole of the area from Benares to Delhi is drilled like a sieve with wells of ten to fifteen feet depth."

(2) The southern black cotton soil tract and Bihar and Assam.

(3) The sub-montane areas on the eastern side of the Western Ghats including the southern districts of Bombay and Madras especially Coimbatore, Madras and Ramnad.

(4) The sub-montane regions of the East Punjab, U.P. have 51.5 per cent of its irrigated area covered by wells, the Punjab 25.4 per cent, Bombay 14.0 per cent, Madras 17.8 per cent, Bihar and Orissa 11.7 per cent, the total area irrigated by wells in India being 11.7 million acres.

The method of lifting water differs in different

parts of the country and to a very great extent the method adopted is the most suitable for that area.⁷

Well-irrigation has definite advantages of its own which make something like 30 per cent of the total irrigated areas in this country come to be served by this means. Because the well water entails trouble on the part of the cultivator for raising it from varying depths, he is naturally careful and economical in its use. Due to the high cost of lifting water from the well, it is generally used for high-grade crops. Its *pro rata* burden is consequently reduced and benefit increased. It has been estimated that well-irrigated land is more important than canal-irrigated land. No doubt well-irrigation serves in bulk large areas from a single system; and so has helped to bring what were practically desert regions under the plough. The canal also helps to improve the chances of well-irrigation.

There is still a large scope for the expansion of well-irrigation in India. The Royal Commission on Agriculture thought that every effort should be made to encourage the formation of co-operative societies for the construction of wells. The Government should also on its own initiative construct wells in the rural area and grant literally *takkari* loans for the purpose, and levy reasonable charge on those who utilize the well-water for irrigation. The limit of great irrigation works have been reached, more attention will have to be paid in future to sub-soil water as the source of supply for new fields to be developed to meet the ever-increasing pressure of population on land.

As early as 1903 the Indian Irrigation Commission maintained that there was no single province in India in which irrigation from well might not be very largely extended with advantage and that in areas where sub-soil water lies close to the surface of the soil, well-irrigation is actually preferable to canal-irrigation. Recently, considerable official encouragement has been given to the construction of wells under the 'Grow More Food' campaign. The Famine Inquiry Commission of 1944 had recommended that the State should encourage the development of private wells

7. The following are the more popular means of raising water from a lower level to that which will command the area to be irrigated:

(1) The single mouth with a self-delivery tube which automatically empties the water when it comes up to the mouth of the well. In U.P. they are not provided with self-delivery tubes, hence an additional man is needed for emptying the leather bag when it comes at the mouth of the well.

(2) Where underground water is abundant Persian wheels are also used, as in Rajputana, Punjab, Kathiawar, and Bombay.

(3) The *Dhekli* system is a crude contrivance for raising water. It consists of a long pole working on a post and weighed commonly with compact mass of mud at one end and a bucket attached by a long rope to the other end. The water is raised in small quantities and the process is very weary and monotonous. Vegetable growers adopt this system with great convenience and economy.

(4) The *Baki* system in which two men stand on opposite sides of the water-pit holding the strings attached to flattened out leather bags; throw water from a low level to a high one.

5. The approximate area under irrigation in these countries is: India 50 million acres; U.S.A. 20 m. acres; U.S.S.R. 8; Japan 7; Egypt 6; Mexico 5.7; and Italy 4.5 million acres.

6. *Agricultural Commission Report*, pp.

by: (a) the collection of full information as regards subsoil water supply, (b) the appointment of a special staff charged with the duty of advising and assisting the villager in the sinking of wells, (c) the grant of *takkavi* advances, and (d) the introduction of more efficient means of lifting water especially in tracts with a deep water table.⁸

Tube-wells are comparatively of recent development in India. Technical advice and assistance are given by the Government Department for their installation, usually for moderate fees. Four conditions are in general essential for the success of a tube-well irrigation scheme, *viz.*, (1) the flow of water in the subsoil must be adequate to meet the surface demands, thus ensuring a stable water table; (2) the depth of this water table below the ground level must not ordinarily exceed about 50 feet; (3) the irrigation demand must prevail over a wide tract for an average period of not less than 3,000 hours in a year; and (4) electric power must be available over the tract in question at a rate not exceeding half an anna per unit.⁹

The use of tube-wells and power-driven plants for irrigation purposes have been of very recent origin in India. These wells have an advantage over canals in this that the water can be taken directly at the places required and the flow on the spots takes place by gravity *e.g.*, in the Ganges Valley it has been estimated that the most economical well is that which yields 33,750 gallons per hour. The area that may be irrigated from such a well is a variable factor and depends upon the climate, crop and soil conditions but on an average it may be said that it can irrigate at least 120 acres of sugarcane and 300 acres of *Rabi* crops. The cost of pumping water depends upon the efficiency of the pumps, the depth of water and the price of electricity or other sorts of fuels.

TANK-IRRIGATION

Tanks and embankments are a special feature of the Deccan. The rivers of the Deccan are not snow-fed and they are solely dependent upon rain water. There are many streams which become torrential during the rainy season but dry up in the season when the rain ceases. The undulating character of the region together with a rocky bed makes the construction of wells prohibitive. Moreover, as the hard rock does not suck up water so wells also cannot be made there. But the tanks can be easily made by means of constructing dams in hollow spaces in which rain water is stored in large quantities for distributing a regular supply of water through the channels to the arable lands in the winter season. Lastly, the scattered population of the tract also favours the system of tank-irrigation. So this is the only possible and efficacious method by which the abundant rain water can be conserved that would otherwise flow out uselessly into the ever-hungry ocean.

Tank-irrigation has reached its highest perfection in the south, specially in Madras.

The tank may vary in size. It may be any thing from a work like Lake Fire and Lake Whiting in Bombay, or Periyar Lake in Travancore State to the very small village tank capable of irrigating about 5 acres or even less. The large works are few in number, need considerable technical assistance and require a large expenditure of money to make them reasonably safe against breaches. Government agency alone is, therefore, suited to the construction and maintenance of such works. But there are numerous small units scattered all over the country, the maintenance and repair of which by a Government Department might be said to offer as difficult a problem as maintaining village tanks in repair. Further, it has come to be regarded as an axiom by Irrigation Engineers that it is less costly in the long run to allow these works to breach every 15 years or so than to go the expense of preventing breakdown under abnormal conditions. Their upkeep should be entrusted to the village communities concerned who can give the requisite attention in time. This needs the formation of broad policies and the enactment of suitable laws to make the policies effective.

CANAL-IRRIGATION

Canal-irrigation is the most important form of irrigation in India because of its cheapness, and the ease and certainty with which water is supplied. The irrigation canals of northern India which turn to productive use the water of the Indo-Gangetic system rank amongst the greatest and the most beneficent triumphs of modern engineering in the whole world. The canals in India are of two classes, *viz.*, inundation canals and perennial canals.

INUNDATION AND PERENNIAL CANALS

The inundation canals are drawn directly from the rivers without making any kind of barrage or dam at their head to regulate the flow of the river and the canal. They get water when the river is well-flooded and not when the water-level of the rivers is low. But as soon as the flood subsides and the water-level of the rivers is reduced below the level of the canals' head, these canals dry up. The great defect of these canals is that the water supply is quite uncertain. They provide irrigation mostly during the rainy season. During the dry season when irrigation is needed most these canals are useless because of their dryness.

On the other hand, the perennial canals are constructed by putting some form of barrage across the river which flows throughout the year, and diverting its water by means of a canal to be irrigated. Such canals are independent of the natural level of the water in the river. Within this class falls the canal system of the East Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

WAYS OF CHARGING WATER RATES

The charges for irrigation water are levied in

8. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, pp. 135-136.

9. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report (1945)*, pp. 133-134.

different ways in the different provinces, e.g., in Madras and Bombay different rates of land revenue are charged according as the land is irrigated or not. The former includes the water rates. In other parts of India, the water rate is a separate charge and is adjusted to the benefit received approximately. The area actually irrigated is measured and a rate is charged per acre according to the crop grown. By this means the water rate is adjusted to the service rendered. Lower rates are charged where water has to be lifted to a higher level; while where the mere flow of water by gravitation irrigates the land, the rates are somewhat higher. In some cases the outlets of canals for water are rented for a lump sum; or the charge is made according to the volume of water actually used. But these methods have proved cumbersome and unpopular. Water rates, therefore, on the whole follow the principle of "No crops, no charge." The cultivator naturally dislikes to be liable for water rates which have no connection with the area under cultivation or the quality of the crop raised.

The rates, it may be added, vary from Province to Province. Even in the same province they vary according to the nature of the crops, e.g., for sugarcane it varies from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 12 in Madras; from Rs. 9 to 11 in East Punjab and from Rs. 5 to 12 in U.P. Similarly for wheat it varies from Rs. 4-4 to Rs. 4-4-7 in East Punjab and in Madras, and Rs. 3 to 5 in U.P.

If extra crops are grown and additional water is needed an extra charge is made for the same. If the crop fails to mature, or if the yield is less than normal, either the whole or part of the irrigation assessment is remitted. In contrast with this practice, in West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, there is a system of long-term fixed charge whereby the cultivator pays a small rate for a term of years, whether or not he takes the water. This practice is suitable for these provinces as the normal rainfall there is generally high and may be depended upon for the required water supply. Artificial irrigation is thus a kind of luxury for which the cultivator would not pay a high rate, as he would not ordinarily need extra water costing excessively in his judgment.

Irrigation works have nevertheless been constructed to guard against possible failure of rains; and so the most acceptable method seems to be to make an initially lower charge, which makes water available to the cultivator when he wants it during the terms of years for which the charge is fixed. From the viewpoint of the cultivator this is also economical as he need not wait till the last moment for the water he may need. And from the point of view of the Government also, it is fair as a certain minimum charge is assured to ease the burden of interest and maintenance charges.

GOVERNMENT CLASSIFICATION OF CANALS

Canals are classified by the Government in a different way. Before 1921, they were classified as (i) Productive, (ii) Protective and (iii) Minor.

(i) *Productive works* are those which are expected to yield a net revenue sufficient to cover the interest charges on the capital invested within ten years of their completion. Such works are financed from the general revenue or more often from funds raised on Government security. Most of the largest irrigation works in India belong to this class.

(ii) *Protected or unproductive works* are not expected to yield a direct return but are a mere measure against famines. They are financed from the current revenues, generally from annual grants for famine relief and insurance.

(iii) *Minor works* are small works for which detailed capital or revenue accounts are not maintained. Such works may be productive or unproductive.

Since 1921, this classification has been abolished. Now loans can be raised for any work of public utility. Now all irrigation works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept are classified under two main heads: (i) Productive and (ii) Unproductive. A third category is those of which capital accounts are not kept. The following table shows the area irrigated by Productive, Unproductive and Minor works during 1945-46:

Province	Productive works (Acres)	Unproductive works (Acres)	Minor works (Acres)
Assam	..	..	3,401
Bihar	654,520	122,324	..
Bombay	4,246	456,527	180,320
C. P. and Berar	..	709,109	56,708
East Punjab	3,644,110	27,814	..
Madras	4,534,713	409,515	1,421,999
Orissa	..	339,564	282,577
U. P.	4,069,841	1,801,497	82,438
West Bengal	..	265,256	..
Total India	12,907,430	4,131,636	

DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION

During the last sixty years there has been a steady growth in the irrigation from the State works. The total area irrigated was 10.5 million acres in 1878-79. It rose to 28.1 million acres in 1919-20, to 28.33 million acres in 1922-23, to 28.2 million acres in 1926-27, to 31.64 m. acres in 1929-30, to 32.5 m. acres in 1936-37 and 48.2 m. acres in 1945-46.

The main increase has been in the class of productive works, which irrigated 4½ million acres in 1878-79, 10.5 million acres in 1900-1, 20.76 million acres in 1926-27; 23.50 million acres in 1929-30 and 27.73 million acres in 1935-36 and 26 million acres in 1941-42.

NEW SCHEMES

During the last five years there have been considerable activities in all parts of the country in connection

with the new irrigation and hydro-electric projects. After preliminary or detailed investigations, a large number of new construction schemes have been taken up. Some of these schemes are purely for purposes of irrigation, some are purely for generation and transmission of hydro-electric power but there are others which are multipurpose in nature.

Today 135 such schemes, at a total of Rs. 590 crores are under construction in different parts of the country. Twelve of these may be called major projects, costing over Rs. 10 crores each and Rs. 439 crores in all. There are 24 medium-sized projects costing between Rs. 2 and 10 crores each, Rs. 103 crores in all. In addition, there are 99 smaller schemes costing less than Rs. 2 crores each and Rs. 48 crores in all. It will take six to ten years before these projects are completed; it will take a few years more for irrigation to be developed fully and yet a longer time to build up the load for the entire hydro-power potential that will be developed by these schemes.

WATER RESOURCES DISPUTE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

A dispute has arisen between the East and the West Punjab Governments regarding the supply of water by East Punjab to the Central Bari Doab and the Dehalpur Canals in West Punjab. With the partition of the Punjab, the Upper Bari Doab canal system has been dissected diagonally, and about 40 per cent of the area hitherto irrigated by the Upper Bari Doab Canal now lies in West Punjab. Secondly, the Ferozepore head-works lie in East Punjab, whereas the Dehalpur Canal and the Sutlej Valley Canals, which take water from the Ferozepore head-works with their entire irrigated area are in West Punjab. As the sources of supply of water are in East Punjab, while the areas hitherto irrigated from these are located in West Punjab, an inter-dominion conflict on the ownership of and rights to canal waters has arisen. In December 1947, the East Punjab and the West Punjab Governments entered into a stand-still agreement for the supply of water to West Punjab. Thereafter the Government of East Punjab contended that the proprietary rights in the waters of the rivers in East Punjab vested wholly in them. The West Punjab Government agreed that after a period of two years from June 1948 during which it would receive water as usual in gradually diminishing quantity, it would try to create alternative sources. The Government of East Punjab does not want that West Punjab should take this water in future. It wants to go ahead with the Bhakra Dam Project, for which it has to draw water from this source. The East Punjab Government also wants to utilise waters of the river Beas for bringing land under irrigation in South-East Punjab, particularly in the districts of Hissar and Rohtak where there was a famine in 1939. This quarrel regarding the use of water from East Punjab canals

and head-works by West Punjab cultivators has taken the form of a dispute in International Law.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF CANALS

The economic effects of the development of canals on agriculture, population, trade and industry are tremendous in places of habitually deficient rainfall like Rajputana and the areas that lie in the famine zone like U.P. and C.P. and Deccan Plateau. The irrigation facilities in these provinces have averted the great disaster that might be brought by the chronic droughts and saved millions of people from death. It is said and not without foundation that India adds every year an Egypt to its lands. They have banished the grim spectre of famine and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.¹¹ Various parts of India which were once treeless, waterless, sunburnt waste-lands have now been converted by the beneficent hand of man into flourishing lands. As Mr. Darling puts it, "The colonies have, in fact, opened (for the Punjab) an era of prosperity undreamed of in the past."¹²

The increase in irrigated lands has been a boon to the cultivators for not only is the out-put of their fields ensured in ordinary years of drought but also the amount of produce is very largely increased in ordinary years at a comparatively low cost. Mr. Mukhtar Singh was of opinion that artificial irrigation can step up production by 26 per cent. Dr. Sudhir Sen asserts that increase in yields due to irrigation is considerable, in case of rice the increase is 50 per cent and in case of wheat 66 per cent. The experiments conducted on paddy and wheat under irrigated and non-irrigated conditions in Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh confirm that irrigated crops, if well managed, yield twice or three times in comparison to rain-fed crops. The Advisory Board of I.C.A.R. holds that the production of irrigated crops per acre is on an average 50 to 100 per cent higher than that of the unirrigated crops in the same locality.

In almost all parts of the country commercial crops have always monopolized irrigated zones. Thus jute is confined to the fertile Ganges-Brahmaputra delta and we are told that river inundation bringing down rich alluvial deposits enables the cultivator to plant this exhausting crop year after year without expenditure on manure.¹³ Of sugarcane we learn that in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the crop is entirely irrigated, elsewhere it depends for the most part upon the sufficiency and the timeliness of the monsoon rainfall.¹⁴ It is but natural that where irrigation is available, commercial crops enjoy precedence at the cost of food-crops.

Besides making the land productive canals afford a

11. Bernard Darley: *op. cit.* p. 167.

12. Darling: *Punjab Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 119.

13. Cotton: *Hand-book of Commercial Information*, p. 141.

14. *Ibid.* p. 156.

good means of transport and communication. No doubt railways can afford transport and communication but canals can do something more than this. They can ensure and enhance the productivity of soil by providing water supply which railways cannot do.

Financially considered, irrigation works are a great source of revenue to the Government of India. When the cultivable tracts of land are brought under plough the Government charges water rates, land revenue and other taxes on the commercial and industrial activities connected with them. Thus as Mrs. Knowles writes:

"The irrigation works have made security of life, they have increased the yields and the value of the land and the revenue derived from it. They have lessened the cost of famine relief and have helped to civilize the whole region. In addition they yield a handsome profit to the Government of 7 to 8 per cent."¹⁵

"But the benefits of irrigation," in the words of Sir Bernard Darley, "cannot be measured only by Government receipts nor indeed by the area irrigated."

India has an ever-growing population which must be fed; the time is not far off when every available acre will be cultivated and still more land will be required to raise food for the multitude. The only remedy for this desperate situation will be to increase the yield from the land already under cultivation. Much has already been done in this direction with the help of canal irrigation. The cheaper classes of grain, more particularly millets and pulses, have given place to good rice and wheat, and the diet of the people has improved accordingly. The yields also have been increased enormously with the introduction of improved seed by the Agricultural Department. Much, however, remains to be done and it is safe to say that with better seed and more efficient cultivation the yield from crops in India can be increased by 30 to 50 per cent, according to the location of the land. As the pressure of population on land increases the value of these great irrigation works, constructed in the past, will become more and more apparent. In the mean time, they have banished the grim spectre of famine and brought peace, prosperity, and a higher standard of living to the whole country.¹⁶

DEFECTS OF THE CANAL IRRIGATION

Irrigation water when misused spoils the soil beyond repair. Mr. Pugh traces back the history and remarks that soil civilization in the Middle East disappeared because of misuse of irrigation water. The Agricultural Reorganisation Committee of U.P. (1948) points out that at some places yield of crop decreases due to irrigation water. This is due to: (a) a greater demand on soil nutrients to produce higher yields, (b) the leaching effects of irrigation and (c) connection of injurious salts in the upper layers of the soil.

Canal irrigation, however, suffers from a very serious defect against which it is very necessary to guard effectively. An abundant supply of water from the canals for irrigation does not only lead to a great waste of water but also what is more serious it causes water-logging and salt-effervescence.

"Waterlogging may be defined," says Professor Brij Narain "as the rise in the level of the sub-soil water which renders land unfit for cultivation."

The approach of the danger is marked by certain well-known stages which have been very lucidly described by him thus:

(i) For one or two years *barani* crops are unusually successful, and there is a spontaneous growth of the rich crop *maina*.

(ii) In the third year patches of *kallar* begin to appear on the affected soils and the seed does not germinate on these patches.

(iii) The yield begins to diminish and the patches extend till they cover the whole field.

(iv) Depressions in close proximity to the canal remain permanently damp and have water of a rusty colour.

(v) An obnoxious odour is emitted by the abadies and the drinking water tastes raw.

(vi) The spring level rises and comes closer up to the surface of land.¹⁷

What happens actually is that the salts of the soil come up to the surface with the rise of the sub-soil water-level. The canal acts in two ways in causing this phenomenon. They intersect drainage lines and cause rain or flood water to be held up. Secondly, they cause their own waterfall vertically until it reaches the spring level.

"If the sub-soil outflow is not enough to balance the inflow, the spring level rises being drawn up by capillary attraction and all the salts of the earth come to surface and make the land unfit for crops."¹⁸

This causes the soil to deteriorate by bringing out *alkali* or *reh* to the surface of the soil. In West Punjab it is reported that some 125,000 acres were thrown out of cultivation by the rise of subsoil water and a still larger area was rendered unsuitable for growing of crops by the appearance of salt-*kallar*. Similarly in the Nira valley of Bombay alkali lands have arisen from canal irrigation. It has been reported that 51,000 acres have been damaged in this way. The damage is enormous the area representing more than 25 per cent of the actual area of irrigation.¹⁹

The Agricultural Commission held that this wastage was not entirely due to the want of incentive on the part of the cultivator to economise water supplied by the Government, but to their uncertainty of water supply; and to ensure economy, they recommended that more investigation and experiments on the lines suggested by the Irrigation Commission should be undertaken, before it was decided to sell water by volume.

15. Dr. Knowles: *Economic Development of British Empire Overseas*, Vol. I, p. 367-68.

16. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 167.

17. Brij Narain: *Indign Economic Life*, p. 383.

18. Brij Narain: *Ibid.*, p. 383.

19. N. P. C.'s Report: *River Training and Irrigation*, p. 81.

The remedies usually suggested for this phenomenon are: (a) Pumping out of water by tube-wells and other methods of drainage, (b) Proofing of canal beds by concrete, (c) Opening out of closed and obstructed drainage, (d) Replacing canal irrigation by well-irrigation, (e) Prevention of over-irrigation by forcing the cultivator to economise water, (f) Attempts should be made to change the time of supplying canal water, and the beds and sides of canals should be rendered impervious, *inter alia*, by treating them with sodium carbonate.²⁰

Moreover, canal-irrigated areas have shown susceptibilities to encourage malaria with its very harmful and pernicious effect on the health of the peasants and the village folk. In order to safeguard against this danger the Royal Commission recommended that careful drainage surveys should be made in future in all irrigation projects and drainage maps should be prepared. Sir John Russel also emphasized the urgent need for proper soil surveys and agricultural analysis:

"It may be laid down as an absolute rule that no irrigation scheme should ever be carried out until a proper soil survey of the region has been made. Barely one half of the water delivered at the head of the canal reaches the field."

The problem of transmission of water also deserves consideration. The site favourable for a reservoir of water may not suit as off-take for the alignment of a canal; the area under a canal may be such that a plentiful application of water may do it harm; or it may be that the conditions of soil or climate will give a greater value to water in irrigation lower down the valley. In the central table-land, however, there is usually no difficulty in utilising river-beds as a means of conveying water. Here rivers flow in the lowest parts of the valleys, and generally the beds are rocky without any subterranean passages through which water can be lost underground. We are, therefore, favourably placed in this matter of transmission, which has a very important bearing in the extensive use of water; the only loss may be said to be that of evaporation.

As a corollary to this, tracts should be commanded by means of canals not too long. Considerable lengths of canals mean loss of water and great increase in cost of delivery. Even in Northern India where there is the advantage of water being cheaply obtained, transmission through long canals tells heavily.

Even more important than these questions of storage and transmission of water, is the question of selection of lands that are worth irrigating. At present the Revenue Survey Records class as cultivable a large area of land which is so poor indeed that it cannot be irrigated with advantage; also there may be tracts of undulating lands where the slopes are stony and have but little soil on them. It is essential that the

soil should be of a good order of fertility and we must have a detailed land classification to determine whether the land is worth the water to be applied to it. The water resources will ultimately limit the productive capacity, and should not be used so as to be out of balance with the lands proposed to be irrigated.

Besides these, it is also necessary to disseminate more knowledge on irrigational practices through demonstration and propaganda on subjects like (i) water requirements of different crops, (ii) proper time and frequency of water application, (iii) fertilizer application in conjunction with irrigation water, (iv) economic use of irrigation water and (v) post-irrigation operations and moisture conservation practices.

IRRIGATION POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENTS

Irrigation in India had been practised from very early times. This fact is proved by the existence of old wells and tanks in various parts of the country, e.g., in the Chingleput district of Madras two tanks which still irrigate a fairly large area are referred to in the writings of the eighth and ninth centuries.²¹ Whatever irrigation works were there were generally constructed on a small scale which were not very conducive to the economic development of the society; larger works as such were unknown. Canals also were constructed by the past rulers, e.g., the Western Jamuna Canal dated from the 14th century and the Eastern Jamuna Canal was constructed by the Mughals. The Cauvery Delta system in Madras dated from the second century A.D. All these were inundation canals, which were constructed by employment of forced labour. They were fed by the rainfall. But the fall of the Mughal Empire in the 18th Century prevented the maintenance and repair of canals by forced labour. According to Dr. Anstey:

"The lack of capital and the engineering skill, in security of tenure and the consequent unwillingness to sink capital in fixed improvements and ever recurring invasions and internal political dissensions, seriously checked the extension of irrigation."²²

During the 18th century therefore, the Jamuna canals fell into decay. These were destroyed and in many places covered with jungle.

I. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION: IMPROVEMENT OF OLD WORKS

The E. I. Co. first of all devoted its attention to the revival and improvement of old irrigation works. It spent large sums of money partly in repairing the ancient irrigation works and partly in undertaking new construction works. The most important works that were remodelled were:

(1) The *Western Jamuna Canal* was improved in 1821. The famine of 1832-33 further led to the

²⁰ John Russell: *Report on the Working of the Imperial Council of Agriculture*.

²¹ D. G. Harris: *Irrigation in India*, p. 14.

²² V. Anstey: *Economic Development of*

extension in this canal. But the construction work was done in a hurry and it therefore led to water-logging. According to Bernard Darley, "Due to faulty alignments and hasty construction, much of the country became water-logged and most unhealthy."²³ Therefore, in 1873, the canal was remodelled as a whole so that drains were dug, channels were re-aligned on watersheds and the country was reclaimed.

(2) The *Eastern Jamuna Canal* was improved in 1830. Due to faulty construction it had to be remodelled; and

(3) The *Grand Anicut* across the river Cauvery was remodelled by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1836. He built the upper Anicut, consisting of simple bar of masonry, 2,562 ft. long, and 5 to 7½ ft. high resting on the wells with an apron in the rear.²⁴ There were twenty-two small sluices in the weir to permit free passage to sand and water not required for irrigation. During 1843-44, the sluice ways were increased and the masonry dam, known as Cauvery Dam, was built. The entire system of weirs was remodelled during 1899-1902.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW WORKS

The East India Company also started construction works of the following new schemes:

(1) The success achieved in the reconstruction of these old canals encouraged the engineers to undertake new weirs in several provinces with a view to ward off the famine conditions. This led to the construction of the upper *Ganges Canal* by Sir Proby Cantley in 1840, which was completed in 1854. This canal has turned one of the famine-ridden tracts into one of the richest in India.

(2) Another great work begun by the company was the construction of the *Upper Bari Doab Canal* which replaced the *Hasli Canal* in 1849 and was completed in 1859.

(3) Another important work was the construction of the great *Godavari Canal* under the direction of Sir Arthur Cotton in 1846. "On the left flank of the river was the head regulation of the Eastern Delta system, with a navigation lock and connected under-sluices. Two weirs (the Dowlaishwaram weir 4,940 ft. long and the Ralli weir 2,859 ft. long) spanned the Gautami-Godavari. The Godavari was also crossed by two weirs (the Maddur Weir 1,548 ft. long and Viziswaran Weir 2,598 ft. long). The head works thus comprised of 11,945 ft. or 2½ miles of weir, three canal bears, with navigation locks and three sets of under-sluices."²⁵ Though it was a great achievement, yet the construction was defective due to poor materials and apparatus. Hence by 1890, two of the canal heads and three head locks had been rebuilt

on improved designs. The irrigation facilities provided by the works have transformed the rural economy of the Godavari Delta. Famines are now largely unknown in this area, which was most liable to famines before.

(4) The construction of *Kistna Delta Project* was undertaken in 1852 and completed in 1855. In addition a large number of small works were constructed and repaired. The Company also improved many inundation works in the Punjab and Sind after 1851. The most important works developed were the Begari Canal and the Fuleli Canal.

Thus before the era of the railways, the East India Company took in hand some important works. This was due not only to the desire to fight the ghastly famines but also to the fact that the period under review also witnessed an era of canals in England between 1780 and 1830. However, the English canals were meant for navigation while the Indian canals were primarily designed for irrigation.

II. CANAL CONSTRUCTION BY PRIVATE COMPANIES

The success of these canals encouraged private companies to undertake the construction of canals, though they proved to be failures. The above schemes were constructed out of revenue and therefore, imposed a heavy strain on the Company's finance. The Court of Directors in 1857 proposed that the construction of irrigation works should be undertaken by persons as private enterprise. Sir Arthur Cotton outlined several ambitious irrigation schemes. He proposed the construction of a number of canals radiating east and west from the Tungabhadra and the Kistna. According to this project, four weirs were to be constructed on the Tungabhadra and on the Kistna. These weirs were to be supplied by the excavation of five large canals. Further, 600 miles of river channels were to be improved to provide navigation facilities and a coast canal constructed to link the Kistna Delta with Madras. Another 600 miles were to be constructed in the west, stretching up to Poona and Mangalore. This project was to cost about £2 millions. Another scheme was outlined to irrigate and navigate the area from Santhal Hills to Dacca; and this was to be connected with the Ganges Canal at Kanpur by means of an artificial canal about 550 miles long. Still another 200-mile canal was to join Ganges Canal with the Sutlej river, to provide navigation facilities between Bengal, the Punjab and the U. P. The Orissa Canal was expected to extend the navigable line—about 4,000 miles long from Karachi to Calcutta and Madras.

Two companies were floated to take up the scheme. The East India Irrigation and Canal Company was formed in 1858 which commenced work in 1863. This company was to construct Orissa and Midnapur canals; but by 1866 it had spent all its

23. Bernard Darley: Vol. I.

24. D. C. Harris: *Irrigation in India*, p. 17.

25. *Report Op. Cit.*, pp. 25-26.

capital, even though a large part of the construction work was still untouched, and failed to obtain additional capital. The Government, therefore, took over the work paying £900,000. These works have proved invaluable to the agricultural population they serve, besides offering very useful navigation facilities. But financially these works have never been a success owing to the fact that the average rainfall over the tract is 60 inches per annum, a fact that was entirely ignored when the project was framed.²⁶ The East India Company had also undertaken to construct the same canals but owing to shortage of capital, they were constructed by the Government from the very outset, though on a smaller scale than originally planned.

Another company, the Madras Irrigation Company, was formed in 1862 with a capital of £1 million. This Company undertook to construct the Kurnool-Cuddappa Canal, at an estimated cost of £550,000 but after the construction work was undertaken the Company spent the whole of the capital it possessed and had, therefore, to borrow £600,000 from the Secretary of State to complete the work. Later on the Government purchased this company for £1,185,500. The main causes of the failure of these schemes were the desire of the companies to secure immediate profits and the lack of experience and knowledge of local conditions.

III. CONSTRUCTION BY THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH LOANS

In view of the appalling loss of life caused by the famine of 1866, the Government of India realised the necessity for the rapid construction of a network of irrigation canals. The Secretary of State for India, therefore, accepted the principle of financing productive works by loans raised in the open market. This new policy led to the construction of five important irrigation works in U.P., Bombay, N.-W. F. P.²⁷ and the Punjab.²⁸ These canals were: (1) the Sirhind Canal in the East Punjab, (2) the Lower Ganges Canal in U.P., (3) the Lower Swat Canal in N.-W. F. P.,²⁹ (4) the Desert Canal in Sind³⁰ and (5) the Mutha Canal in Bombay. This work is one of great value, far more so than the direct returns from it indicate. The necessity of affording a supply of good water to Poona would alone have been sufficient justification for the project and, added to this, a tract extremely liable to famine is efficiently protected. Although classed as unremunerative, the project has proved a thoroughly sound investment on the part of the Government.*

IV. PROTECTIVE CANALS ELSEWHERE AND COLONIZATION CANALS IN THE PUNJAB

In the meantime the Government had begun to

realise their responsibility for famine relief. It was after the publication of the Report of the Famine Commission of 1880 that remarkable development took place in the protective irrigation works which were most liable to famine. Since 1818, the Government began to set apart a sum of Rs. 1½ crores each year for the Famine Relief and Insurance Fund, out of which a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs was to be spent on the protective railways and irrigation works. The first protective work undertaken was the *Betwa Canal* in the U. P.; and the *Rushikalya Project* consisting of reservoirs, weirs and canals, and the *Nira Canal* in the Bombay Presidency and the Periyar canal system in Madras were constructed. Two important works in Sind were the *Jamrao Canal* (lying between Eastern Nara and the Indus) and the *Western Nara Canals*.³¹

In addition to these famine protective works, construction of colonization canals took place in the Punjab. This scheme has turned a barren, waterless and uninhabited desert into a garden inhabited by a contented peasantry with flourishing agriculture. The area lying between the rivers Jhelum and Sutlej was having rainfall from 5 to 15 inches and was inhabited by a few graziers and herders. In order to open up some of these waste tracts and at the same time to relieve pressure on land in highly populated regions elsewhere, Government took over these unreclaimed lands as 'crown waste' and embarked on a scheme of colonization.³² But the preliminary survey was carried on under great difficulties. In the desert of the Punjab, the temperature was often continuously over 110 deg. with no shade and only ugly brackish water to drink. Work carried out in malarial jungles was worse inasmuch as the constant illness of the staff and the labourers made progress much difficult. Moreover, the frontier working party had to be guarded by soldiers. Not only was the inadequate supply of labour a constant obstacle especially in the waste-lands of provinces like the Punjab and Sind but the difficulty of getting fuel to make bricks and lime also hindered construction. Finance also imposed its all-important limitations.

The first colony canals were the *Sohag*, taken out from the Sutlej, and the *Sidhnai Canal* in the Multan district. The former was later absorbed into the Sutlej Valley canals. These canals yielded 40 per cent on the capital outlay. They promoted the growth of prosperous colonies in West Punjab and encouraged the Government to embark on a more ambitious canal project, the *Lower Chenab Canal*.³³ The land between the Jhelum and the Sutlej was divided into squares of land subsequently standardised at 25 acres each and on these were settled members of the various agricultural tribes from the old districts. The *Chenab Colony* was

26. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 154.

27. Both these now belong to West Pakistan. They respectively irrigate 160,000 and 200,000 acres of land.

* Harris: *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

28. Both of them now belong to West Pakistan.

29. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 157.

* Now in Pakistan.

established in 1892, the *Jhelum Colony* in 1901 and *Jamrao Colony* in 1898 in Sind.

V. IRRIGATION COMMISSION AND AFTER

The appointment of the Irrigation Commission was the result of the famines of 1899-1900-1901 and the success of the productive and protective works undertaken during the second half of the 19th century. The Commission reported in 1903 and laid down a definite policy regarding the "selection, financing, and maintenance of canal works." As regards the productive work, the Commission held:

"All productive work must be regarded as essentially protective. The direct revenue which they earn is a valuable asset, more especially as it is usually at a maximum in years of drought when so many other sources of revenue are liable to contract. As already shown, it is a measure of the increase in the wealth of the country due to the works, a large share of which comes back to the State indirectly. Population is attracted from the more congested district, and in times of famine, many emigrants from distressed tracts find agricultural employment on the new areas brought under cultivation. Every extension of irrigation increased the security of the food supply of the country in years of drought, and, in these days of cheap railway freights, the produce of irrigation can be carried to those parts in which it is most required. For these reasons, we think that programmes of future expenditure on irrigation works should provide for the construction of as many productive works as can be proposed, in whatever parts of the country they are situated, and without reference to the urgency of protection for the locality. Promising projects should be held in abeyance only when funds cannot be allotted for them without interrupting progress on irrigation works of any kind which have been actually commenced, or withholding money from works more urgently required for protective reasons; or when adequate establishment is not available for carrying out the works; or when the success of the works depends upon colonisation operation which it may be more convenient on general grounds to postpone."³⁰

The recommendations of the Commission gave invaluable encouragement to the development of irrigation works in India and the total capital expenditure on productive and protective works was doubled. A large number of new works were undertaken.

The first important work to be undertaken was the great Triple Canal Project in the Punjab, consisting of the *Upper Jhelum Canal* (built in 1915), the *Upper Chenab Canal* (completed in 1912), and *Lower Bari Doab Canal* (opened in 1913). The entire system was completed in 1917.³¹ During this period the *Lower Jhelum Canal* was also constructed in the Punjab; and the *Upper Swat Canal* in N.-W. F. P. The Famine Commission had no intention of restricting the growth

of irrigation facilities in India. They wanted future development to proceed on efficient and economic lines. They said:³²

"It must not, however, be supposed that we estimate the probable net cost of protecting any tract, which is now liable to famine, at a sum which is equivalent to three times the probable expenditure on famine relief. There are no doubt many tracts in which protection cannot be provided at a less cost than this, and they are generally the tracts in which protection is most urgently required. But there are others in which it may be hoped that the unproductive outlay will be much less. Works which will be productive, or in which the capital cost is not likely to exceed 20 times the net revenue, will not involve any unproductive outlay, and it will be unnecessary to consider the questions of their protective value at all. And we think that, in all tracts in which the cultivation is at all insecure, protective works may be sanctioned without hesitation whenever the capital cost is not likely to exceed thirty times the net revenue, or whenever a net return of more than 3 per cent on the capital outlay may be anticipated. The indirect returns which will accrue on the expenditure, and the protective value of the work will certainly suffice to justify the sanction. When a lower return than this is anticipated, it will be necessary to pay closer attention to all the circumstances of the case; and especially to the urgency and the certainty of the protection which the work is designed to afford. In such cases the work will either be abnormally costly to construct or maintain, or the value of irrigation, except in years of extreme drought, will be so small or doubtful as to justify caution in according sanction. This examination of the subject leads to the conclusion that, however great may be the indirect value of irrigation works which may be classed as productive, it will diminish rapidly for works on which the direct returns are likely to fall below the productive standard, and may become so inappreciable, even in districts which are liable to frequent famines, as to render the construction of works inexpedient."

The suggestions of the Commission have found the basis of the irrigation policy of the present century. The first important productive work undertaken during this period was the *Tribeni Canal* in Bihar. Other protective works undertaken in the C. P. were Mahanadi, Waingana, Tondula and Ramtek canals. Similarly, in Bombay, a large number of storage works were constructed of which the *Pravara and Nira Right Bank Canals* were important.

VI. DEVELOPMENT DURING POST-WAR PERIOD

After the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, irrigation became a provincial subject. The Provincial Government now possesses much larger initiative in the construction of canals. They have to obtain the sanction of the Government of India only if the estimated cost is more than Rs. 50 lakhs. Loans can be taken not only for productive works but also for other works. Money can also be utilized from the Provincial Famine Insurance Grant when it is not re-

30. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, para 114.

31. These systems now have gone to Pakistan. The 'Triple canal system' consists of 438 miles of main canal and branches and 301 miles of distributories. The total cost of the scheme was about 11 million pounds. The total area commanded by it is about 4 million acres. It irrigates nearly 2 million acres.

32. *Ibid Report*, para 121.

quired for famine relief. Due to the post-war prosperity many new irrigation schemes were launched, several of which have been completed. Of these the most important was the *Sutlej Valley Project*, in the Punjab and the states of Bahawalpur and Bikaner, by making four weirs for irrigating over 5 million acres or nearly 8,000 sq. miles of land at a cost of Rs. 21 crores and was completed in 1932-33.³³ Another work of great magnitude was the construction of *Sukkar Barrage* project in Sind at a cost of Rs. 24 crores to command a gross area of 7½ million acres.³⁴ Besides these, *Saradu Canal* was built in 1928 in U.P., and the *Cauvery Mettur Project* in Madras and *Damodar Canal* in Bengal were also constructed.

IRRIGATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

Great strides in irrigation (including hydraulic research) have been made in India within the last 35 years. Some of the activities have been *ad hoc* and inspired by the personal interests and scientific ambitions of individual engineers; but substantial advance has been made through organised research.

The first in the field was Bombay where special Research Division was created in 1916 to investigate local problems on land drainage and reclamation. In 1920 a hydrodynamic research station was opened on a small distributary near Poona. By 1925 the activities of the Research Station developed beyond belief and the water supply available for model work was found to be inadequate. The station was consequently moved to Khandakvasla below the Khandakvasla Dam where conditions for research were excellent. After 1945 the activities of the Central Research Station at Khandakvasla multiplied and problems were referred to it from all parts of the country. During the 33 years of its existence over 1,500 experiments have been carried out that relate to river training, the design of channels and hydraulic works, navigation, soil and agricultural problems.

The Hydrodynamics Research Station of Khandakvasla was taken over by the Government of India in 1937, to assist river training, research problems and irrigation and was renamed as the Central Water Power Irrigation and Navigation Research Station early in 1948. In order to meet the increased demand for research facilities from the Central, Provincial and State Governments, the Station is now under expansion.

After Bombay came Punjab, where the danger of water-logging and deterioration of land by salts became alarming. Investigations were started in 1925 and gradually a hydraulic laboratory came into being at Lahore. This had since developed into one of the finest research institutions in the world but was lost to India by partition in 1947. A new Research Institute was set up with head-quarters at Amritsar.

The Irrigation Research Station in U.P. was established in 1930 at Lucknow but has since moved to Roorkee. Investigations have been carried out on calibration of flumes and falls, the study of non-silting distributary heads, fluming of structures, water requirements of crops, earth dam construction, river training and sub-soil supplies available in different doabs in the western districts of U.P.

The River Research Institute of West Bengal was set up in 1943 and comprises the River Model Station at Galsi, Tidal Model Station at Belgharia, the Soil Mechanics Laboratory at Russa and the Statistical Laboratory at Anderson House, Alipore (Calcutta).

The Krishnarajasagar Research Station at Mysore was established in 1945 immediately below the Krishnarajasagar Dam on the river Cauvery. The Hyderabad Engineering Research Departments, the Irrigation Research Station, Poondi, Madras State, the Soil Engineering Research Station, Chepauk (Madras), the Concrete Laboratory, Chepauk, and the Hirakud Research Station (Orissa) have all been established in the course of the last decade.

IRRIGATION ORGANISATIONS

Besides the Irrigation Departments of various Provinces and States, there are three central bodies dealing with irrigation matters, viz., the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, the Central Board of Irrigation and the Central Groundwater Organisation.

The Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC) was set up by the Government of India in 1945, with the object of initiating, co-ordinating, and furthering the schemes for the control, conservation and utilization of water resources throughout the country for the purpose of irrigation, waterpower generation, navigation and flood control, and if so required, the construction of new schemes. The Commission consists of a chairman, two full-time members, and technical administrative staff to perform these functions.

The General Board of Irrigation (GBI) was set up in 1931 to co-ordinate research on irrigation and allied subjects conducted at all research irrigation stations in India. The Board maintains one of the finest libraries on irrigation, hydro-electric and other subjects where enquiries from engineers in India and abroad are dealt with.

The Central Groundwater Organisation (CGO) was established in 1946 in conjunction with the drive for "Grow More Food Campaign" and its objectives include (a) assisting provinces and states in securing materials for execution of tube-well projects and training their personnel in the use of equipment, (b) assisting in the construction of tube-wells, and (c) collecting and co-ordinating information available about sub-soil supplies and carrying out research in developing improved methods of exploiting groundwater supplies.

33. Both these projects now lie in Pakistan.

PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND STATE

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE recent crisis in the Congress culminating in the resignation of Pandit Nehru and eventually patched up by the offering of the stewardship of the Congress organisation to the Prime Minister raises some important issues giving food for some general reflections regarding the position of political parties in relation to the State and Government under parliamentary democracy which are set forth in this paper. We are not concerned here with the rights or wrongs of the dispute that offers the occasion for these reflections. Our approach in this study will be simply analytical and academic and although made in the context of the peculiar situation of this country, our observations will necessarily have a wider and general application.

The dispute that arose between the Congress President and the Prime Minister is not a personal one, but is to be traced to the lack of appreciation of the changed position of the Congress before and after the transfer of power which calls for a clear determination of the relationship between the parliamentary wing of the party and its organisation outside. Pandit Nehru himself made a passing reference to this at a Press Conference on August 28 last when he is reported to have observed:

"The position of the Congress President and the Congress Executive today could not be said to be the same as before."

Before the transfer of power the Congress was not just one of the political parties in the usual acceptation of the term, but claimed, with no little justification, to represent the entire nation, as it was the rallying point of all forces of national resistance to imperialistic domination and the spearhead of the struggle for national emancipation. So long as the Congress was engaged in the fight for freedom it had to be regimented in the pattern of a disciplined army and all its members had to submit to the stern discipline of the organisation which headed up to its highest Executive—the President and the Working Committee popularly designated in the language of military technique as the High Command. But with the transfer of power came about a transformation in the character of the Congress also from a fighting organisation of the nation to a ruling party in power and as the pattern of government of the country even before independence had become assimilated to that of a parliamentary democracy the position of the Congress *vis-a-vis* its parliamentary wing and the Government formed out of the latter required a new adjustment on the lines obtaining in countries like England where parliamentary democracy prevails. In the new posture of things the Congress should no longer claim to represent the nation as a whole, which would logically lead to totalitarianism and theory of one-party state in

direct contravention of the democratic ideal to which the Congress stands committed, for such a claim would be the very antithesis of the basic assumption of parliamentary democracy, *viz.*, alternation in office and opposition between rival political parties according to the choice of the sovereign people. Nor should the party outside the Parliament control its members in Parliament and the Government in minute details, because the postulate of parliamentary democratic government is the control of the executive by, and its full responsibility to, Parliament, and that responsibility does not cease to exist even if it be obscured by meticulous interference of an extraparlimentary authority. That does not mean that after election the members returned on the party ticket would become completely independent of the party, because they are pledged to implement the broad policies accepted by the party organisation outside Parliament and formulated in the programme placed before the electorate on the eve of election and because both have the same background.

But the point that is to be noted is that the system of parliamentary government requires that short of this agreement on broad policies the Parliamentary wing of the party and the Government should be released from all day-to-day interference in the conduct of government, because as a government it represents not simply the party or the parliamentary majority but the State—a neutral force and it has to so conduct the administration, sometimes even by series of compromises, as to make itself the mouth-piece of the whole people consisting of both the majority party and the minority parties for the time being at any rate. It cannot do that if it is ramshacked by directives of the party executive at every step. Of course occasions may arise when exigencies of parliamentary politics may lay too great a strain on their allegiance to the party and when it becomes their duty to resign and go to the electorate for a fresh mandate. Parliamentary system rests on a nice balancing of forces and any maladjustment in the balance requires correction by appeal to the electorate or sovereign people, and political sagacity and statesmanship lies in the power of discerning when exactly that occasion arises. So far as the recent crisis in the Congress is concerned, it arose because the situation was confused by the Congress stepping straight into office and power without a fresh general election and the position will be much more clarified after ensuing general election if the Congress comes into power after contest with other political parties. As Pandit Nehru is reported to have observed in course of his statement at the Press Conference referred to above:

"Next year a wider Parliament will be elected by millions of people and it is rather difficult to

think that it can be controlled by a party executive. The party executive lays down for its own party broad policy and the party should follow it. Now, in regard to this matter, if I belong to a party, obviously I must follow the broad policy which that party lays down. Suppose, the Congress Executive gives a mandate to me and says—Do this or that, that is an important matter and I should accept it. If I think I cannot accept that I must say I cannot accept. If in spite of that they say you must accept it, then I get out. If the Congress Executive asks me to resign from the Prime Ministership I resign immediately. But I do not think the Congress Executive should interfere in my work apart from the big policy that should be laid down either in Parliament or administrative work or as to who should be members of my cabinet."

Thus it would appear that the crisis in the Congress was caused by its traditional outlook, its totalitarian claim to represent the nation as a whole and its failure to adjust itself to the new situation brought about by the transfer of power. If the Congress is to remain true to the profession of its democratic ideal and for the matter of that of a parliamentary type of democracy it has got now to eschew its traditional totalitarian claim and play the role of just one of the political parties in the country with its own programme many of whose features would of course be a legacy of its past tradition, but touched up so as to suit the new environment, otherwise there is every likelihood of a party dictatorship developing behind the facade of parliamentary democracy. We have before our eyes many examples of such development in recent history to put us on our guard. The best way to guard against such sinister development is to draw a clear-cut line between the political wing of the party and the parliamentary wing—the sphere of the former being to work among the people and the electorate outside the machinery of the State represented by parliament and Government to win over the electorate to place itself in the seat of power to implement its policies and programme which may have appealed to their imagination, while the sphere of the latter is to work inside the Parliament either in the role of the Opposition to act as a check on the excesses of the Government by healthy and responsible criticism or in the role of the Government for the whole nation instead of for the party only, according as it happens to be in a minority or majority in Parliament. Except in respect of the general outlook and broad policies the parliamentary wing of the party is not to be subjected to meticulous interference by its organisation outside and is to be given a measure of autonomy to carry on its functions inside the machinery of government if it is not to be handicapped in the proper performance of its role. It would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that parliamentary form of democracy can only succeed on the basis of jealous vigilance against control of the government in the political wing of the party outside Parliament. Because

parliamentary democracy rests on the principle of complete dependence on and responsibility to Parliament of the Government to the exclusion of any extra-parliamentary authority and even the control of the parliamentary majority by a party caucus outside Parliament is repugnant to the spirit of parliamentary democracy, whatever may be the position in fact. If democracy professes to rest on the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people there can be no room for any other authority to stand between the people or the electorate on the one hand and Parliament and Government on the other. The function of political parties is to help the electorate in giving shape and form to their collective will, in mobilising their scattered energies and canalising them in useful channels, in fact they are the instruments for achieving the ends of democracy, but still they should not be allowed to usurp the sovereignty of the people. If a political party through control over its parliamentary majority and the government is allowed to control the machinery of State, it will be placed in a position of definite advantage over all others and would be placed on the high road to party dictatorship. Even if the party does not take advantage of its position, it would still be open to suspicion of such practice in the eyes of others much to the detriment of clean public life.

It is desirable, therefore, that there should be organisational separation between the political party outside and the parliamentary party inside Parliament. It is from this angle that the recent combination of the leadership of the Congress both inside and outside Parliament by Pandit Nehru has come in for legitimate criticism in some quarters, as it would tend to confuse the line of separation between the Congress organisation outside and the parliamentary Congress party and the Government and tilt the scale heavily in favour of the Congress party in the country as against other parties by the added weight of the head of the Government to the leadership of the Congress party. Just as no individual in a democratic state should be in a position to say, "I am the state," so also with any party. Even Pandit Nehru himself is not unaware of these implications of the step. At the Press Conference referred to above he deprecated such combination of the two offices except as an emergency measure. He is reported to have said:

"I definitely think that it is a wrong thing practically, and even otherwise, for the Prime Minister to be Congress President. But that being the general rule, I cannot say what necessity might compel one to do under special circumstances, when a hiatus is created or something like that. . . . I do not think it can work as a permanent proposal. It can only mean suppression of one function, practically speaking. Either the Prime Ministership becomes dominant or the other. Both cannot. So, as a practical proposal, I do not think it is feasible. That may occur during a crisis for a temporary period, but it should be avoided as far as possible."

WALES



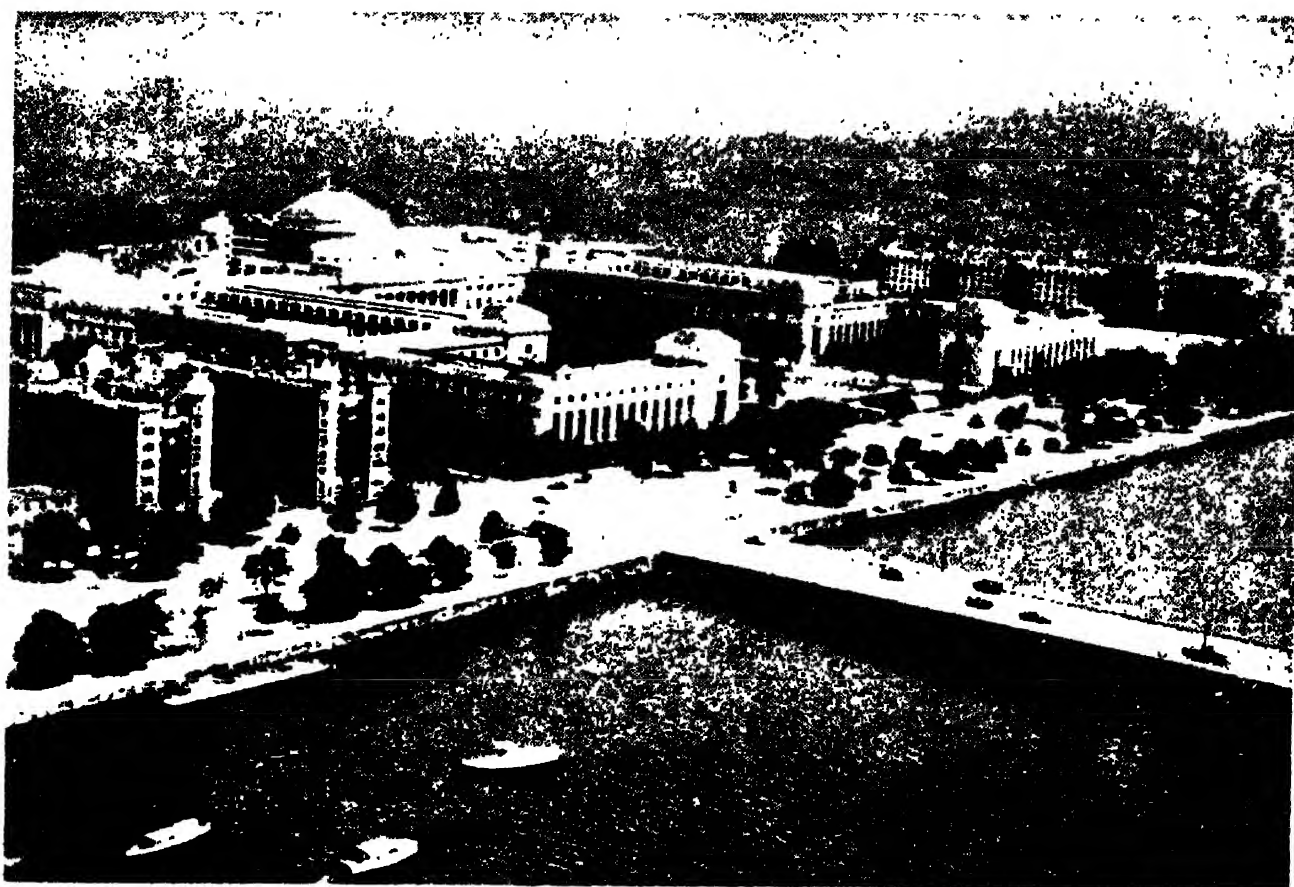
Capel Craig and Snowdon



Swallow Falls, Betsyced



Rations of rice are distributed to needy citizens of Seoul by Korean authorities



Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the leading technical institutions in the United States of America

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

unless circumstances are such that one does a thing which is not normally desirable."

To sum up, the underlying reason and desirability of the proposed separation (in the limited sense indicated above) between the party outside Parliament on the one hand and the party members in Parliament and Government on the other lies in the fact that for the time being the latter becomes the mouthpiece and agent of the State which is a neutral force and as such

should not function in a purely partisan spirit. In the words of Prof. Laski: "The whole underlying conception of parliamentary government is based upon the view that the State is a neutral factor in Society. In the ceaseless interplay of party warfare, now one party, now another, becomes the Government and so becomes entitled to the operation of its authority."

* Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 161.

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LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

A Brief Life-Sketch

By DR. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., PH.D. D.LITT., T.D.
University of Allahabad

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN was born at Karnal in the East Punjab on October 1, 1895. He was the second son of the late Ruknuddaullah Shamsheer Jang Nawab Rustam Ali Khan. He claims descent from the illustrious King Naushervan the Just of Iran. He was married to Begum Raana, a distinguished economist, educationist and social worker.

After education at home Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went to Aligarh for further studies. He was also a student of the Allahabad University in 1919. He took his M. A. degree from Exeter College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar from Inner Temple, London, in 1922.

Mr. Khan joined the Muslim League in 1933 and was elected its General Secretary, in 1936. He held that office till 1947. He was elected a member of the U.P. Legislative Council in 1926 and continued in this position till 1940. He became the Deputy President of the U.P. Legislative Council in 1931 and continued in that capacity till 1938. He was elected to the Central Assembly in 1940.

He was a member of the Executive Council of the Agra and Aligarh Muslim Universities for a number of years. He was the President of the Anglo-Arabic College Society in Delhi from 1940 to 1947.

Working in close collaboration with the Late Mr. M. A. Jinnah he made the Muslim League the most powerful organisation of the Muslims. He was elected deputy leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly in March 1943. He was a good parliamentarian and debater. He was the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was mainly responsible for the great victory of the Muslim League in the

general election in 1945. He was invited to the Simla Conference in 1945 and 1946.

He was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1946 and leader of the Muslim League bloc in the Interim Government. He was the first Indian Finance member to present a budget of 1947-48. He went to England along with Mr. Jinnah to represent Muslim India in December 1946, when it was decided to divide India into India and Pakistan.

As the right-hand man of Mr. Jinnah he became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1947. He also held the portfolios of Defence, and States and Frontier regions. He was the convener of the Pakistan Muslim League and elected its President in October 1950.

The news of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination has cast a gloom all over India and Pakistan and it shocked not only his admirers and fellow-citizens but also those who had political differences with him. Our beloved Prime Minister mourned the loss in an affectionate manner and said that he always received unfailing courtesy and kindness at his hands. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was one of those few leaders of Pakistan who had full faith in mutual co-operation and goodwill and treated differences of opinion with generous toleration.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was born and bred in India. He was educated in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and the Allahabad University. He counted among his friends some eminent Indians, one of whom was Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the first editor of the *Leader* who had high regard for his liberal views. Politically he had leanings towards Congress ideals. It was he who drafted the famous Independence Resolution which was passed by the All-India Muslim League in 1937, the actual wordings of which were these:

"Resolved that the object of the All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic state in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution."

In spite of this clear declaration of his political conviction in unity and solidarity of one Indian nation he did subscribe later on to the view of the fantastic notion of the two-nation theory in India due to the necessity of political exigencies as adumbrated by the Muslim League. Whatever may have been his political views under the compelling influence of Muslim League politics, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan sincerely believed in the establishment of cordial relation between India and Pakistan. The Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of April 1950 is an obvious evidence of this fact. To quote his own words:

"It will inaugurate a new era in which we shall be able to settle mutually our common disputes which have resulted in growing dissensions between the two countries."

It is a matter of regret and disappointment that the agreement has not worked well. Dissensions between two countries have not yet ceased. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is not wholly to be blamed for the failure of this agreement. It is admitted on all hands that Prime Ministers cannot both frame and execute policies. The execution of policies is the task of officials. No agreement can possibly work efficiently if officials do not co-operate with the Government. We are reminded of the words of Mr. Ghulam Mohammad. Once he said, "Agreement between India and Pakistan has not been implemented because there had been high level agreements: officials at low level have taken the law into their hands and had infringed the agreements."

It is not only the officials but also the people of Pakistan who more often than not, took the law into their own hands and infringed agreements reached between India and Pakistan. They lack political in-

They are not sufficiently tolerant. They were wrongly led to believe that the Hindu population of their country was *Kafir*.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has full faith in mutual toleration. If all Pakistanis appreciated his noble attitude, there would have been no exodus on a large scale of Hindus from Pakistan and possibly no danger of war between the two dominions. Pakistan has had the misfortune of losing its popular Prime Minister at a time when she needed him most.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan rightly believed that all disputes whether domestic or international should be solved by peaceful methods. Let us remember that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan will have lost his life in vain if Pakistanis continue to preach what is called veiled violence.

He had a remarkable role to play in his own way, and he established his claim to eminence by playing it to the satisfaction of his chief the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah. As a finance minister in the Interim Government of Lord Wavell he produced a much-discussed budget. As a general Secretary of the Muslim League for many years he proved his skill as an organiser. It was in recognition of his valuable services that Mr. Jinnah elevated him to a high position, viz., the premiership of his new dominion. If Pakistan has attained a certain amount of stability and progress in the course of four momentous years, the credit goes to her premier. It will be sometime before we shall be in a position to take stock of his contribution to the creation and consolidation of Pakistan. The future historians alone will be in a position to adjudge his achievements and failures as one of its builders and administrators. Let us bear in mind the simple fact that if Pakistan is to survive, she must tread in the footsteps of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and try to produce at this hour of her national calamity leaders and officials who by their firmness and moderation can wean the people from the path of hatred, violence and war and unite them all for the constructive work of peace.



EVE OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder not to see them ashamed." SWIFT

I am writing this article on the eve of the general elections. Our people, to put it succinctly, should be exhorted by every responsible writer to exercise their franchise not wildly but wisely. They exercised it wildly during the last elections. That tragic mistake must, on no account, be allowed to be repeated. Circumstances have not been so favourable to us since then that we can afford to continue committing such Gargantuan blunders till the last syllable of recorded time. It is, perhaps, a counsel of perfection to expect any electorate—composed both of the ordinary run of men and of those whom Stevenson happily called "the more cultivated among the ignorant"—not to be led astray by the calculated wiles of the parties contesting the elections. These wiles are designed to catch them on the wrong foot. As far as our electorate was concerned it *had been* caught on the wrong foot in 1946. Our *soi disant* premier political organisation, the Congress, dangled the enticing carrot of "No creation of Pakistan save and except over our dead bodies" before the noses of the gullible public, and the gullible public duly succumbed to that blandishment. The Congress leaders were taken at their face-value. It must have caused them no end of merriment to witness how easily they could bamboozle the people. It was almost as though they could play on the people as on a stringed instrument.

THE EMBRACE OF DEATH

Was it not Barnum who put us wise to the supreme fact of life that a sucker is born every minute? I am certain that, during elections, a sucker is born every second; and that, in our hapless country, a sucker is born every *split* second. The result was that, as they had confidently anticipated, the Congress won the elections by a very comfortable majority, indeed. Their ruse succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. The electorate, in a manner of speaking, ate out of their hands. The poet has a line, "Ignorant of their doom the little victims played": I may say, likewise, that ignorant of their doom the electorate tripped over one another's heels to embrace our Congress leaders. It did not know, at the time, that it was an embrace of death: I am not sure it knows it now. That is why I am writing this article. I am afraid that it is still, after so many heart-rending disasters, under the old spell—even if it be conceded that the first fine careless rapture has departed beyond recall. A concatenation of circumstances has woven a halo around the Congress's head that can, with difficulty, be destroyed. The Congress is a name to conjure with: "there is magic in the web of it." It was the Congress that persistently led the freedom-movement in the country.

THE LIBERALS

It is, of course, conveniently forgotten that, for

well-nigh thirty-five years, the Congress had been in the hands of the much-maligned Moderates, later christened Liberals. It was these same Moderates, or Liberals, that had been responsible for instilling in us the craving for freeing ourselves from alien domination. It was Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopala Krishna Gokhale who made us politically-conscious in the days when the later darlings of the multitude were hardly heard of in the next street, not to speak of China, as Hazlitt puts it somewhere. It is their names, more than those of any others that will be inscribed, in letters of gold, on the roster of our freedom-struggle. It was only after 1920 that it fell to the lot of Mahatma Gandhi to hit the headlines as the undisputed leader of the Congress. The Gandhian Congress is thus only thirty years old. But public memory is notoriously short and the part that the Liberals played in our freedom-movement has been studiously ignored. If the Congress is still, as I have suggested, a name to conjure with, the credit for it must, in all fairness, be ascribed to the Liberals who held the fort for a longer period than the Gandhian Congressmen. These latter merely stepped into the breach created by the resignation of the former *en masse* from the organisation whose imposing edifice they had built, brick by brick, with their loving hands.

"IF YOU HAVE TEARS . . ."

I wish to put it on record that brave men lived before, as well as since, Agamemnon, and that if the Congress continues to enjoy a modicum of prestige today, notwithstanding its egregious errors (of commission, no less than of omission), it is more owing to the indefatigable labours of those much-maligned Liberals who first taught our people that there is a science called politics than to their cheap-jack successors who exhorted them in sundry devious ways to unlearn that instructive lesson. The Liberals made the Congress and the country: what their successors can legitimately boast of is that they have, of *malice prepense*, unmade both. If we have tears we must be prepared to shed them now: if we have none we must at least remain silent and not keep babbling about those successors' "achievements" as Falstaff, in his dotage, kept babbling about the green fields. In every other clime it has been experimentally proved that all men cannot be fooled all the time: should it be left to our clime alone to disprove that encouraging dictum? I have been at pains to indicate that this persistent slogan of Gandhian Congressmen that they (and none else) were the torch-bearers of our freedom is just a silly symphony and nothing more: there had been other, and mightier, Richmonds in the field.

STEALING THE THUNDER OF THE MAHASABHA

I have mentioned that, in 1946, our present

"Ma Baps" won the elections by the diabolically clever use of dangling before the gullible public the enticing carrot of "No Pakistan save and except over our dead bodies." By that detestable deception they were able to steal the thunder of the Hindu Mahasabha which had all along been fighting for the preservation of the precious unity of our beloved Motherland. They assured the electorate that, on the point of that preservation, there was not a pin to choose between themselves and the Mahasabhaitees: their ideology was the same, and, since that was so (they argued), the people would do well to vote for the older and the more popular organisation. That argument, specious in every part of it, sounded the death-knell of the hopes of the Hindu Mahasabha: the populace swallowed it—hook, line and sinker.

PAYING THE "ULTIMATE FORFEIT"

They did not stop to enquire why. *only during election-time*, our revered Congress leaders detected the fundamental concordance in the aims of both the parties and began paying homage to the precious unity of our beloved Motherland. *Before* the elections that enthusiasm had been conspicuous by its absence: Congressmen had been "caving in" to the ever-mounting demands of the Muslim League and I, for one, had no doubt whatever in my mind that they would not hesitate, should the contingency arise, to pay the "ultimate forfeit." This gradual "caving in" was with no other object than that of the final and most abject surrender. Step by step they had given in to Muslim intransigence until there was practically nothing more to be sacrificed by them.

TALKING WITH THEIR TONGUES IN THEIR CHEEKS

My contention is that the Congress *deliberately* misled the country during the last elections on the question of partition. When it promised that it would not yield an inch to the Quaid-e-Azam on the issue—no more than their rivals the Mahasabhaitees—it was manifestly talking with its tongue in its cheek and indulging in a portentous wink. Its past actions completely belied that alluring promise. If our countrymen had been a little bit wiser than they had given evidence of being at the time of the crucial test they would, of a certainty, not have risen to that bait: they would have confronted it with its previous record and told it that sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof and that those who wished to sup with it needed a long spoon. But our countrymen, as it unfortunately transpired, were not sufficiently wise and placed implicit reliance on those promises. The Congress thus came to power—and promptly went back on its word. The rest is current history.

ONCE BITTEN TWICE SHY

The point I am desirous of making is that in our relations with that monstrosity known as the Congress organisation our motto should be: "Once bitten twice shy." We have been bitten *more than once*. We should

thus be chary of giving further hostages to fortune in the shape of squandering away our child-like trust on a party whose word is notoriously not its bond and whose whole conception of politics is endless tergiversation with respect to the very people who had catapulted it into the seat of authority. The Congress (new style) has never had any undue consideration for the Hindus and, with the passing of time, has been having less and less of it still. It wants their votes tremendously, no doubt, but, after securing them, it just has no use for them. In its eyes the Hindus are "the lesser breeds without the law": they are mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Even where they are in a majority—and in a preponderating majority at that—they hardly count: *a fortiori*, where they are in a minority they do not count *at all*. It is a happy state of affairs for the Congress. It can say in the latter instance that, being in a minority, they (the Hindus) must, *ipso facto*, occupy an inferior position to that of the Muslims; and it can say, in the former instance, that, our State being "purely secular," their being in a majority—even in a preponderating majority—not only does not confer on them a superior position *vis-a-vis* the Muslims but, actually, confers on them an inferior position because, in the interests of "secularity," the Muslims must be treated very, very generously, indeed, thereby enabling them to forget that they are in a minority. The Hindus lose either way: their being in a majority does not help them, and their being in a minority is a positive hindrance to their well-being.

"SECULARISM"

The real meaning of "secularism" thus becomes pellucidly clear. "Secularism," according to the Congress's interpretation of it, is out-and-out pro-Muslimism. *It is the religion of appeasement*—that "putrefying albatross" which the Congress clamped on its neck decades ago for reasons peculiarly its own. I am writing this article on the eve of the general elections; and it is my duty to point out to my readers that, on November 15, Pandit Nehru told a public meeting at Pathankot that every vote for the Congress in the ensuing general elections "would be a vote for secularism." As though to clarify it further he proceeded to say:

"Every vote cast in favour of the Congress is a vote against communalism which has weakened the country."

"Secularism" will be a slogan to be reckoned with in the ensuing electoral fight and I should, therefore, like to linger a while over it so that our beloved Panditji may not be allowed to have the last word on the subject. There should be some one, among the 380 millions of our countrymen, to muster sufficient courage to stand up to him and say that, highly-gifted as he is, he has been talking drive—nauseating

drivel—and talking it, too, to buttress an extremely untenable position.

ABUSE OF WORDS

Of late he has been waxing even more “secular” than usual and we may be certain that, as the zero hour approaches, the spate of eloquence will swell into a roaring torrent that will submerge all the low-lying areas where the “communal” ogres hide their diminished heads in shame. I should, however, like to draw his attention to the fact that slogan-fed as the Congress has been since 1920 the slogan that has damaged the interest of the country most has been this one of “secularism” and none other. It started with a woeful abuse of words. Pandit Nehru is credited, in certain circles, with being a lord of language; and it is all the more intriguing, therefore, that he should have been responsible for this initial misinterpretation of the term. Nowhere in the world has it the connotation that he has imparted to it out of the cornucopia of his learning; and nowhere in the world has it been so systematically abused as he has, from an overweening sense of his coin of vantage, been abusing it. But I shall not go into that question now: when one becomes the Premier of a country one has (it is to be presumed) the fundamental right to invent new terms or to infuse new meanings into old ones; and when one combines in one's anointed person the twin posts of Premier of the country and of President of the caucus of which he is such a shining ornament one enjoys (it is to be further presumed) the other fundamental right of being intoxicated with the exuberance of his own verbosity.

COMING DOWN TO BRASS TACKS

Even taking Pandit Nehru's “secularism” at his own connotation of it, it behoves us to remind him that, doubtless with the best of intentions, he has been barking up the wrong tree from the moment he began his indefatigable researches into the meanings and applications of words. Charles Lamb divided mankind, broadly, into two classes—the borrowers and the lenders. Pandit Nehru divides the world or at least the Indian part of it, broadly, into two classes—the “secularists” (led by his illustrious self) and the “communalists.” I have no hesitation in saying that, in doing so, he has been doing less than justice to the latter and more than justice to the former. If we go right back to the days of partition any man with a head tightly screwed on to his shoulders and not loosely attached thereto will be impelled to arraign Pandit Nehru and his myrmidons at the bar of public opinion as rank “communalists” that gaily gave their imprimatur to the partitioning of our country on the basis of the pernicious “two-nation” theory that was propounded with a fanfaronade of trumpets, by those arch disruptionists in our midst, the Muslim Leaguers.

CONGRESSMEN ARE THE ARCH-COMMUNALISTS

Pandering endlessly to the whims of an arch-

communal organisation and cheerfully signing away a not inconsiderable portion of our beloved Motherland to them by way of a tacit acknowledgement of their preposterous claims is being not only communal but being communal with a vengeance, being communal without any *arrière-pensée* whatsoever. There can be no two opinions on the point. It is as plain as way to parish-church. No amount of Nehru-ian “broad-mindedness” can alter the fact that when one seeks one's spiritual home among communalists, naked and unashamed, communalists back, belly and sides, communalists that swear by their dastardly “-ism” and “no damned nonsense,” one is deep-dyed in communalism oneself and has no moral right to denounce others for their “parochialism,” real or imagined. Ever since that fatal year, 1920, the Congress has had no other policy or programme than that of ingloriously surrendering to every demand of the Muslims, of surrendering without so much as the semblance of a fight. It was so mortally afraid of wounding the susceptibilities of the Muslims that even when confronted with the notorious “Communal Award” of the then Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it decided neither to oppose nor to accept it. That “neither for nor against” attitude strengthened the Muslims in their conviction that the Congress, next to the British themselves, was their staunchest ally.

THE NEXT BIGGEST SURRENDER

The next biggest surrender on the part of the Congress was the resolution that its Working Committee passed in Calcutta a decade or so ago which contained within it the poisonous seed of partition. It was, as usual, a rambling affair that, while paying lip-service to the essential unity of our country in its earlier part, proceeded to affirm that its principle of non-violence being well-known it could not even “contemplate” the “coercing” of a unit that wanted to secede to remain within its parental fold. Thereby the creation of Pakistan was facilitated enormously. (Even Lord Wavell, it may be recalled, was compelled, by the sheer logic of facts, to stress the fundamental “geographical unity” of our country in his memorable Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta in December, 1943. It was left to our “secular” Congressmen to destroy it ruthlessly!) Sir Stafford Cripps was not slow to capitalise on it; and it was precisely with the help of this resolution that Acharya Kripalani was able to convince the A.-I. C. C. meeting that was convened hastily in June or July of 1947 in New Delhi for the express purpose of “ratifying” Pandit Nehru's acceptance of Lord Mountbatten's “June 3 Plan” on his sole responsibility—it was precisely with the help of this resolution, I repeat, that Acharya Kripalani was able to convince that A.-I.C.C. meeting that Pandit Nehru's impulsive action was only a natural corollary to it.

Of course, it never occurred to anyone to ask the

distinguished Acharya how it happened that Congressmen forgot the existence of this resolution when they unequivocally promised the electorate earlier that Mr. Jinnah would not get Pakistan "save and except over their dead bodies"!

THE REAL COMMUNALISTS

I have marshalled all these arguments to show that it does not lie in the mouth of Pandit Nehru to call those Hindus "communal" who have consistently been upholding the unity ideal—the same, be it remembered, that Lord Wavell himself had so vigorously countenanced in 1943 in his Calcutta address quoted above—and who have been ceaselessly lamenting the disastrous vivisection of our thrice-holy land. The real "nationalists" are these Hindus: the real "communalists" are, and have been, the Muslim Leaguers first and then our valiant Congressmen who surrendered to them without firing a single shot. Neither the Hindu Mahasabha, nor the R.S.S., nor the Ram Rajya Parishad, nor the Bharatiya Jan Sangh are "communal" bodies: it is the Congress that is the "communal" body *a outrage* and it is Pandit Nehru himself who, next to the Muslim Leaguers, is our "arch-communal" politician. He admitted cheerfully at that A.-I. C. C. meeting that was held in June or July 1947 that the "responsibility" for accepting the "June 3 Plan" was "wholly his own."

THAT SHOCK TREATMENT

And it was this same Panditji who bethought himself the other day of administering "a shock treatment" to the Congress organisation with a view to rooting out the "communal" elements that, according to his own testimony, had, since a year or so ago, been seeping into it. In the result he shocked himself into the Presidential *gadi* of the Congress. He is now the Compleat Dictator, though, to be sure, he has modestly disclaimed any dictatorial ambition. But did not Hamlet very nearly say that one may smile and smile and be a dictator? Besides, he has become a dictator only with the laudable object of curbing "Hindu communalism!" In his considered judgment "Hindu communalism" is a monster that has, for some time now, been raising its ugly head—from wherever it is that monsters generally do raise their ugly heads. Hindus, if we would believe him, have, of late, been forsaking the straight and narrow path that leads to that modern Mount Pisgah where that highest of all religions, "Secularism," has its venerable abode. It was a shock to him to discover that even some eminent Congressmen, like, for instance, Rajarshi Purushottamdas Tandon, the reigning Rashtrapathi, was "howling in the House of Rimmon." At any rate, before that arch-apostle of "secularism," Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Tandonji paled into complete insignificance!

SPOILING THE SHIP FOR A HA'PORTH OF TAR

So Tandonji had to go. Tandonji went. He departed in a blaze of glory. "Secularism" was again

safe. The Pandit delicately suggested to the A.-I.C.C. that that safety could best be preserved if, in addition to his onerous duties as the Prime Minister, he could be invested with the not less burdensome responsibilities of President of the Congress as well: ~~they~~ was such a thing, after all (was there not?), as spoiling the ship for a ha'porth of tar! An "infant democracy" like ours has to be nursed into an adult democracy; and what better way was there so to nurse it than the one that lay through the sylvan glades of dictatorship? Are we not still politically immature? That being so it is incumbent on us to choose a dictator who, while not sparing the rod, will make us, at some date in the distant future, politically mature. Thus, at one fell storke, as it were, our beloved Panditji administered his "shock treatment" to the country and combined in himself the twin posts of Premier and of Rashtrapathi. Shri Kidwai, who resigned from the Congress owing to the presence in it of "communalists" like Tandonji, has returned to its fold after the welcome purge of the latter. With Pandit Nehru as the Captain and Janab Kidwai Sahab as the Chief Mate the ship of our State can now be relied upon to be steered smoothly into the safe waters of "secularism." Pandit Nehru, as I pointed out earlier, told his audience at Pathankot on November 15 that, in the ensuing general elections, a vote cast for the Congress "would be a vote cast for secularism." The aforementioned "shock treatment," with its attendant consequences had also been in the nature of a vote cast for "secularism." The "Hindu Communalists" (thanks be!) were completely routed.

"UNDER WHICH KING, BESONIAN, SPEAK OR DIE!"

"Secularism" is thus the major issue in the coming general elections. "Under which King, Besonian, speak or die!" I have been at pains to indicate what "secularism" really means. It means pro-Muslimism raised to the *nth* degree. It means Appeasement with a capital "A". It means *further* ignoble truckling to Pakistani intransigence. A foretaste of it was given by Pandit Nehru after the assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16. That calamity, according to him, was bound to draw India and Pakistan closer together. It was a disaster as much to India as it was to Pakistan. He has suited his action to his word. He is going "all out" to support Pakistan's candidature to the seat in the Security Council shortly to be rendered vacant by India's retirement from it. It is *one more gesture!* Nor have we been left in any doubt about it.

As the Special Correspondent in New Delhi of the *Times of India*, writing in its issue of November 16, unctuously says:

"India's decision to support Pakistan is regarded here as the latest proof of her desire to restore friendly relations with Pakistan which has been evident since the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan."

The Indian decision is, however, in refreshing contrast to that of Pakistan who did not vote in favour of India when a similar election to the Security Council took place in 1949. Actually, bitter campaigning by Pakistan was carried on against India being elected to the Security Council on that occasion."

ONE-WAY TRAFFIC

It is thus clear that the more Pakistan kicks us the more "secular" our Government becomes. (It was, by the way, during this period of further appeasement that Pakistani soldiers made a new series of incursions into Assamese villages!) There has been no sign on Pakistan's part that similar brotherly gestures will be forthcoming from *its* side. But why should there have been any such sign? Pakistan knows fully well that, without putting itself to that unnecessary trouble, it can wangle what it wants from our side. Putting itself to that unnecessary trouble would, in the circumstances, be what Shakespeare has called "a wasteful and ridiculous excess." "Secularism" is a purely one-way traffic: the Hindus—even after partition—must, forsooth, be hundred per cent "secular": the Muslims, on the contrary, may continue to be "communal" to their hearts' content. "Secularism" should be *our* "doxy": to be eternally communal, however, is the Muslims' privilege,—*prerogative*, rather. They are the modern *Herrenvolk*. They have the best of both the dominions. They are terrifically at ease in Sion.

THAT CURIOUS DICHOTOMY

The point is—why should they not be? They cannot help securing endless advantages if ours is a thoroughly impotent State. They are going to secure more still in the Paris talks on Kashmir between Dr. Frank Graham and the delegates from India and Pakistan. Shri B. N. Rau has already blessed the Graham Report. Shri D. P. Dhar, former Deputy Home Minister of Kashmir and another Indian delegate to the General Assembly, has done the same. The happy ending in Kashmir seems to be, at long last, in sight. In Indo-Pak disputes it need hardly be stressed where, precisely, the happiness is bound to reside—in India or in Pakistan. It was wittily remarked of Pitt that he would drink the wine and that the Clerk of the House of Commons would get the headache. A similar bizarre dichotomy prevails in Indo-Pak affairs: *we* get the headache while our enviable brethren across the border drink the wine. The four-year old Kashmir imbroglio may, as I have hinted, very well have an ending during the Paris parleys. Whether it is likely to be a "happy" ending and, if so, which country (India or Pakistan) is destined to be "happy" remains to be seen: though, if the past, as they say, is any index of the future, even the merest tyro in politics can venture a prophecy in the matter.

WANTED: A CHANGE OF POLICY

I do not feel myself called upon to apologise to my readers for writing at such length on "secularism." Pandit Nehru dissertates at greater length upon it.

The words come trippingly on his tongue when that topic is to the fore. I am not in a position to say whether he saws the air too much with his hands: but I am certain that he tears the passion to tatters, to very rags. He "o'erdoes Termagant." The case for "secularism" has been trotted out far too often: it is but meet that the case *against* it should also be allowed a fair innings. I have defined "secularism" as the religion of appeasement. Pandit Nehru has recently admitted that he *has* been appeasing Pakistan. He admitted it, however, with an unmistakable air of triumph. There was such a swagger, such a braggadocio, in his admission that one had no option but to suspect that that policy had come to stay, be the consequences what they might. His decision to support Pakistan's candidature to the Security Council, even though Pakistan had gone *out of its way* in 1949 to thwart India's chances in the same contest, fully bears out one's serious misgivings. It is, therefore, imperative that the electorate should be enabled to know what irreparable damage that policy has already done to the country. If that policy continues to be followed the damage to the country may well-nigh be staggering.

RECIPROCITY

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee has been reiterating time out of mind that "reciprocity" should, in future, take the place of "secularism" in our dealings with our extremely considerate neighbour. In this he is eminently right: a bully should be told where he gets off. It will do him a world of good. It has been said that a nation's foreign policy ought to be one of "enlightened self-interest." In our foreign policy with respect to Pakistan this enlightened self-interest has been conspicuous by its absence. We give—and Pakistan takes. Pakistan kicks us—and we lick its feet. There is neither self-interest nor enlightenment in such a policy. *Only once did we put it into practice—and it paid us handsome dividends.* When, a few months ago, a Pakistani brigade rushed into the Poonch area in Kashmir, Pandit Nehru massed our troops on the Pak border. That gave the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan "furiously to think." He had to unclench his fists. He had to simmer down considerably. I do not think Pandit Nehru has had cause to regret that decision of his to sit up and take notice at last. The *one* occasion when he took a strong line *vis-a-vis* Pakistan brought him a large recompense. Why, then, does he not profit by that heartening experience? Whenever he tried "secularism" in relation to Pakistan he failed miserably: when he—*just for once*—tried "reciprocity" he won—*hands down*. The moral is plain: a bully must be paid back in his own coin. Pakistan understands only the simple language of "reciprocity" and not the complicated lingo of "secularism."

CONGRESS'S "ACHIEVEMENTS"

The party in power catalogues its "achievements"•

when going to the polls. The Congress's achievements are "writ large" on the faces of the refugees and on the countenance of the country itself. It is a tale of immitigable woe. Misery meets the eye wherever it turns. The picture is one of "inspissated gloom," in Dr. Johnson's celebrated phrase. We are supping full of horrors. Famine stalks the land. Cloth is scarce. Money is tight. There are no amenities of any description. Four years after "independence" the common man is worse off than he had ever been before. Independence has left a bitter taste in his mouth. A tree is judged by its fruits. Judged thus, the Congress comes off very badly, indeed. It accepted partition in a tarnation hurry. Nearly all our present ills are traceable to that impetuous action. Congressmen themselves now admit it: *only*, after admitting it they do not, as they should, go down on their knees before the people and crave their pardon. Indeed, they still put on airs as the saviours of the country. *Anywhere else* they would have been hounded out of office long ago. But here they continue to "sit pretty." Like the camonile which, as the poet says, the more it is trodden on the more it thrives, the more they are ruining our beloved Motherland the more they are growing in pomp and circumstance. Verily, the peacock has nothing on them!

THE CONTRAST

One of the Congress's greatest achievements is that while it has tacitly acquiesced in the ousting of the Hindus from Pakistan and in the treatment of the few that still contrive to remain there as helots it has taken good care to see that the Muslims here get the fairest of deals imaginable. They can go to Pakistan and return and go to Pakistan again—and while here can live without the slightest apprehension about their safety. Their allegiance is too facilely taken for granted. A Khaliqzaman swears loyalty to India and overnight leaves for Pakistan and there starts a raging and tearing campaign against India. A Hussain Imam does the same. Ever so many Muslims follow in the illustrious footsteps of these two. Pakistan is still the spiritual home of the bulk of the Muslims: to them, as a character in a Dickens' novel puts it, "Colin's the friend, not Short." But our Government, in the tiresome name of "secularism," affects to turn a blind eye to their *parti pris*. The Muslims' property in India is as safe as, if not safer than, that in Pakistan. India has become a gigantic "safe deposit vault" for them. The Evacuee Property Act that our authorities have passed, after an unconscionable delay, has not, to put it mildly, helped the refugees overmuch; and in the few instances where they could be helped (in a vague sort of way) there has never been any knowing when New Delhi would take it into its Quixotic head to intervene and rescue the Muslim concerned from a tight corner.

Only the other day, for instance, Mr. Achhru

Ram, the Custodian-General, came to grief for having ventured to use the Act in the manner in which it should have been used. I am not just now concerning myself with the details of that controversy. The broad outlines are that the Muslim millionaire involved was given a "No Objection" certificate by our altruistic Government whereby he got his property of well over 60 lakhs restored to him. No amount of legal quibbling on the part of our rulers about the *minutiae* of the dispute can alter the essentials. The Muslims here somehow do get rescued out of tight corners by our arch-apostles of "secularism": the recent Chhatiwala case has but highlighted a glaring anomaly. A parallel to that in Pakistan with a Hindu involved can hardly be visualised: imagination boggles at it. In Pakistan, the "Kaffir" must be hounded out and his property confiscated, there being nothing in the nature of a restraining influence, in the nature of a *quid pro quo*, over here, to halt it in its insensate course. If Pakistanies had but apprehended that Muslims in India would receive a *similar* treatment they would, without question, have been on their best behaviour. But they have known all along that our "purely secular" Government would, in Hamlet's exquisite phrase "crook the pregnant hinges of its knees" to them, whatever be their heinous offences against the minority community in their midst. We assure them *beforehand* that no matter what they choose to do to the Hindus over there the interests of the Muslims here will be protected to the uttermost. This is tantamount to giving them a blank cheque, as it were. Nowhere in the world would such a humiliating situation have been tolerated. But when a Government hitches its wagon to the star of "secularism" no absurdity, I suppose, can be ruled out. Hindu lives do not matter. Hindu honour does not matter. Hindu wealth does not matter: what matters (and matters a great deal) is the safeguarding of Muslim lives, Muslim honour, Muslim wealth!

OUST THE CONGRESS FROM POWER

The question is: In view of what I have related above will our people be inclined to vote the Congress into power again? If they are so inclined they fully deserve all their present miseries (and a few more). Let them not be deterred from voting against them by the unwarranted consideration whether there is any other party to take over the reins of Government if the Congress loses in the elections. That red herring had been trailed by the British Government across our path *ad nauseam*. But we know that when the British relinquished power there *were* people to take it over. There will—I doubt not—be people to "take over" if the Congress also, in its turn, lays down authority: there are as many fish in the sea as ever came out of it! The hour will produce the men. The important thing is first to oust the Congress from office: the rest will follow automatically.

PREVAILING MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT BHARATA NATYA

By E. KRISHNA IYER, ADVOCATE

WHEN Anna Pavlova, the celebrated Russian ballerina, visited India with her dance troupe in 1929, and wanted to see for herself the much heard of 'bayaderes of great beauty and grace dancing sacred dances in temples and secular ones at feasts,' nobody could give her any definite information about the existence of Bharata Natya and its exponents in South India. Her biographer has written, "Those Hindus who had seen these dances in certain temples in far-away places spoke without any particular enthusiasm. There are no schools of dancing in India and it is an art in which nobody is interested." Such was the pitiable condition of Bharata Natya in the 1920s. When Rabindranath Tagore revived the Manipuri style, Uday Shankar and Menaka the Kathak mode and Poet Vallathol the Kathakali, Bharata Natya was only a distant and mysterious name and not an art known enough to be worthy of being handled by the then globe-trotters or seen by respectable cultured people!

It required the pioneering services of an art-minded young advocate* of Madras to take it up boldly, initiate its revival by his own precept and practice, fight for its cause against the anti-naught leaders, create respect, popularity and a cultured audience for it and to usher in its renaissance in the early 1930s after years of hard work. In the wake of that renaissance came up successive artists of repute like Balasaraswathi and Rukmini Devi, who pushed it up and Ramgopal crowned it by presenting the art to Western audiences and gaining appreciation too for it, as the most classical and refined among Indian dance styles.

Though as a result of all these, Bharata Natya has become immensely popular in India and Ceylon and earned much esteem in Western countries, it is not free from another set of misconceptions entertained by many Indian and foreign writers about its real nature. Most of these writers facetiously assume, that it is nothing but a solo dance of women, that it is intended to interpret only love themes, that it is not to be touched by men, that it

cannot have any dramatic interest and that such interest is to be found only in Kathakali. Such misconceptions are perhaps due to the fact, that most of those who deal with Indian dance art, have seen only one form of Bharata Natya, whose revival has been well established and not seen or do not know enough of other forms which are just being revived now.



Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury, the celebrated dancer

As a matter of fact, what is now popularly known as "Bharata Natya" is only one of three forms of the old generic system of dance art which went by that same name. In South India, that form was for long known only as 'Sadir Natya' or 'nautch' or 'Dasi Attam.' It was in the hands of professional Devadasi women and it is that solo-dance form that is now practised with enthusiasm by cultured family ladies also. Besides that, there have been and there are still, two other forms of Bharata Natya, namely, the 'Bhagavata Mela' dance-dramas of Tanjore villages depicting heavy Puranic stories and the lighter 'Kuravanji' ballets, wherein the love-sick heroine is encouraged and helped to attain her object by a fortune-telling gipsy woman.

In all these three forms, the same technique of Bharata Natya with its rhythmic patterns of Adavuthis, Sollukattus, Thirmanams and Abhinaya is employed,

* The young advocate mentioned above is the author of this article, E. Krishna Iyer. If by profession, he had been a lawyer first and then Editor of the *Free Press* daily and other papers and magazines, he had also been a prominent political worker as a Congress Satyagrahi and a popular City Father of the Madras Corporation Council. But more than all these, it is the art that has been the dominating feature of his life and work for over 25 years. As one of the chief founders of the Madras Music Academy, he led the way for the revival of Carnatic music. He was the earliest pioneer who took to Bharata Natya in the 1920s when it was threatened with oblivion and death and brought in a sweeping renaissance in it by his own dancing and propaganda. By further sustained work he took the art out of the hands of decadent professional Devadasis and made cultured and respectable family women take to it. His book *Personalities in Present Day Music* published in 1933 has been the first work of its kind in India in a critical study of contemporary art and artistes in music and dance.

though in different degrees for a different purpose in each. From before the time of Saraboji, the Tanjore King, the Devadasi Sadir-nautch as the *Nattuva Mela* and the dance-drama of Brahmin Bhagavatars as the *Bhagavata Mela* had been flourishing side by side and the latter is still surviving in some of the Tanjore villages and in a decrepit stage in Kutchpudi village of Andhra Desa also.



The great dancer Ramgopal (left) and the author E. Krishna Iyer

In these dance-dramas as in Kathakali, it is only men that take part and personate male and female characters. Female characters expound not only their respective character-dances but also items familiar in Sadir-nautch, like Alarippu, Jathiswara, Varna and Thillana on appropriate occasions. One has got to be well trained first in the same technique as that of Sadir-nautch before he can take up a character in these dance-dramas. The dances of male characters pertinently differ from those of feminine characters in form. But both are based on the same technique.

Soolamangalam Sitarama Bhagavatar, Merattur Natesa Iyer and Oothukad Swami Bhagavatar among others of the last generation were renowned as great experts in Bharata Natya dance and *abhinaya*, whose art had been the envy of even reputed Devadasi artistes of their time. Even in these days of comparative decadence in this dance-drama tradition, the famous Varnam 'Bhanike Thakujanara' in Thodi raga is a coveted item. The *abhinaya* of the Bhagavata Mela art is considered to

be purer and more Shastric than that of the Sadir-nautch. The *sollukattus* or rhythmic syllables of its dances are rendered in tune with *ruthi* and hence more melodious than those of the Sadir-nautch. While the *Nattuvu Mela* form of Sadir-nautch is solo and lyrical with 'Sringara' or love theme cloyingly predominating, the Bhagavata Mela form of Bharata Natya is full of dramatic interest with many actor-dancers taking part in it and of varied themes and *rasas*.

It may also be noted here, that in a former generation, the illustrious Krishna Bhagavatar of Kalakshepam fame had danced and expounded *abhinaya* as a man with great effect in his performances. Even in Sadir-nautch, the oldest and greatest living teacher Meenakshisundaram Pillai of Pandanallur himself has given his considered opinion, that certain aspects of it can be handled by attractive young men also and he followed it up by teaching it to Ramgopal of international repute with pleasure. That great dancer as a man presented it before Western audiences and earned appreciation too for it. Above all, the great Bharata himself never intended his Bharata Natya to be any exclusive preserve of women. According to him, it meant a drama enacted by male and female characters with dance and *abhinaya*, among other things, in his technique and the extant Bhagavata Mela dance-drama tradition happens to be the nearest approach to it.

In view of all these, Bharata Natya is to be taken as a great generic system of classical Indian dance art, the common technique of which is applied and applicable in different forms for different purposes. It is not exhausted by the lyrical solo Sadir-nautch of the Devadasis, nor is it devoid of dramatic interest and value, nor are men taboo in it. Present-day development of art and its conceptions being what they are, some critics cannot be satisfied by Bharata Natya except perhaps by the sex appeal of a woman in it!

Social inhibitions have for ages disapproved of women mixing up with men in ordinary dramas and dance-dramas on the stage in India and later prejudices stood in the way of respectable people witnessing and appreciating the dance of Devadasi women. Hence arose the practice of young men personating female characters in dramas and acting and dancing in female costume. In spite of present-day trends in relaxing such social inhibitions, they still persist. It may remind one of similar practices in the Elizabethan days of England. However much we may wish to modernise our notions and practices, we have also to face facts as they are and look at things in the proper perspective, especially regarding our traditional arts and their associated conventions and make the best use of them for further progress. No purpose can be achieved by merely misconceiving or misrepresenting the nature of our traditional arts or ridiculing long-recognised conventions like attractive young men taking to dance as men or in female costume.

After all, art experience, in one sense, is the result of successful illusion transcending realism; and under-

standing people judge of art more by the quality of its form as expounded on the stage, than by looking into the sex of the dancer. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating of it. If a young man gifted with a specially attractive personality is actually found to expound Bharata Natya more convincingly and charmingly than many girl artistes, there need be no further argument about its propriety or otherwise. According to a Western writer on art, "There can be no real artiste who has not the characteristics of both the sexes." The late renowned Nijinsky of Russian ballet was one such real artiste and he is said to have excelled his contemporary ballerinas in dance to the extent of rousing envy in the latter.

No doubt there is a special charm in the lyrical solo Sadir-nautch form of Bharata Natya. But by its very nature, its interest and appeal are limited and it may get hackneyed to the point of boredom. The future of dance art in India lies in developing dance-dramas and ballets of varied themes and interest. Perhaps it is some cons-

ciousness of this trend, that has induced Rukmini Devi to go in more for this aspect of the art than the solo one nowadays and Balasaraswathi too to take to Kuravanji.

Ballet—a sort of dance-drama, is considered to be the highest and most spectacular form of dance-art in Western countries. Some of our art-lovers, in their enthusiasm to develop similar forms in India also, want to import Western modes into our arts. That it is not necessary and that we have ample materials in our own country to help towards such consummation, can be realised from the still surviving classical dance-dramas and Kuravanji ballets. It is enough if we take in some ideas from Western modes for improving our stage settings and presentation and we need not borrow any technique from elsewhere. Such being the case, it is time that ill informed prejudices against attractive young men taking to Bharata Natya are given up and the nature and details of the extant dance-drama tradition of South India are better known to the public.

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THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA. American National Park Area

By MABEL OTIS ROBINSON

FRONTIERS always have appealed to the American people, drawing them westward and northward to settle new lands and to marvel at new vistas. Today, however, very few frontiers are left, and most of those in the United States have been set aside by the Government as National Parks for the education and enjoyment of the people. Visiting these parks, most of which are vast, rugged regions almost untouched by man, a twentieth-century American can appreciate the tremendous odds against which his forefathers struggled in exploring and settling the nation.

One of the most fabulous of these virgin land areas is the Olympic Peninsula, a territory in the Pacific Coast State of Washington which embraces Olympic National Park, Olympic National Forest, and a vast surrounding spread of land where nature displays her primitive splendor. This area is so large that mileage figures total 350 miles on the road that rings the Peninsula. This broad Olympic Loop Highway is the only one which completely encircles one range of mountains, the Olympics. It is one of the most scenic drives on the North American continent. The highway can be entered from several points, one of them at Port Townsend which is reached by a

ferry trip across Puget Sound from the cities of Seattle or Tacoma.

The highway from Port Townsend twists along wooded shores to Discovery Bay, a sheltered harbor



A modern highway borders one of the lakes in the national park of the Olympic Peninsula, a wilderness area on the Pacific Coast

where the ships of the English navigator Captain George Vancouver anchored in 1792 on the first voyage of discovery through Puget Sound. Just beyond Port Townsend is Port Angeles, famous for its pastel sun-

the United States offer such an inspiring panorama of forest, sea, and mountain scenery.

For several miles the Loop Highway follows the northern shore of Lake Crescent, whose sapphire blue waters mirror the surrounding mountains. Near the lake are two interesting resort hotels near hot mineral springs.

Many visitors to the Olympic Peninsula go by pack train or on foot into the really virgin country, camping out, delving into hidden canyons, climbing glaciers, and penetrating mountain meadows tucked away in unexpected places. The Loop Highway also carries the visitor into lumbering country where even temperatures and heavy winter rainfalls produce amazing rapid growths of hemlock, spruce, and pine. In this area are the unique rain forests. Lichen and ferns entangle the trees which cascade long streamers of yellow and brown vines. Thick moss lies beneath the ferns and seedlings spring up underfoot. Roads drop into mountain glens where sunlight rarely penetrates. On rainy days, the thick foliage is a great umbrella, covering a land of mystery. At twilight the spruce stand dark and the hemlocks cut delicate silhouettes against



American vacationers pitch camp in the shadow of the Olympic mountains in the Pacific Coast State of Washington

sets and for its rippling waters which have a heavy run of salmon every year.

From Port Angeles the traveller has a view across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, a 2,000-mile inlet in the Pacific Ocean. This strait is bordered by mighty forests, towering mountains, cities, and towns. Great ships from every nation traverse its waters. It is dotted with green islands, between which graceful yachts and noisy motor boats move. On Vancouver Island across the Strait is the quaint Canadian city of Victoria, a bit of old England transplanted to the new world.

From Port Angeles, a road branches south toward Hurricane Ridge, following the route along the Ridge which was the one taken by the first party of explorers of the interior of the Peninsula. Thousands of elk, protected by the U. S. Forest Service, are scattered through this district, as well as many bears.

From Hurricane Ridge the grand peaks of the Olympic Mountains rise in all directions, and also in range of vision are Mount Baker and Mount Rainier, Vancouver Island, and the Strait of Georgia. Few other places in



The Olympic Peninsula offers the traveller a variety of scenery including rugged coast-lines such as this

the sky. Only in the morning does the sun manage to cast young, short shadows into the encircling gloom of this deep, green forest wilderness.

Many of the pack trails through the Olympic Penin-

sula are very difficult, testing the traveller's endurance by leading him along winding ledges above canyons through which rush the swift waters of snow-fed streams. But if he is able to withstand the rigors of such a trip he will be repaid by heavenly flower meadows, glaciers of solemn dignity spreading into great ice fields, wild life sanctuaries where elk, deer, and black bears roam, where mountain goats leap the peaks and eagles nest in the craggy mountain heights.

The broad, tranquil Quinault Lake is a fisherman's paradise. It is also the starting place for guided canoe trips to the Pacific Ocean. These dugout canoes hold seven or eight people and are motor-powered. In them, the visitor glides across the Lake into a river which winds through deep forests and then whirls into the rapids on its final dash to the Pacific Ocean.

Along a hundred miles of the irregular shore line of the Olympic Peninsula the mighty waters of the Pacific pound. Huge cliffs plunge into the ocean,

misted in spray. Trees, stunted by generations of wind and weather, cling tenaciously to rock or shallow soil. Down the coast is the huge inlet of Grays Harbor on whose banks are three towns supported by lumbering and fishing industries. Turning inland, the traveller can follow a road going north along the 70-mile arm of the sea known as Hood Canal. This Canal is actually a channel gouged out by glaciers centuries ago and flanked today by a broad highway.

American conservationists believe that the preservation of wild life sanctuaries and forest reserves and recreational areas is essential to the national well-being. Vast as they are, the national parks of the Olympic Peninsula and of other sections of the nation represent only one per cent of the total land area of the United States but an area sufficiently large to contribute much to the nation when used for conservation purposes, or for recreation.—From *Trailways Magazine*.

O:—

THE ENGLISH JUDICIARY AND THE TRIAL OF NANDAKUMAR At Calcutta in the 18th Century

By SANAT KUMAR SARKAR,
Ex-Secretary, Calcutta University Historical Society

FOUNDATION OF CALCUTTA

BENGAL witnessed the entry in the province of the European merchants in large numbers with the foundation of a Dutch factory at Chinsura in 1625. The English first stepped into Bengal on the authority of a *Firman* permitting them to carry on trade there in 1634, and established factories at Hooghly, Dacca, Rajmahal, Malda and other places. Within a few years the trade of the English Company in this province grew steadily both in volume and in value. The Company looked to Bengal for the regular supply of saltpetre to Europe. They also exported a large quantity of silk and silk goods. Sugar and cotton were also articles of export and by 1689, it was found that the investments of the Company had risen up to £15,000.

The rupture having occurred with Shaista Khan, Nawab Nazim (Governor of the province in Muhammedan times) of Bengal in October 1686, the English left Bengal and retired to Madras. It was in August 1690, the English under Job Charnock, "a man of courage without military experience" as described by Orme, a distinguished historian, landed again at Sutanatep and erected a few huts at the place which was destined to grow into the capital of the British Empire in India. In 1696, a local rebellion provided an excuse for fortifying their factory and building a fort there called Fort-William. This old fort, which served as the Company's ware-house and was

re-built and re-shaped in course of time, lost its importance when Calcutta was recaptured from Nawab Serajuddoulah in 1757 and disappeared in *toto* during the administration of Marquis of Hastings. Its location and site was a matter of much controversy and created many conjectures, which came to an end when the whole north end of the fort was found in course of erecting E. I. Railway office in Calcutta in 1882. The discovery of a large map of old Calcutta dated 1753 in King's library in the British Museum in the year 1889 decided finally its exact site and location.

By virtue of a *Nishan* (permission) obtained from Prince Azim-usha-shan, Mughal Governor and grandson of Aurangzeb in 1698, the Company purchased from the existing holders the right and titles of three villages Sutanatee, Govindpur and Calcutta at an annual rent of Rs. 1200 and obtained the status of Zamindars in Bengal. The copy of *Binamah* (deed of purchase) dated 9th November 1698 bearing the seal of the Quazi and signatures of Zamindars is still preserved in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. No. 24039).

Calcutta was raised to the rank of a Presidency and was named "Fort William in Bengal" and a President and Council were appointed to administer it in 1699.

The erection of Fort William and acquisition of Zamindary rights gave the Company not only a *locus standi* in Bengal but also acted as the foundation of the

two pillars upon which the English Company's political and commercial supremacy in India rested.

The first President was one Mr. John Beard. No law-courts had yet been established.

THE ENGLISH ZAMINDARY COURTS

The Judicatures that the Company set up at the outset in Calcutta were based upon the Company's position as zamindars of three townships. First stood the court of Cutcherry composed of the President and Council or any three members of the Council. The Zamindary or Fauzdary Cutcherry in which one of the members of the Council presided, formed the second court and the head of this Cutcherry was known as Zamindar of Calcutta. The third court called the

appears to have gone into his pocket. Besides these, he was deeply engaged in private trade and was given huge presents by parties to decide the causes in their favour.

Among the Company's many servants who filled this lucrative and covetable post, the name of John Zepheniah Holwell stands singularly prominent and worth mentioning. Holding the post of Zamindar of Calcutta from 1752 to 1758, he rendered a notable service in that capacity and showed extraordinary talent and indomitable energy to eradicate countless abuses and corruptions that crept into the post of Zamindar with the approval of the Court of Directors. It is he who discovering that all the important and

invaluable documents of the Company prior to 1737 had either been lost or destroyed due to the carelessness and negligence of the Company's subordinates as well as to the freaks of Nature, decided to preserve them systematically from 1732. Holwell's *India Tracts*, published by him, contain useful information regarding Calcutta.

One Babu Govindram Mitter, whose descendants are yet an accredited family in Calcutta, acted as Deputy Zamindar or Dewan to the Zamindar from 1720 to 1756 and accumulated considerable wealth.

The functions of the Collector, the head of the Collector's Cutcherry, were mainly to issue under the Company's seal, the leases called *Pattahs* to the inhabitants for the



Street view of Dalhousie Square in the latter part of the 18th century showing (1) South-eastern portion of old Fort William, (new G.P.O.) and Calcutta Collectorate Office, (2) Holwell's Monument removed in 1940 and (3) Writters' Buildings still existing

Collector's Cutcherry came into existence ever since the Company had anything to do with the collection of ground rent. Studying the consultations of the Council of 1704 and 1706, it can be avowed that the Courts of Cutcherry were established in 1704. *De facto* the same person filled the post of Zamindar and Collector in the early period.

The functions of the Zamindar whose Cutcherry was situated in Calcutta were to farm out lands and to punish the tenants who failed to pay rent by way of confinement and whipping. The Zamindar acted in a double capacity, each distinct and independent of the other, one as the Superintendent and Collector of revenue, the other as the judge or presiding officer of the Zamindary Cutcherry, a tribunal constituted for hearing, trying and determining all matters both civil and criminal, wherein the subjects of the Mughal Emperor were concerned. In case of capital punishment he was empowered to give judgment but only the approbation of the President and Council was necessary when lash was inflicted till death. The salary attached to the post was Rs. 2,000 per month. The bulk of the receipts

tenures of their houses and grounds and to dispose of the petty farms, which constituted part of the revenue of the town of Calcutta.

From *Pattahs* (a simple form of lease in respect of lands mentioning the name of persons to whom lands were given and the rent to be paid) granted to the individuals the names of the English Zamindars and Collectors are known to us. The registration of several *Pattahs* carrying the signature of Zamindar Holwell during the invasion of Calcutta still exists.

After the re-capture of Calcutta, one Mr. Collet was the only Zamindar under that designation existent till 1759 when he was succeeded by the first Collector or Collector-General, Mr. William Frankland (to which title the office appears to have altered). In the latter part of the century, the duties devolved upon, and assigned to, the Collector were distributed amongst the Justices of the Peace, the Custom Master and Mayor's Court. The majority of records of this office except the copies of *Pattahs* of Calcutta ground rent collections were destroyed in 1756. During the period

between 1758 to 1775 *Pattahs* were given by the Collector as well as the Collector-General.

It must be noted that the courts long established by Mughal authorities existed in Calcutta also.

With the introduction of Mayor's Court instances are not rare when a wrangle ensued between Zamin-dary Courts and Mayor's Court over the powers and jurisdiction of them. Thus, it is found that in 1758 Holwell protested that "bulk of the causes that came before the Cutcherry were sums cognisable by Mayor's Court" and on 1st March, 1754, Mayor's Court wrote to the Court of Directors, complaining that the Collector refused at their command to release a person who had been confined and who was a party to a cause brought into their court.

of appointment of Mayor and Aldermen was vested in the Governor or President of the Council. According to some historians, Mayor was elected annually by Aldermen from among themselves. The post of Mayor was for life and the President and Council were entitled to remove Mayor or Aldermen upon reasonable grounds. This court was declared to be a Court of Record also and empowered to try and determine all civil suits and actions. It had, too, the authority to grant Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration to the effects of intestates. The court house of the Mayor was situated at Old Court House Street in Calcutta. Mayor's Court, also, had jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters over the Europeans, but with the consent of the parties suits between Indians were



Sir Robert Chambers

MAYOR'S COURT

The insistence of the Court of Directors (a petition submitted by the Court of Directors to the Crown for the introduction of Judicature in India, existing in India Office Records Department, *Correspondence Memoranda*, Vol. 9) compelled the British Crown to grant a Letters Patent, which established three judicatures in Calcutta exercising jurisdiction over the British subjects residing in India, the Indians in employment of the Company and the persons who voluntarily placed themselves under these courts. These courts came into existence by a Charter in 1726, by which the President and Council were declared Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminar and Gaol Delivery which were to hold Quarter Sessions. A Mayor and Aldermen were appointed to form Mayor's Court and the President and Council were constituted the Government Court of Record to hear appeals from Mayor's Court.

Mayor's Court was composed of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of whom with Mayor were required to be natural born British subjects, the remaining might be protestants or subjects of any state or Prince in amity with Great Britain. The power



Sir Elijah Impey

allowed to be entertained. Later on, it was decided that Mayor's Court had no jurisdiction over them.

COURT OF OYER AND TERMINAR AND GAOL DELIVERY

This court was authorised to hold Quarter Sessions for trial of all criminal offences excepting high treason. (*Oyer and Terminar*, a special commission often issued by the King to certain honest and lawful men directing them to enquire into the truth of some special trespass or other wrongs of which complaints were made to the Government)

GOVERNMENT COURT OF RECORD

The President and Council was a Government Court of Record to which appeals from Mayor's Court were made.

These courts were created ostensibly with a view to check the corruptions that became rampant amongst the Company's officials and to ameliorate the sufferance of the inhabitants of Calcutta from the oppression of the Company's subordinates and other free English merchants. This ended in a fiasco. The inherent defects lying with the constitution of these courts were revealed with their inception. Mayor's Court which

owed its origin to, and depended for its very existence upon the President and Council remained a tool in their hands and were constrained reluctantly or wilfully to decide the causes in favour of the parties who appeared before the court with favour and patronage extended by them in clear violation of the existing laws. The result was that disrespect of law and travesty of justice centred round the Mayor's Court. Many queer incidents and anecdotes have been narrated in respect of decisions made and judgments pronounced by Mayor's Court. In addition to these, disputes frequently took place between Mayor's Court and Zamindary Courts over their powers and jurisdiction.



Justice Hyde

To remedy the manifold defects arising out of these courts and of which the high command of the Company had complained, the Charter of Mayor's Court was superseded by a new Charter in 1753, which re-oriented and re-established Mayor's Court again in Calcutta with some amendments. By this new Charter, another court called Court of Request was founded in Calcutta. Both these courts were made subject to a control on the part of the Court of Directors who were empowered to make "bye-laws, rules, ordinances for the good government and regulation of several courts of judicatures established in India."

COURT OF REQUEST

It consisted of 24 Commissioners selected from among the inhabitants of Calcutta. It decided the matter in dispute of a debt which did not exceed 40 shillings. Complaints were heard on every Thursday and three members formed the Bench or Court. Indian residents of Calcutta were first chosen, then European traders only were selected as its members. From this time the Court of Quarter Sessions commenced only to take cognisance of offences accused of high crimes, such as murder and treason.

SUPREME COURT

After Plassey the Company acquired a large territory and obtained a stronghold in Bengal. Over

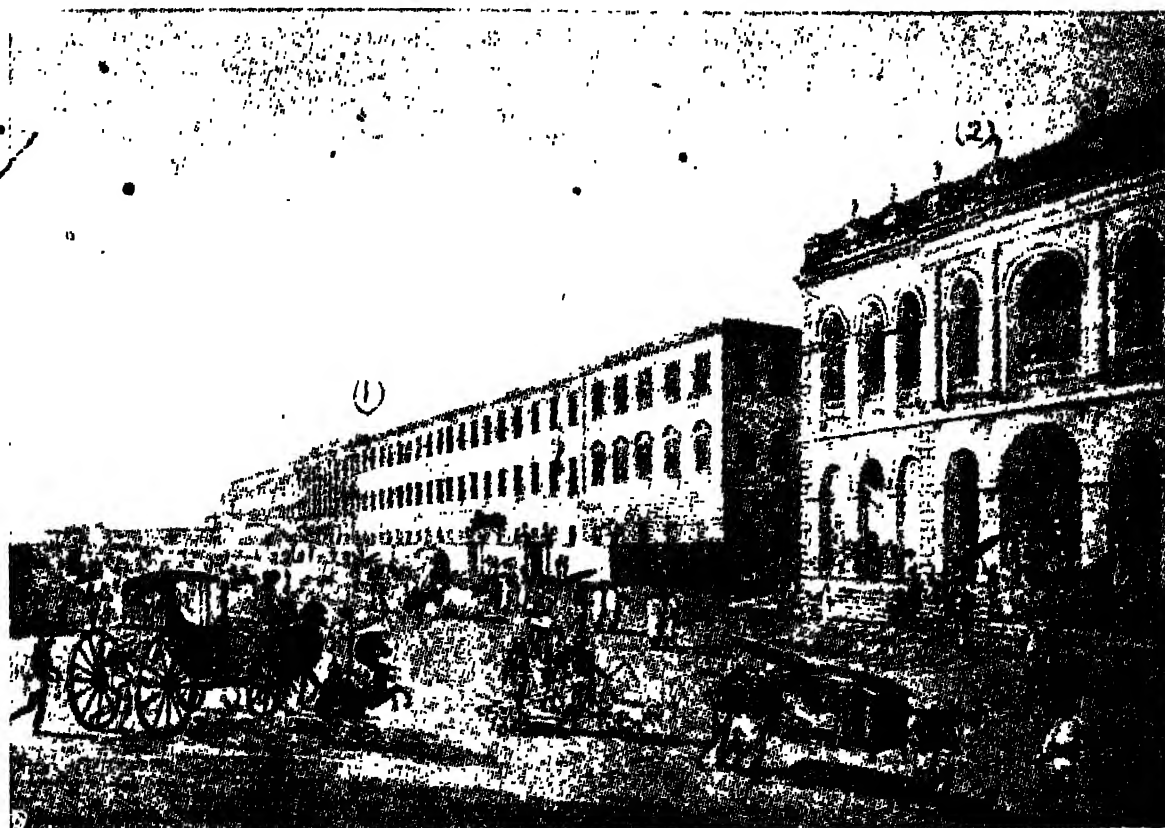
and above, the position of their created law-courts became more and more anomalous and the effects of a double system of administration, viz., one conducted according to English principles and the other according to existing Muhammedan laws, soon began to manifest themselves. So many courts encountered a great deal of confusion in respect of distribution of justice. All these facts and other factors necessitated in the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 in the British Parliament by which the Governor-General in Council stepped into the place of the former President in Council, and the select committee and Supreme Court with more elaborate machinery took the place of the older Mayor's Court and other courts. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India.

The Supreme Court that was established in Calcutta by a Charter of 1774 consisted of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. Sir Elijah Impey was appointed the first Chief Justice, other judges being Messrs. Chambers, Hyde and Lemaistre. It held its court in Calcutta and exercised both criminal and civil jurisdiction there. The clause empowering the British Crown to establish a Supreme Court of Justice by a Charter was unhappily vague and left undefined the field of jurisdiction, the laws to be administered by it and above all the relations between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council. The Judges of the Court being armed with unsettled extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction arrived in this country with the prejudiced conviction that they had been appointed to put a stop to oppressions which the inhabitants of Bengal, both the English and the subjects of Mughal authority, were undergoing under the accumulated injustice and grinding tyranny of the agents of the Company. They held that they derived their powers and authority from the British Crown and Parliament and were in no way subordinate to the executive head and that they were quite empowered even to arrest the Governor-General and his Counsellors.

SUPREME COURT Vs. SUPREME COUNCIL

Soon after the inauguration of the inauspicious Supreme Court and the unlucky Supreme Council, they jealously looked upon each other as rivals and the consequences were that judicial and political authorities instead of exercising their powers, independently of each other and for the benefit of the people, were arrayed against each other as two contending parties. Some impression can be formed if Macaulay's diatribe in respect of the whole aspect of the situation is referred to: "No Marhatta invasion had spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of the English lawyers. All the injustices of the former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."

The conflict between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council came to a culminating point in two cases. First in the Patna case 1777-1779, the question at issue was the right of the Supreme Court to try



Calcutta Street view in 1786, showing (1) Writers' Buildings and (2) the Old Court House where the Mayor's Court and the Supreme Court held their sittings and where the trial of Nandakumar was held

actions of the Indian judicial servants of the Company for acts done in the official capacity. Second was the famous Kasijora case 1779-80 in which the question at issue was whether the Supreme Court had the right to exercise jurisdiction over every one in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and especially over the Zamindars of the Mughal Emperor.

Undoubtedly, the Regulating Act of 1773 imposed upon the Supreme Court, although in legally vague and insufficiently stringent terms, the task of dealing with the oppression in the executive government of the Company. The Supreme Court was, in fact, to occupy the position of Mayor's Court founded in 1726 and re-instituted in 1753 in Calcutta and its creation was of absolute necessity because of the failure of Mayor's Court to impede the wrong doings on the part of the Company's servants. The institution of this court was, therefore, an act of reformation rather than of innovation. It was, also, not, intended to override or to trespass upon the judicatures deriving their authority from the Mughal constitution or to settle the question of Mughal Sovereignty by practically edging it into limbo.

The demonstration of the most ignominious and horrible acts done by the Supreme Court remains incomplete if no reference is made to the epic trial of Maharaja Nandakumar held before it in Calcutta.

TRIAL OF NANDAKUMAR

On March 11, 1775, Maharaja Nandakumar

brought against Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, his charge of having received from the Begum of Oudh a bribe of Rs. 3,54,105 for appointing her as guardian of the young Prince. The Supreme Council in which the charge was submitted declared that Hastings had received the sum and ordered him to refund the money to the treasury of the Company. Owing to the dramatic events that followed and precipitated the fall of Nandakumar, the charge was never proceeded with.

On the 6th May, 1775, Nandakumar was committed on a charge of forgery brought against him by Mohon Prosad, the executor of an Indian banker. His trial conducted according to the principles of English Law proceeded from 8th June to 16th June, 1775 before the Supreme Court consisting of Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey and other three Judges, namely, Chambers, Hyde and Lemaistre aided by a jury of 12 European and Eurasian inhabitants of Calcutta. It is said that the original proceedings of this momentous trial preserved in the Archives of Calcutta High Court have been either lost or destroyed. Nandakumar was found guilty on the charge of forgery according to the English Criminal Law, sentenced to death and executed on 5th August, 1775. This wealthy and respectable but unhappy man was put to death nominally for forgery but really for having dared to accuse the Governor-General Warren Hastings of misdeeds done by him.

“Leaving aside all other matters connected with this trial, the most salient, vital and cardinal point at issue is that whether English Criminal laws in accordance with which Nandakumar was tried, sentenced and executed should be applied to him, who was a Hindu and a subject of the Mughal Emperor, born at Murshidabad and resident at the time of, and before, and ever since the alleged offence at Calcutta, and was not in the employment or the service of the Company. It must be pointed out that the application of English Common laws and English Criminal laws (and case-decisions and judgment delivered based upon the same laws) to the Indian inhabitants and Mughal subjects of Calcutta, which was not a conquered country and was held neither by cessation nor by conquest but by a particular tenure obtained from the Nawab of Bengal and under the paramount authority of the Mughal Emperor, implies a gross violation of International laws and shakes the very principles of jurisprudence. The King of England possessed absolutely no powers over India, neither legislative nor judiciary, except those derived from the grant of various *Firmans* issued by the Mughal Emperor. Even the *Firman* granted in 1764, expressly stated:

“The Company must endeavour to drive out our enemies and decide causes agreeably to the rules of Mohamet and laws of our Empire.”

The view that the principles of English laws were introduced in Calcutta with the introduction of English Courts by the British Crown overriding the judicial system and Mughal laws long established by Mughal Sovereignty cannot be upheld and maintained. No documents are forthcoming nor any bonafide treaty exists nor written authorities can be quoted nor any “*Firman*” bears evidence that would support the right of subversion of Mughal Sovereignty by the British Crown and the English Company in respect of legislative and judicial powers over the subjects of the Mughal Emperor in India and over the Indian inhabitants in Calcutta. The arguments advanced by the English lawyers, whether English laws were introduced in Calcutta in 1661 by Letters Patent of Charles II or by Letters Patent of 1725 by which Mayor's Court was established or by Letters Patent of 1753 which reinstituted Mayor's Court, or in 1774 by Charter of the Supreme Court, are unnecessary, irrelevant and carry no weight. So, the arrest, trial and execution of Nandakumar are void, and illegal *ab initio*. Even in recent years before the inauguration of the Republic, the highest prerogative writs of the English common laws, namely, the writ of *Certiorary* (it is a writ where the British Crown would be certified of the record in some inferior courts. In criminal cases writ is issued out of the Crown office. It is directed to the judges or the officers of the inferior courts, ordering them to return the

indictment, inquisition, judgment, conviction or order as the case may be to the Queen's Bench Division), the writ of *Mandamus* (this writ is a command issuing in the King's name and directed to any person, corporation, or inferior court of judicature requiring them to do some particular things therein specified) and the writ of *Habeas Corpus* (it is a prerogative writ by which the king has a right to enquire into the causes for which any of his subjects has been deprived of his liberty; this writ is a remedy of obtaining liberation from illegal confinement; this writ in English law is of a great antiquity and was known before Magna Carta) were refused to be applied in many cases by the High Court of Calcutta, the successor of the Supreme Court on the ground that the Indians were not entitled to obtain any relief under English laws, which were not introduced for the Indians in Calcutta. In a well-known case *Girindra vs. Birendra* (31, C.W.N. 593) (Girindra, an Indian inhabitant of Calcutta was arrested and detained in prison without trial), the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was not granted by the same High Court upon the same reason. The fact that a conspiracy was hatched between Hastings and Impey is amply reflected in the tempo of events moved from 11th March 1775; this combined with other circumstances resulted in the fall of Nandakumar.

Impey, sitting as a judge put Nandakumar to death unjustly to serve a political purpose and committed a judicial murder and an assassination to ward off his best friend in India. Even Stephen, Impey's strenuous champion, admitted that Impey as a judge had put himself in an invidious position. “Impey forfeited his judicial independence. He exposed himself to a position to which no judge ought to expose himself.” He, empowered by the Charter “to reprove and suspend the execution of any capital sentence,” had a good and convincing case for the exercise of this discretionary power.

And Hastings was without any pity and was relieved of his anxieties when Nandakumar was being removed from his path. In the death of Nandakumar, he found a pillar of opposition uprooted, which stood against his nefarious acts.

Thus, Burke's memorable utterance, “Nandakumar was murdered by Hastings by the hands of Impey,” will never be wiped out from the pages of Indian History for thousands of years to come. The awful injustice committed in the death of Nandakumar stands unparalleled, unexampled and sacrilegious in the history of the English judiciary in India.

Both of them had to pay the highest penalty for their acts done in India afterwards. Impey was impeached before the House of Lords by Sir Gilbert Elliot in 1787 for the trial of Nandakumar, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings took place from 1788 to 1795.

The terrific acts of the Supreme Court and the

Council worried the Company and the Crown as a result of which the constitution of the Supreme Court was amended. The important provisions were that the Governor-General in Council were not subject to the Supreme Court for anything ordered and done by them in their official capacity, and no Indian was liable to the Court's jurisdiction being a land-holder or a farmer

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of rent. The Court with these provisions was given a jurisdiction over all British inhabitants of Calcutta and Hindu and Muhammedan laws were to be administered by the Court in cases of inheritance, contract and succession.

Thus, ended a short history of the English Judiciary in Calcutta during the 18th Century.

A CORNER OF WALES

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

"We are seven," insisted the simple child, in response to the query, "Brothers and sisters how many are you?", counting those lying in graves in the churchyard. The little graves in Conway, North of Wales, were the inspiration of Wordsworth's famous piece of poetry. Conway also boasts of the smallest house in

two sea-fronts, and a remarkable drive round Great Orme starts from the Happy Valley Rock Gardens,



The smallest house in Great Britain, Conway

Great Britain with its kitchen and bedroom, with a frontage of 72 inches, depth of 100 inches and height of 122 inches. The Conway river, in beautiful surroundings, is crossed by a tubular and a suspension bridge, leading to an imposing Castle of old times. To the East of Conway, there are popular seaside resorts, promenades, piers, and marine-drives: Rhyl at 15 miles, Colwyn Bay at 6 miles and Landudno at 4 miles from Conway. The last is on an Isthmus with



The smallest house in Great Britain: Kitchen



The smallest house in Great Britain: Bedroom

which has perhaps suggested the name of the well-known Tea-garden at Darjeeling, as in many similar examples in the country.



Bridge and Castle, Conway



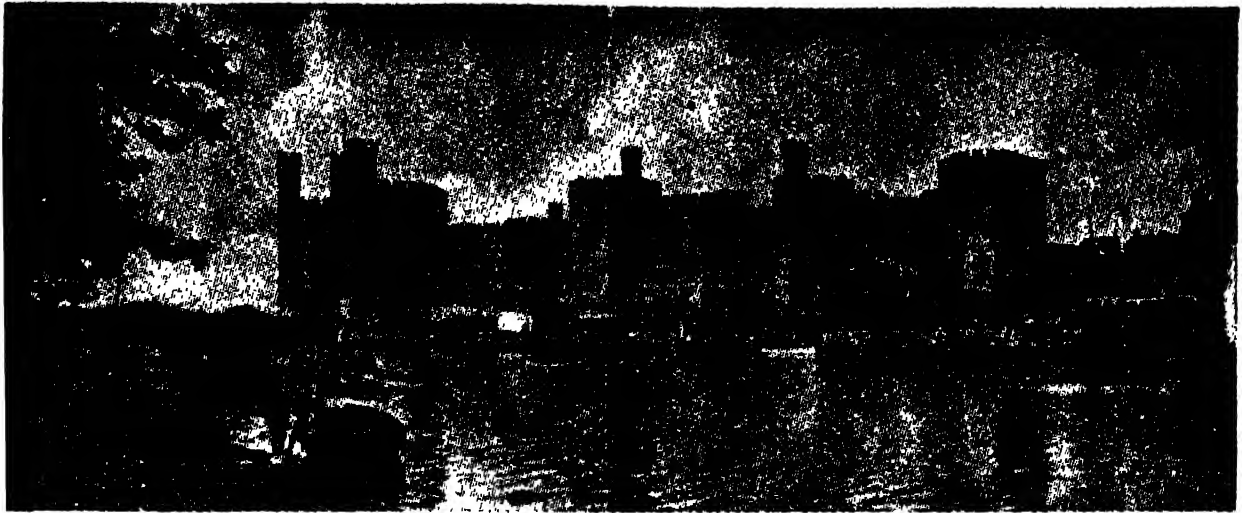
"We are seven." Conway Churchyard



The Promenade, Llandudno



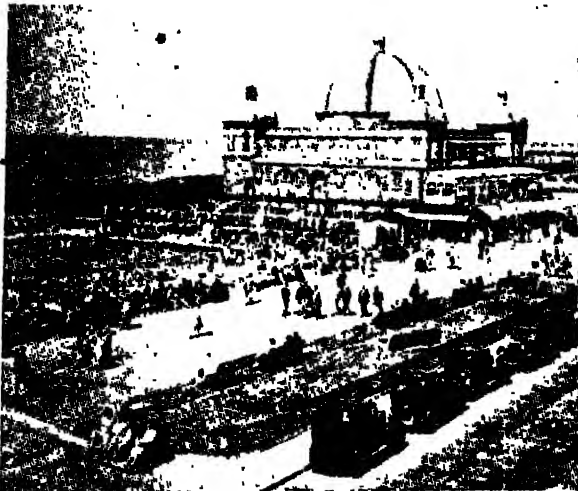
Marine Drive from Happy Valley, Llandudno



Carnarvon Castle

To the West, at 14 miles from Conway, is Bangor at the entrance to the Menai Straits between the island of Anglesey and Wales at its north-west corner. The island looks like a man's head with a

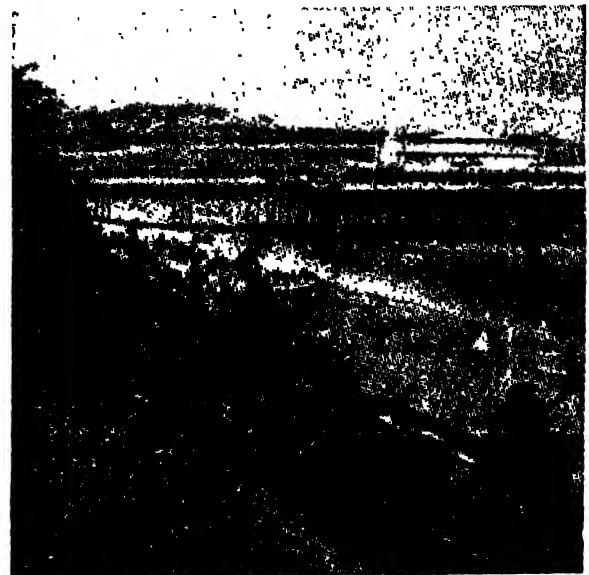
in the world are carried by one of the smallest trains in the world of .15 inches gauge to Portmadoc on the Southern coast, to be shipped round the world. Within a short distance from the Port, lies beautiful Criccieth,



Rhyl, seaside resort, east of Conway

crest and bares the name of Cape Holy Head, learnt in our school days. Bangor possesses a Cathedral and a University and is the same as mentioned in the popular comic song. "Riding down from Bangor, on an Eastern train," and there are tunnels on this Eastern Line. Near the other extremity of the Straits, lies the imposing Castle of Carnarvon, biggest in the U. K. It dates from the time of Edward I, and is also the best preserved in the country.

Inland lies the Snowdon Mountains, the highest in Wales, scalable by a mountain Railway with roads and passes round about it from which excellent views are obtained of the mountain. Beautiful lakes abound in the vicinity. There are two at Lanberry, on one of which are the slate quarries, from which the best slates



Colwin Bay



Criccieth: The Welsh home of Lloyd George



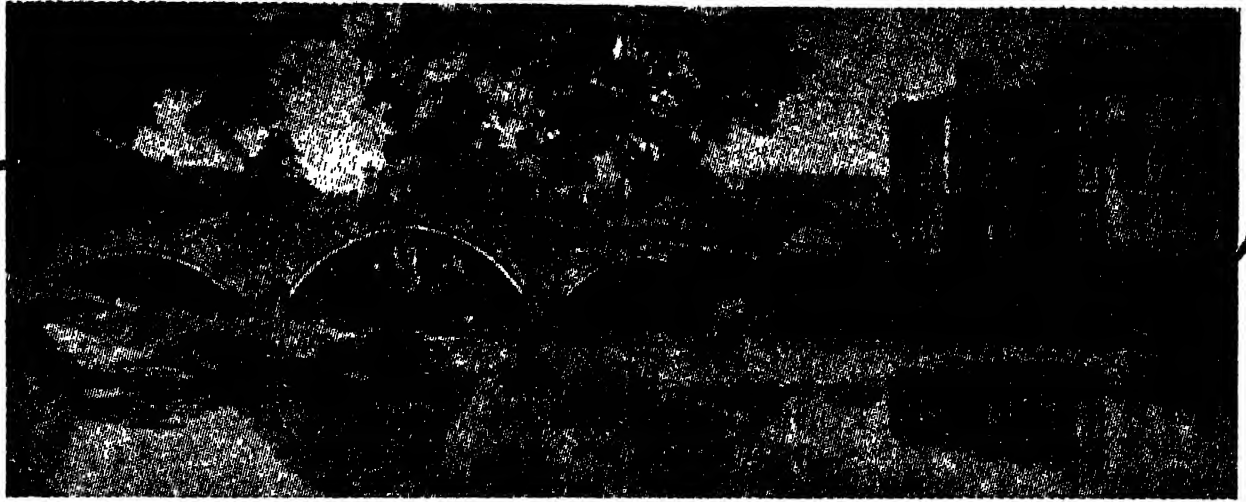
Lakes at Llanberry



Snowdon Mountain Railway



A village in Wales with the longest place-name in the world



Llanrwst, a Welsh village



Bangor from across the Menai Strait

the Welsh home of Lloyd George. Towards North of Snowdon, there are twin lakes of Capel Craig, from which Snowdon is viewed with great advantage. Further North is the famous village, Betsyceed, at the junction of three rivers with falls and glens, appreciated by visitors and made famous by poets.

Boundary lines between countries have become a disturbing feature of late. A river, a ridge, or an unseen parallel may indicate a boundary, but proceeding from England to Wales, when you come across signposts like Bwlch, or villages like Llanrwst, where vowels become scarce, you may be sure that England has been left behind. Names become jaw-breaking as well as long, until in the limit, there is the longest place-



The fairy glen of Betsyceed at the junction of three rivers

name in the world, of 58 letters but few vowels. A girl pronounces the name to visitors in one breath, by which feat, she makes a living from small tips. If in addition to the above complications, 'l' is to be pronounced as 'f' to start with, one is left to wonder, whether a stammerer first tried to utter the word and it was transcribed as uttered.

HE CHOSE TO BE AN ARTIST

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

It was a catastrophe. This is how it happened. Kalapati got entangled into a queer situation that gave him the impetus to believe that he could paint pictures and shape clay to his heart's desire. There could be no dispute over the conviction, for the simple reason that his works were never allowed to be examined by real experts. The experts took immense delight in damaging an individual's sincerity. It was their profession, if not religion.

Sincerity in art or every-day life as Kalapati puts it, is the ideal for a greater existence and he lived for it. In the circumstances he had no other alternative than to keep the vicious rather dictatorial elements at a distance. This was the wisest thing that he could do to save his soft heart, which was easily susceptible to the reactions of painful observations. The principle of self-preservation implemented in practice proved to be very sound for imparting confidence and creative inspirations.

Temperamentally bent as he was, a suitable cultural environment was an urgent need. He was restless to settle down to work. His hands itched to fondle with clay. The lure of close contact with the supple medium became irresistible because it submitted to his will and took some form or other with the lightest touch of his fingers. Helpful accidents procured in this manner rendered amazing service to originality. But colour behaved in an obstinate manner. In consequence of which, he resorted to what he calls dashing strokes. The technique improvised by him might mean nothing to stagnant academic conventionalists, but it revealed purity of purpose if one could extend a sympathetic attitude towards its significance, standing as it did for sincerity and nothing but sincerity. Mind and hand being thus ready, his tense urge for creation could not be kept in suspense.

He made up his mind and went to Podahatt, a place situated on a low plateau commanding a panoramic view of a vast sheet of land, all barren. Here was founded the famous university of his dream. It was indeed a temple of peace where all sorts of creative activities worked in harmony with the minimum of toil.

The landscape stripped of its vegetation offered an intriguing fascination to Kalapati. Probably it was due to the fact that strong affinity of character existed between the spirit of the landscape and the soul of the artist.

As ill-luck would have it, the authorities of the university sooner discovered the genius in him than

he ever expected, with the result he was placed on a plane which demanded respect. He was chosen to be a teacher. So he discarded the humiliating students' life for good. The distinction thus gained had to be disclosed to Krishna, known as the sly fox who did not think much of Kalapati. Kalapati had no intention to tax his patience and wait for a chance meeting, so an express invitation, if not a challenge, was sent to Krishna to see for himself what Kalapati was worth. The invitation was accepted.

Tea was over. The time by now had leaned towards dusk. Cool and gentle breeze had created a congenial atmosphere for intellectual discourse. Kalapati opened the topic:

Dear Friends! I must tell you what I had been thinking for some time. You ought to know that I have decided to declare myself as an artist.

Krishna, the sly fox: A noble idea indeed! But what was the provocation that landed you in such a mess?

Kalapati: Your remark is aggravating. I want you to realise that every man in the street cannot be an artist unless he has the gift.

The sly fox: A gift! And who the devil carries coal to Newcastle? You don't need any support to achieve your ambition.

Kalapati: You cannot dismiss my good intention so lightly as that. I can tell you, I have made no attempt to crack a joke.

The sly fox: That is why I am worried.

Kalapati: I worried on account of the cause that helps one to raise from sordid realities to the realm of dream, from the matter-of-fact obvious to the spiritual sphere.

The sly fox: My dear old thing, what you are not considering, is my misery following on account of your solemn declaration.

Kalapati: You anticipate trouble on account of my pursuing art, how do you mean?

The sly fox: It is like this. I being an intimate friend of yours, my knowledge of you and your blessed art is expected to be reliable. As such, no one can tell when I shall be called to write an article on you.

Kalapati: Suppose I myself request you to do so?

The sly fox: You are a clever fellow, aren't you? I never could imagine my unguarded suggestion will be taken up so seriously. However, I am afraid, I

have to deny myself the privilege as my intellect is not so sturdy as to stand the strain. An article on you means courting a wordy battle right in the front line.

Rama, the Mediator: That is exactly what we expect you to do. The country is passing through an unusual crisis. Devastating poverty of culture has engulfed us. Something drastic has to be done quickly to save the people from impending calamity.

The sly fox: That is not the correct position. Things are moving faster than you can imagine. With the acceleration of speed on cultural wheels, art is dumped on everybody in the street. There is no time to choose and find the needy soul. Aesthetic consciousness has been roused to such a feverish degree that the cinema world is finding it difficult to retain the artists within its fold. They are assuming the stature of inmobile stars and are being rushed to heaven, leave alone the unwarranted intrusion into space without any passport. Innocent village-folk are being educated to wait in deputation for the recognition of their indigenous art. What do you think has come out of the manoeuvre? Smart distempered walls in great cities are being covered up by pure cow-dung coats to create the illusion of a mud wall. The purpose behind this novel decoration is to give a grand reception to *pala chitras* in their own environment. Stink is substituted for sweet odour. Taking things as they are, I see no prospect of a shelter to my utter ignorance, in case I comply with your request.

The Mediator: But I see you are quite good at speech and you mean to say you dare not write, even if you were assured of a good supply of quotations from great authorities. They are the best protections against any controversial opinion. Don't you agree?

Balu, the Trumpeteer of Podahatt: You live in a civilized world. Have you not heard of such a thing as propaganda? We consider it as a branch of fine art. Therefore, a precise knowledge in any particular direction is not so much a criterion as is an artful progress to meet our objective.

The Mediator: It is not difficult to substantiate the view of Balu. Many religions and innumerable gods would not have had a hold on the cosmos if their respective prophets did not canvas for an unreserved mass support.

Balu, the Trumpeteer: There you are! The majority of followers of faith are either made to order or by propaganda. Hence there is no room to think of diffidence. Decide now and once for all that we shall launch a vigorous struggle for a fuller life. Our art must thrive.

The sly fox: That is where you get me into the soup. I am no good for struggle either. My attempt to improve myself will dissolve the whole thing into a chaos.

The Mediator: There is no failure for a determined will. We have the living example here. Look at Kalapati. He decided to be an artist and he is now an Art Master.

The sly fox: Let me understand you. What you are pressing for is that I should present myself as a self-constituted leader and then proceed to find out whether I am accepted as such or not. Isn't it what you are aiming at?

The Mediator: Everything is fair in love and war. So is it in propaganda. Your success will depend on how you concentrate your energy on this point.

The sly fox: You have made things clear, now I surrender to the majority of votes. Take my word, I shall write but which is the journal that will publish an article by a novice? I have some respect for modesty, my conscience will not permit me to proceed unless I have confessed my diffidence.

The Trumpeteer: No, no, no. That would be suicidal. You cannot do that. You cannot escape from your commitment, nor can you drag in conditions at this stage. Take it from me that the average man in the street including quite a number of the educated from common universities expect nothing more than flowery phrases and idioms that produce a knowledgeable effect.

The Mediator: I have a bit of advice. Keep in mind that the more obtruse the theme the better the result. People are poverty-stricken, they are hungry; they take anything for food. As such, we need not extend our responsibility to their digestive faculty.

The Trumpeteer: My friend is perfectly right. The article that we want must be charged with assertive conviction but it should be equally good for a gallant retreat. Take caution to see that no room is given for a quarrel or objection even when you are most aggressive. This is where tact is put to severe test and we know you will rise equal to the occasion.

The sly fox: Now Kalapati must add some points on his prostration. I beg your pardon, I meant posterity.

Kalapati: Are you sure you did not use the expression without any intention?

The sly fox: (aside) I never could persuade myself to believe that a fool can understand his inherent quality when told.

Kalapati: What are you muttering? I think I have caught you right.

The sly fox: So you have. I admit the credit is yours. However, I am going to adjust. Now come with your points.

Kalapati: You see my thoughts work in a peculiar manner. I think too deep but when I try to express in words they get either confused or completely lost.

The sly fox: Why do you think then at all?

Kalapati: I cannot help it. Thoughts are my only companions.

The sly fox: Excuse my inquisitiveness, how do you get a constant supply and what are the sources? I need these points for the article.

Kalapati: It is difficult to make you see how an artist observes an object of beauty and gets inspired to interpret his feelings or thoughts. Forms of beauty can be seen everywhere but it needs a gift to pick them up. Here the philistine is handicapped. He is immune from any reaction that the contact of a beautiful thing can produce. He never feels sorry if the melody of good music does not enter into his ears.

The sly fox: Great news. What made you step into this branch of art also and what style or *raga* or *ragini* takes you away from sordid reality to the land of your dream.

Kalapati: Of course, the simple folk-song.

The sly fox: They say simplicity in art or intellectual expression is only a concentrated form of great complications. The result is merely a concealment of difficulties overcome. Hence folk-art cannot be simple but it is in an undeveloped stage on account of the sentimental watchdogs who deny with vengeance any progressive outlook. I call it crude.

Kalapati: You have fallen in line with the sophisticated. You are a bourgeois. You are just a few and your days are gone. Folk-song is the art of the people who make the earth fertile, who give life to every bit of thing they touch, who feed millions by their hard toil. Therefore, the music that is expected to echo in the heart can never be your pet classical stuff, those *ragas* and *raginis*.

The Trumpeteer: One needs strong nerves to withstand the shocks on account of its ferocious character. As a matter of fact the demonstration of your so-called higher music appears to be more a wrestling about than anything near music. It is all mechanical and completely devoid of sentiment.

The sly fox: You want me to understand that sentiment rules out all other aspects of artistic expression.

Kalapati: To me art is objective. Therefore, its highest purpose is served when sentiments are recorded in the right manner.

The sly fox: What is this right manner again? You seem to have an inexhaustible stock of wits.

Kalapati: Your manner of questioning is too assuming. Look, the reaction has already begun. I am going to swoon.

The sly fox: I am afraid you will have to drop the idea for the present. I am quite prepared to relieve you of the inconvenience I have caused unwittingly, provided you keep your art aloof from this sort of inspiration. It is a disturbing factor to my loyalty. I have given my pledge to write an article. Mind that?

Kalapati: I am sorry to have disturbed you. I am trying to get possessed of myself. Please do not leave

me alone. You are the only person who can convey my message to suffering humanity. The innocent people have been victims of the vicious dictators. The poor fellows are penalised to accept vulgar imitation of nature as art. Oh! I can imagine what an agony it is to live with such naked facts of reality.

The sly fox: It looks as if you have almost got me into your shoes. Now, then, how do you want me to convey your message?

Kalapati: You have to penetrate your vision into the depths of my thoughts, which my works will reveal. There is always an inner meaning behind the surface. It needs a little sympathy—a little patience—a little consideration to overlook certain handicaps.

The sly fox: Handicap! for you? It is absurd, or it must be a confession.

Kalapati: No, it is really a confusion, it is always alert to let me down whenever I try to explain in words. You know speech is not my medium.

The sly fox: Let us then proceed with the medium where you would feel at home.

Kalapati: I am grateful for your change of heart. I am sure you have seen my recent pictures, at least their reproductions. Let me begin with the "Folk-dance." An honest scrutiny will disclose how I have got the spirit of the environment of simple life of the people.

The sly fox: But simple life of the people does not necessarily provide a possibility of a simple treatment in the picture. Does it?

Kalapati: Of course, it does. The subject has a lot to do with the objective and to fit in with the subject I had to evolve a new technique which is free from any academic influence. To enlighten you on the point I should stress upon the fact that we never attempt to draw just what we see, but our impressions are recorded through an intellectual vision.

The sly fox: The vision as you describe it, is only an exercise of a prolonged memory of what you had seen and that which is forgotten is gloriously protected by such high-level words as elimination, sublimation and all the rest of nonsense.

Kalapati: In a round about way you are saying that the method of recording our expressions is not different from what is done in other institutions.

The sly fox: If I have to keep my conscience clear of an immoral act then I must say there is no difference, and if there be any, then it is a privilege to tell what is not true.

Kalapati: Oh God! The chaos is heading for a successful end!

The sly fox: Let me save you from the apprehension by coming back to your "Folk-dance." I presume you are aware of the fact that my knowledge of the art of dancing is nil. As such, I see in the picture nothing else but two persons pulling a Christmas cracker and you made them exert more energy than

was necessary. Besides, they have been deprived of a festive mood, too, on account of the scanty dress you have provided. A few dabs of colour might have given a gay appearance and saved the situation.

Kalapati: But colours have a tendency to scream.

The sly fox: Not when you know how to humour them. You have touched the limit. Now let me add my conclusive remark. The whole of the project has gone through a loss of balance, so have you. It is an unpardonable performance for an artist who means to be serious and knows better.

The Trumpeteer: It would be a tragedy if your views were confirmed.

The Mediator: The sly fox has done nothing else than that.

Kalapati: If that be the truth, I feel no good purpose will be served by an article from your pen.

The sly fox: I am pledged to write. My honour is at stake. Aren't you going to respect the word of a gentleman?

The Trumpeteer: A gentleman is born. Sir, and not made at other's cost.

The sly fox: So is an Artist!

--Courtesy: All-India Radio, Madras 8.

--O:-

GEMS FROM GURU NANAK'S SONG DIVINE, "JAPJI"

By PROF. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

He is One, the Eternal One,
Life of life and life in all
All that is doth come from Him,
All that is doth live in Him,
All that is doth merge in Him,
He was, is and ever shall be.

How to be at-one with Him?
Resign thyself to Will Divine.
His the Will that reigns Supreme,
We cannot force our will on Him.

'Iness' is the veil that hides
Face of God from human eye.

He gives to all and never tires,
We have our fill and yet He gives!
Oh, the Giver who ever gives!
What must we do to earn the Bliss?
Glorify the Giver great
In the morning, ambrosial morn.

He dwells in all, abides in all,
Let this thought abide with thee.
Attune thyself to Heaven's Will,
Walk with God in all thy deeds.

Soap and water wash the filth
Of hands, and feet and clothes we wear.
Walk with God to wash thy sins,
Live in God to cleanse thyself,
This the way, the only way
To peace and bliss and life Divine.

In within the sacred shrine
Of the heart and soul of Man,
Is the sacred seat of God,
Seek thy Heaven in within,
Let the soul unite with Him.

Upper worlds and nether worlds
Countless are they all, indeed.
Does the Bull support the Earth?
Then who supports the countless worlds?

He is Truth and Bliss and Beauty
(And we call him Sachdanand.)

Conquer self and love of Self,
And you conquer all the world.

Creation all a song of praise
To the Author of Creation.
All the human race that is
With many creeds, is one in fact.
All of us are linked and kin
Our humanhood our common bond.

Be thou chaste in thought and deed.
To bear and forbear all,
Let Reason be thy light of life
And inner Light thy constant guide,
Fear of God and life austere
Ever keep and hold them dear,
Let love of God and love of Man
Be the nectar sweet of life,
Live in God and love Him ever,
By His Grace thou wilt be saved.

The air is the eternal Ground,
Giving life, like God Himself,
Like a father is the water,
And the earth is mother-like,
Day and night are nurses two
In their lap doth man abide,
They that live in God are saved,
Saving hosts of others, too.

RELIGION OF GURU NANAK

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

HISTORY tells us how political boundaries that circumscribed a family or a tribe, a district or a province, fell down one by one. We do not now hear much of tribes and districts as politically independent units; we only talk of nations and countries when we talk of the various political sections of humanity. The next step in political progress will be the levelling down of national landmarks and the establishment of an international commonwealth. The formation of the League of Nations and of the United Nations Organisation point to that direction. Much of the political unity has been brought about by the mechanical devices introduced in the system of communications; distances have been annihilated bringing nations and countries near to each other as never before.

Similar is the tendency in the sphere of religion. We have advanced from tribal religions to regional and national religions, and from national religions to international religions, and from international religions to common religious platforms meant to bring together all the various religions of the world.

We have still the example of tribal religions in the backward tracts of Asia, Africa and Australia. Regional and national religions are represented by Judaism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. Islam, Buddhism and Christianity are the examples of international religions which have levelled down the boundaries of nations and countries. Historically the next step is bound to be, on the example of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation, a common religious platform for all the religions of the world.

Guru Nanak was the first earnest religious thinker who put before the world the idea of having a universal religion based on the conception of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Mankind. He deliberately laid the foundations of a movement that was to unite the whole of humanity on these two fundamentals, whatever opinions or prejudices people in general may have, on account of inherited traditions or physical environments, or other religious or philosophic ideas.

It was later that desire for propaganda and also as a reply to the religious persecution by the fanatic rulers of the day, turned the Sikhs into a well-defined, compact community, distinguishing it from those around them. But all this was an after-growth. The real purpose for which Guru Nanak and his successors worked was the historical necessity of bringing on the question of religion the whole of mankind on one common platform without any distinction of creed or religion.

Guru Nanak was pre-eminently the prophet of unity and peace. His efforts at creating an atmosphere for world reconciliation and world unity were far in advance of the age in which he lived. He is generally regarded as a religious reformer. No doubt, the reforms intro-

duced by him in the sphere of religion were of great importance, but his contribution to unity and toleration in the world of religion was of even greater importance.

Guru Nanak did not want to convert persons from one religion to the other. He wanted Hindus and Moslems to be true to their religion. At the same time, he wanted to establish a brotherhood common to all religions for the worship of God and the service of mankind. He wanted all those who believed in God and His worship in the service of mankind to come together, stand on one common platform, and help each other by their experience and achievements.

The word Sikh is from Sanskrit *Shish*, meaning disciple or learner. In Sikh vocabulary it means a person whose mental and spiritual attitude towards the world is ever that of a student; ever open-minded, ever ready to learn and improve.

The idea of discipleship is as old as religion or even learning itself. But it was reserved for Guru Nanak and the other Sikh Gurus to make a religion of it. It is the contribution of the Sikh Gurus to the history of human thought and religious ideas that it is the primary and most sacred duty of man to be ever vigilant and in a receptive mood to learn and imbibe from all quarters what is best spiritually, morally, mentally and physically. And this spirit is not to be a sort of grace or a side-accomplishment; it was to be man's main and only goal on earth.

Every earnest person is a learner or disciple all his life. He is to learn of truth from every source. He is to join and work together with all those, of whatever creed or race, who are in search of divine truth and divine love. Sikhism, the religion of the disciples, is thus a platform for all those who were learners, who were seekers after truth. Let them be Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Buddhists, Jews or Zoroastrians, Sikhism was to be the link that joined them together in their search for truth a sort of fraternity or religious guild established for the promotion of love of God and service of mankind.

It was, indeed, fortunate that Guru Nanak was born in a country and at a time well suited for general rapprochement between classes and creeds, between countries and nations. At the end of the fifteenth century India was politically quite a weak unit. But her very weakness was a blessing in disguise as it made her a centre and meeting-place of almost all the great cultures and nations of the world. It was here in India that the three great civilizations which had at the time all the world under their sway met on a common platform. The Hindu culture had given birth to Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism; the Hebrew civilisation was at the base of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the sixteenth century, under the great Mughals, both the streams met

on the plains of the Indus and the Ganges to come to terms with each other and enrich the Indian soil with their union. To these two cultures was added the Greek culture through the Persian Shias and South Indian Christians. Thus it was in India that East and West met to merge their individuality into a united common goal.

This effort at unity was not superficial. We have only to look to the religious discussions held in the court of Akbar the Great, to realise its seriousness and inner significance. There was no important religion or sect, eastern or western, that was not represented at the debates in the *Ibadat Khana*, the Hall of Worship, at Fatehpur Sikri. And the discussions were held, not as an intellectual pastime, but with a view that a common religion and a common culture, based on all the religions and cultures of the world, might be evolved as a definite result.

There was to be found in the India of the Mughals a clash of ideas, a clash of cultures and a clash of races. But the world cannot be welded into one organic whole without a common beating-ground somewhere, without a rubbing-off of angularities in some convenient place. There was no country in the world better suited for this purpose than the India of the Mughals.

Guru Nanak saw the true significance of the religious conflict that raged around him. Fanaticism, mis-called Religion, was at the bottom of the whole trouble. He raised his voice against it and resolved to fight it out. He was not against any religion; he did not criticise any faith; but he was strong in his invectives against religions and faiths warring against each other on account of local prejudices and general ignorance. He believed in worship and prayer, but he was against the mere forms of religion that had no life. Buddhism or Brahmarism, Christianity or Islam, were not good or bad in themselves; it was those who followed these religions that made them good or bad. Buddhists or Hindus, Christians or Moslems, were to be praised or blamed for what they were worth, for what they did for mankind. Not belief and profession, but life and action were regarded by him as high or low, good or bad. His universal religion was based on universal love and universal faith. It was beyond the limits of warring faiths and sects, beyond the limits of dogmas and creeds.

To what particular faith a person belonged was immaterial for Guru Nanak; he wanted only to know how one conducted oneself in one's dealings with others. He preached that the whole of the human race should have one common religion. That religion was not to be this creed or that creed; it transcended all religious prejudices and sectarian antagonism. The whole of the human race was to be brought within one common fold, not by converting men of one religion to another, but by following what was true and good in all the religions and faiths.

It was not surprising that when Guru Nanak passed away, no one could say what religion he professed. Hindus wanted to cremate his body according to their

custom; while the Moslems were anxious to bury it according to their own law and usage. Even today those who study his teachings cannot definitely say to what particular religion he belonged. In the second decade of the present century, in a session of the Punjab Historical Society, a Sikh gentleman, Sardar Joginder Singh of Aira, read a paper on the life and teachings of Guru Nanak. The meeting was held at Simla and was attended by Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Moslems alike. After the lecture was over, a Hindu leader of repute, Lala Ram Saran Das of Lahore, stood up and said that the speaker was wrong in not mentioning that Guru Nanak was a Hindu reformer. A Moslem aristocrat, Sir Zulfiqar Ali of Maler Kotla, retorted that the Hindu gentleman was wrong in calling Nanak a Hindu: the Guru in his opinion was a Moslem. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who presided over the meeting, in summing up the proceedings said that both the gentlemen were wrong; as far as he could judge, Guru Nanak was a Christian.

The controversy as regards Guru Nanak's religion will continue as long as we do not change our viewpoint to understand the great teacher. In him every one could find what was best in one's religion; the Guru's religion was the religion of humanity; it encompassed all the true faiths in its sacred fold.

As the new religion was born of the impact of East and West; it was considered pre-eminently fit to be the future religion of the world; it was considered specially suited to India because a Sikh meant to be a reformed Hindu and a reformed Moslem. In the beginning both the Hindus and the Moslems took part in propagating its teaching as if it was their own religion. Guru Nanak laid the foundations of the Sikh Religion as a universal religion. By simplifying religion and basing it on universal principles of Love of God, Love of Humanity, and earnestness at self-development and self-culture, he put before the world an ideal which he thought must be followed by the whole of humanity for world peace and world happiness.

Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, and the compiler of the Sikh Scriptures, was once asked what was the best religion of the world. His reply was :

Sarb dharam men sresht-dharam

Har Ka Nam jap nirmal Karam.

"The best of all the religions was the religion of Love of God and of Righteous Action."

Sikhism, the religion of the Sikh Gurus, is an interpretation of this pious and practical formula. Man must love God and base all his actions on this Love. Love of God is the first necessity of man's life, but this love must make him a man of action. Not asceticism but active life, life of righteous action is to be the guiding principle of all his activities.

It was believed, and it is sometimes still believed, that love of God and love of the world do not go together. Sikhism was a reply to this old objection. A Sikh was to be both a *Bhakta*, a man of devotion to God; and a hero, the man of action. He was to be both a soldier and a

saint. The more the love of God in one's heart the more one was to serve the world with righteous action.

According to the Sikh Gurus, it was these two principles, the love of God and the love of mankind through righteous action, that could end the whole strife of creeds and religions, of nations and races, of man and man, that formed such an ugly chapter in the history of human race.

It has often been said that the Sikh Gurus were followers of Vedantism as expounded in the Upanishads. The language, similes and metaphors used by the Gurus to explain their meaning sometimes lend colour to this theory. The similarity is indeed striking. But it is only a superficial or cursory knowledge of the Sikh Scriptures that could support such a view. Vedantism is a plastic doctrine and means so many things to so many people. Its different schools are a testimony to its fluid and indefinite import. Similarly Upanishads on which Vedantism is often based are a vast forest of very luxuriant growth. You can find in about two hundred current Upanishads, some of them are of quite recent date, theories and problems quite opposed to each other. It is not far from truth when one says that in the Upanishads you can find anything and everything in the matter of religious and philosophic doctrine. You have there monism, monism, deism, dualism, pantheism, idolatry, ritualism, formalism, asceticism, all running riot in close proximity. That certainly is not the case with the Sikh Scriptures. There you have a definite doctrine and a definite path to follow, though you can plausibly say that it is generally in accord with much of what one finds in some of the best Upanishads and in the writings of some of the most practical Vedantists.

Similarly it has been suggested very seriously by some that Sikhism is nothing more than a reproduction of Islamic Sufi doctrines in the Indian garb, and by others, though not so seriously, that Sikhism is an echo of Buddhism and of Christianity. Ideas and words from the Sikh Scriptures can be put forward to support these views to some extent. But all this cannot show anything more than this that religious thinkers all the world over have often thought alike and sometimes used the same arguments and the same words to express ideas common to all of them. Guru Nanak and his successors had definite ideas of their own about God, Creation, Man and his conduct in life. These ideas were not new-fangled, though as a composite picture, they had the distinction of being fresh and original. These ideas being similar here and there with those of this or that great religious thinker, shows their catholicity and lends them a universal appeal, but the line and path chalked out by the Sikh Gurus were their own, and in their final and perfected form owed their origin to none else but to the Sikh Teachers themselves.

Sikhism had its birth in the reform movements that sprang up in the Hindu Society in the 15th and the 16th centuries. On one side it eschewed Hindu polytheism, formalism, priest-craft, and caste; at the same time, on

the other side, it carried forward Hindu catholicity and tolerance to a wider sphere of influence, making an Indian religion fit for the whole of mankind.

Similarly, Sikhism was born under the new influence that Islam brought to India. As reformed Mohammadanism, Sikhism on one side discouraged its Arabian prejudices and intolerance, and on the other it acclimatised Islamic monotheism and puritanical life to the Indian soil.

Guru Nanak always spoke with the people in their own tongue, in the language and about ideas which were easily comprehensible to those who came into touch with him. With the Yogis he spoke about Yoga, with the Moslems about Islam and with the Brahmins about the Brahmanical creed. His main idea was to teach people the religion of love of God and service of mankind. For this he would draw upon the religious ideas of those very persons who formed his audience. He would condemn outward forms that killed the spirit of religion and ask the people to follow the truth that lay behind these forms and rites. It was immaterial for him to which religion one belonged; it was not necessary for him to subscribe to the theories and principles underlying the beliefs of those who listened to him. He used these to serve his own purpose so that those who came to him may be able to understand him best, according to their own light and learning.

The Sikh Gurus gave a new spiritual turn to old ideas which had outgrown their spiritual utility. The emphasis on the fundamentals of religions was quite their own as was their courage in condemning what was corroding and corrupt. It was for this reason that Guru Nanak and those who followed him were often called by fanatics *Kurahyas*, or heretics.

Perhaps it is possible to show that every important principle enunciated by the Sikh Gurus had its precedent in some previous Hindu, Buddhistic, Moslem or even Christian doctrine. But Sikhism, evidently, in its final form has its own individuality and catholicity marking it out as a distinct creed, having a distinct place in the evolution of religious creed, a distinct place in the evolution of religious thought. The main principles of Sikh Religion, Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Mankind, Unity of the Individual Soul with the Universal Soul, Immanence of the Transcendental Reality in the Universe of phenomena, the importance of leading an active but detached life, the recognition of basic unity of all creeds, find support from all what is best in the old Vedic and the new Sufi literature. But religious history clearly shows that the Hindu and Moslem ideas were overlaid with so many superstitious and corrupt ideas, that the popular Hindu and Moslem mind seemed to have almost forgotten the real truth and attached itself to ideas and forms against which devout and intelligent Hindu and Moslems could not help feeling disgust and revolt.

For re-teaching the gospel of universal brotherhood a new prophet and a new hero was necessary. Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh eminently fulfilled that

position. They put before the world ideals in thought and action that could bring the whole of mankind on one common platform for its uplift and regeneration.

The ancient seers of India who expressed their ideas in Upanishads in their highest moments of light and inspiration, evolved the idea that God was in all and all were in God, and that the best minds all over the world thought alike in matters spiritual and divine. But these were ideas reserved for the sage and the philosopher and had currency only in the hermitage and cloister. It was Guru Nanak and other teachers of the Bhakta or

Mystic School, who brought out this idea from the seclusion of the forests and academies to every one's hearth and home. What was formerly the property of a few gifted persons was now made available in popular language which every body could understand and make use of in his daily life. Spiritual truths which were regarded as secrets for the select few were now required to be practised in daily life by the prince and the peasant, by the artist and the artisan, by the soldier and the merchant alike.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

OUT OF MY LATER YEARS: By Albert Einstein. *Philosophical Library*, New York. Price \$4.75.

Had Einstein been only a great scientist of the age, his name and fame would have remained confined within the intellectual circle of the world and common man would have known little about him and his achievements. But as a matter of fact in whichever sphere his name is uttered it spontaneously arouses a feeling of reverence in the minds of the listeners. The secret of it lies not in the brilliant intellectual performances of the scientist Einstein but in the intensely sincere appeals for justice and humanitarianism of the man Einstein.

All through the essays, except in those devoted to the presentation of his theory of relativity, the cry of the anguished soul finds expression. The devastation wrought by war, the cruelties performed on man by man, the crumbling down of all values, have stirred Einstein's soul to its very depths. Has he become embittered? Definitely not. Has he become despondent? Far from it. He himself has not escaped suffering. But he has no grudge. On the contrary, he points out the sources from which the evil has inevitably come down upon humanity and shows the way to all how the evil can be prevented in the future. He addresses the intelligentsia, calls upon the youth, to change their ways of thinking and modes of behaviour. Scientific knowledge should be utilised for social purposes and moral regeneration. Values must be re-established. It is through united efforts of all thinking men that such changes in outlook can be brought about. He asks the Jews, though they have suffered perhaps the most, not to lose heart. They have suffered before but they have survived, and so will they again. All the political, social and educational views that he

has formulated in these essays are based essentially on his serene faith in man and on moral values.

There are brief appreciative sketches of some eminent men and women of the day including one on Mahatma Gandhi. Those wishing to sense the full grandeur of the sentiments and depth of the thoughts expressed must read and re-read the essays. A few quotations are given below:

"Let us think, feel and act like this man, refusing to accept fateful compromise. Let us not even shun the fight when it is unavoidable to preserve right and the dignity of man. If we do this, we shall soon return to conditions that will allow us to rejoice in humanity."

"Only understanding for our neighbors, justice in our dealings and willingness to help our fellow men can give human society permanence and assure security for the individual. Neither intelligence nor inventions nor institutions can serve as substitutes for these most vital parts of education."

"But for the future our hope lies in overcoming the general moral abasement which today gravely menaces the very existence of mankind. Let us labour with all our powers, however feeble, to the end that mankind may recover from its present moral degradation and gain a new vitality and a new strength in its striving for right and justice as well as for a harmonious society."

The publishers are to be congratulated; the book not only makes Einstein known to all but gives publicity to many ideas that would make others halt and ponder.

S. C. MITRA

MODERN ARMS AND FREE MEN: By Vannavar Bush. William Heinemann Ltd., Distributors, Asia Publishing House, 17 Gunbow Street, Bombay. 1950. Pp. 300. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Vannevar Bush was for more than ten years President of the Carnegie Institute of Washington. In 1940, he was appointed Chairman of the National Defence Research Committee by President Roosevelt. He, therefore, speaks with knowledge and authority. Dr. Bush has examined, in the present book, the new instruments of war which scientists have brought into being in modern times. After describing the possibilities and limitations of each of these new inventions, he has come to the very important conclusion that the Democracies need not be afraid of an immediate overthrow through their employment by totalitarian powers. If new methods of offence have been devised, newer methods of detection or defence have also not lagged behind. In a country like America, which is geographically as well as economically well-placed, there is therefore no immediate cause for alarm.

But Dr. Bush also points out that unless the democratic countries have a really moral cause to fight for, they will lose much of their internal strength. His suggestion, therefore, is that Americans should immediately address themselves to bringing about real economic democracy within their own territory in order to make their cause really worth fighting for. This revolutionary internal change can be brought about by extensive education and by making the process of democratic government more active and efficient. He does not believe in the complete eradication of private enterprise, but wishes to strike a balance between it and public control. In the meanwhile, this fast-evolving and real democracy must and can be defended by all the powers which science and organization can bestow against the onslaught of totalitarian forces. The supreme good is freedom; not merely material wealth. There can be economic prosperity under a state of domestication or subordination; but the highest good can only grow out of freedom, when it is supported by adequate economic welfare.

This thesis sounds all right for a country which is in the happy position of the U.S.A. But what about men who want to preserve their democratic freedom yet have not the resources to stay the onslaught of powerfully equipped totalitarian powers? Dr. Bush's book, being specifically addressed to American readers, leaves this question unanswered. Unless, however, we can find a solution for this very fundamental problem, the defence of democracy would actually mean the coalescence of small democratic powers under one which has men and money enough to stay the onslaught of totalitarianism. The second, and perhaps more vital problem also remains unanswered, viz., how can we make democracy itself quick and efficient? Can there be a democratic substitute for the method of violence, when the ordinary parliamentary methods prove too slow? Is not the slowness and inefficiency of the parliamentary system one of the reasons why totalitarianism is expanding in a world when it stands urgently in need of quick change?

Perhaps the answer to both these questions could be found in a new development of Gandhi's Constructive Programme and Satyagraha, as recast in accordance with the special needs and conditions of various situations. But his experiments have unfortunately been halted at the very first stage when we gained no more than freedom from political subordination.

That apart, Dr. Bush's book can be warmly recommended to all those who are interested in the most vital problem of our times, viz., the preservation of democracy or freedom in a world which is shaking under the fear of modern instruments of destruction.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

QUINQUENNIAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, GWALIOR STATE, FOR THE SAMVATS 1998-2002 (Years 1942-46): Published by the Archaeological Department, Madhya Bharat Government, Gwalior. 1949. Pp. 70 + xii.

As the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat Government, explains in his short Preface, the belated publication of this consolidated Report was necessitated by the difficulty, arising from the aftermath of the Great War, of issuing Annual Reports of the Department as in former years. The present Report deals with the usual activities of the Department under the heads office work, conservation, excavations, listing of monuments, epigraphy and numismatics, archaeological museum, etc. In connection with conservation it is pleasing to record the fine example set by a public-spirited merchant of Bhilsa whose donation made it possible for the Department to take steps for the protection of the two Jain caves in the Udayagiri group of monuments (p. 3). On the other hand, one cannot but note with concern that even after completion of a six-year old scheme of conservation much important work remains to be done at the Bagh caves noted for their group of paintings (p. 11). Turning to another head one regrets to find that the excavations at Pawaya had to be stopped for want of funds, while no progress was made at the all-important site of Ujjayini (p. 14), although the Department has to its credit some important excavations at the ninth century site at Amrol (pp. 14-17). Mention is made under another head (pp. 18-19) of an important Sivite temple (of a date not later than ninth century) at the village of Indore, but, strangely enough, the site still awaits conservation. The addition of a sketch-plan in illustration of the architectural features of this last-named temple would have been very welcome. Of the inscriptions collected during this period the earliest and the most important are those referring to two ascetics of the well-known *Mattamayura* sect, while the new discoveries of coins include some fresh types of the Naga kings Bhava Naga and Prabhakara and coins of a new king Vibhu Naga (p. 26).

It is to be earnestly hoped that the Archaeological Department of the newly constituted Madhya Bharat State will receive adequate grant from Government in future to cope with its important work which is still for the most part undone.

U. N. GHOSHAL

A STUDY OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIAN REPUBLIC: By Arun Kumar Banerjee. Published by H. Chatterji and Co. Ltd., 19 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 112 + xv. Price Rs. 1-8.

The monograph under review is a handy volume giving a bird's-eye view of the new constitution of the Indian Republic. It consists of thirteen chapters giving, within a short compass, an account of all the important features of the Constitution and is prefaced by a historical introduction tracing the course of events since August 20, 1917, i.e., the date ushering in a new era in India's Constitutional development which culminated in the inauguration of the present Constitution of Free India. It is hoped the monograph will prove to be a useful help-book for undergraduate students preparing for examination in the subject.

A. K. G.

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HINDU VIEW OF CHRIST: By Swami Akhilananda. Published by Philosophical Library, New York. Pp. 291. Price \$3.00.

Jesus, the Christ, is a unique embodiment of divine life which is a light unto the whole world. But of Christ and Christianity as a religion and of religion in general, we find different estimates made by different thinkers in the East and the West and in the past and the present. It is, therefore, good for the world to know what Christ, Christianity and religion as such stand for, and what contribution, if any, they can make for the good of mankind. Swami Akhilanandaji's *Hindu View of Christ* will admirably serve this need. It deals especially with the life and teachings of Christ from the Hindu point of view and also with the agreement and difference between Christianity and Hinduism in certain important matters.

The book consists of ten chapters with an Introduction written by Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the School of Theology, Boston University, and a Preface by the author. The first chapter explains the distinctive characteristics of an incarnation of God and in their light supports the view that Christ is one among the many incarnations of God. The second chapter shows how Christ was the Oriental of Orientals and his life was the embodiment of Oriental ideals. It shows also that the teachings of Jesus hardly fit in the philosophy of life found in the West in modern times. Chapter III considers the interesting question whether or not Jesus was a *yogi* in the light of the teachings of the Hindu teachers, such as Sri Krishna, Patanjali, Sri Ramakrishna and others, and gives a positive answer to it. In chapter IV, the learned author discusses the nature of spiritual practices and indicates their place and use in the life of Jesus and many of his followers. Chapter V is a vigorous defence of religion in general and Christ's teachings in particular against the charges of futility, deceptiveness and injuriousness that are usually brought forward by some humanists, psychologists and communists. It also helps one to understand the value of religion for the everyday problems of life. Chapter VI is a brilliant exposition of the thesis that the power of Christ and Christianity lies not in the conquest of nature nor in the founding of empires, but in their salutary effect on individual and collective life. Chapter VII explains the real significance of the Cross, on which Jesus died freely, as a symbol of God's love and forgiveness. In chapter VIII, the real spirit of Easter and the lessons that should be learned from it have been elaborated. In the last two chapters the place and value of the teaching and preaching of religion and the Hindu attitude towards Christian missions have been explained by the author with ability and insight. The value of the book is enhanced by a select Bibliography and an Index. We recommend the book to all serious students of the life and teachings of Christ.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

A HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST: By W. E. F. Ward. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 21s. net.

The British colony of Gold Coast has an importance all its own. It is the first African colony to have a legislative assembly with an elected majority. U.S.A.-educated Gold Coast leader, Dr. N'krumah is the first African to become the head of a country in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Gold Coast is made up of the colonies of Gold Coast and Ashanti, the protectorate of Northern

Territories and a narrow strip of German Togoland, the last named being attached to the Gold Coast under a mandate of the League of Nations.

England began her career in the Gold Coast as a trader and in the long run became its mistress. English possessions on the coast gradually extended by a series of treaties with the African rulers during the first half of the 19th century. How very similar to the rise of British power in India!

The Gold Coast was declared a Crown Colony in 1874. Ashanti was annexed after a series of wars and became a Crown Colony in 1901. The same year witnessed the birth of the protectorate of Northern Territories. The Colony with an area of 91,000 square miles is an important source of raw materials—cocoa, timber, copra, manganese, citrus fruit and the like—to feed British industries. It is at the same time a very good market for Britain's exportable surplus of consumer goods. Gold Coasters have no tradition of their origin and it is quite possible that their settlement here is a matter of 300 years more or less. They are principally of Negro origin. But in all probability blood of various races courses through their veins. "The Gold Coast," observes Mr. Ward, "is part of the Western Sudan, and over it for thousands of years have flowed and ebbed the folk-wonderings of the African races."

The gold of West Africa was known to the ancient world. Egyptians and Phoenicians made several attempts to circumnavigate Africa and one or more of their expeditions may have visited the Gold Coast and established trading settlements there. But the history of the Gold Coast began in a very real sense in the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. The Portuguese, the first European nation to visit the Gold Coast, went there in the 15th century, when the ancestors of the 20th century Gold Coast Africans had just begun to build their homes there.

Mr. Ward, who spent 16 years in the Gold Coast, traces in the volume under review its history from a period before the first European set foot on the West African shore. He describes the early history of the Gold Coast peoples, the rivalries of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and other white races for the lucrative trade in gold and slaves, the rise of the Ashanti, the Tante and other native tribes and the slow but steady expansion and consolidation of British authority. The best two chapters—XIV and XV—describe the recent political and economic developments of the Colony and are of special interest to the student of colonial imperialism in general and of British colonial history in particular.

Pictures, maps and graphs add to its charm and value. The author should be congratulated for having made a really valuable contribution to the existing literature on British Colonies. But the book suffers from one grave defect. Written by one of the ruling race, it gives a picture of the Gold Coast from the ruler's angle of vision. Abolition of slave trade, domestic slavery and the 'Pawn' system, good roads, railways, telegraph, telephone, and spread of education, Western education of course, are undoubtedly a boon to the children of the soil. But is the blessing an unmixed one? What does the Gold Coast African himself think of it? Has not the progress been paid for in a steady denationalization and in the emasculation of the Colony's sturdy manhood and in an unceasing draining away of its wealth? Mr. Ward is discreetly silent on the questions posed above and this omission is surely unfortunate.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SANSKRIT

CHRISTOPANISAT: By Taracharan Chakravarty, Tarka-Darshan-Tirtha. Available at 12 Bhubon Chatterji Lane, Beadon Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.

This is perhaps the latest addition to the not small amount of literature in Sanskrit on Christianity that has been produced during the last one hundred and fifty years or so presumably to attract the notice of higher class cultured people of India. Similar attempts are known to have been made at different times during the long history of Sanskrit literature by propounders and followers of different systems of religion and thought, indigenous as well as foreign, e.g., Buddhism Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Chaitanyanism—all of which took the help of Sanskrit in view of the exalted position it occupied in the land. The literature dealing with foreign systems, however, does not seem to have gained its objective and attained popularity and attracted serious attention from the world of scholars.

In the book under review we have 'the four gospels rendered into Sanskrit *slokas* from the original English version (R. V.) of the New Testament' which appeared in a prose version in Sanskrit as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The translation is occasionally free and not always strictly literal. The language is generally simple but at times difficult to follow particularly for the peculiar Sanskritised forms of the proper names. It requires to be mentioned that we noticed a number of misprints, grammatical inaccuracies and anachronistic uses of words in senses that have developed in particular regions, especially in Bengal, and in more or less modern times.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SARATCHANDRER RACHANAVALI: Collected and edited by Brajendranath Banerjee. Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 5.

The book under review extending over 280 pages is a collection of Saratchandra Chatterjee's works as yet unpublished in book-form. It contains about fifty essays including addresses delivered on various occasions, one short story and three unfinished novels. Some of them appeared in the magazines and periodicals of the time and some in the daily press.

Saratchandra Chatterjee's contribution to Bengali, or for the matter of that, Indian literature is great. Of writers who have acquired an all-India reputation none is perhaps more thoroughly read and better appreciated than this great author. Whether in novels, in sketches, in short stories, in criticisms or in essays, he is never dull. He never loses grip on his subject. Saratchandra infuses life into everything that he writes. He is interested in everything and can make

everything interesting. He can impart warmth even into anthropological or sociological discussions. He knows how far to go and where to stop. It is not only in the case of fiction that Saratchandra Chatterjee is great. He is a discerning critic and a keen controversialist. He does not spare his opponent and his rapier-thrusts go home. His essays are interspersed with wit and humour.

It is sometimes unwittingly observed that Saratchandra Chatterjee has, by the sheer force of genius only, succeeded in making his writings masterpieces of literature. It is a mistake. During his fairly long stay in Rangoon he read with avidity all the books worth reading contained in a well-stocked library. He was interested in various subjects. He studied sociology, anthropology and psychology. Not only was he educated in the best of all schools, the school of life, he was a life-long student. And the mark of that vast reading and intensive study during a very critical period of his life is evident in his *Narir Mulya* and in the essays published in this book.

The editor is a reputed research-worker and well-known for his industry, thoroughness and editorial acumen. He has spared no pains to collect Chatterjee's writings scattered over the pages of hundreds of magazines, dailies, weeklies, fortnightly and short-lived periodicals. He is to be congratulated on his success. The publisher has done well to publish such a work. It is a boon to the admirers of Saratchandra Chatterjee's writings.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

GUJARATI

(1) **MADHUPARK:** Thick card-board. Pp. 190. 1947. Price Rs. 3-8.

(2) **BIJAL:** Thick card-board. Pp. 146. 1948. Price Rs. 3.

Both written by Prof. Premshankar H. Bhatt of Siddharth College, Bombay and published by C. Shantilal and Company, Bombay 2.

Prof. Bhatt combines in him the roles of a poet and critic, and the collection of 12 articles reprinted from his contributions to various magazines between 1937 and 1946 on old and modern writers in verse and prose, like Akho and Sawal, Narmad and Navalram, as well as promising young writers, like the inspired composers of *Ilakavyo* and *Jyoti Rekha*, have been noticed with the ability of a practised critic, and therefore deserve more than a passing comment. The work is really good. Not content with what he has done in these two directions, he has essayed fiction. *Bijal* is a story of Kathiawad life, where in indigenous Kathiawad's dialect are set out various combinations of the phase of life lived there, and vindication of natural justice. As a first attempt, it is not a failure, but such as the reader makes up his mind to finish at one sitting.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhi the Economist

Brij Gopal Gupta observes in *Careers and Courses* :

Gandhiji did not write any authoritative treatise on Economics like Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill and other so-called pillars of the Economic science. He was not a theorist but a realist.

GANDHIAN CONCEPTION

The Gandhian Economics is a combination of individualism, socialism and idealism. He was a believer in Adam Smith's *laissez faire, laissez passer*, but at the same time he was quite receptive to List's idea of 'Protection.' Like Sismondi he was alive to the misery and suffering caused by the advent of machinery and labour-saving appliances. Marx noted the defects of the capitalistic society, but his gospel is a gospel of the control of all the wealth by the community and appealed to varied passions of mankind. Gandhiji also felt the defects of the capitalistic society, but in advancing his solution he was inspired by a large-hearted love. He always looked upward and not downwards. His brand of welfare, better known and clearly understood as *Sarvodaya* (meaning uplift of all) is a far more superior kind of welfare than those talked by Pigou and Beveridge. Gandhiji was deeply interested in human welfare and fully recognised the fact that material, moral and political welfares were all inter-related and that none could be treated in isolation.

Gandhian conception of economics was neither a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life nor of 'allocation of scarce means between unlimited ends.' For him the best political economy was care and culture of men, one that would admonish the mischief created by itself. Gandhiji even made use of the two logical methods of Induction and Deduction (which are used by the economists to analyse economic phenomena). He made use of both by his observance and meditation, thus showing his genius of compromise and commonsense.

Gandhiji was a great advocate of the personality of the individual. He was quite right in his assessment that a large country like India in particular and the world in general cannot fruitfully sustain itself in the long run without individual responsibility. He wanted the least or no interference from the state. Yet he was no doctrinaire free-trader. He fully understood the implications and vices of competition. He was a staunch believer in self-sufficiency.

HIS ATTITUDE TO MACHINES

Gandhiji advocated a radical change in the machinery and labour ratio. According to him, "Mechanised production does not only threaten the lives of individuals and sections within a nation, but it also imperils the happiness, independence, safety and integrity of nations." The two world wars are a testimony to the cumulative vices of competition. According to him, the only unalterable and rock-bottom test of whether an occupation or method of production is

economical or otherwise, is how far it answers life's vital needs and what the making of it means to the producer. The result of mechanised production is a pile of soulless goods. The mill hands—for after all they are 'hands' not 'heads,' much less 'hearts'—do no creative work. The creative faculty is dead in them. Gandhiji was not blind to the advantages accruing from large-scale mechanised production. For him whatever advantages machinery had—and they were numerous—it had enslaved the people, destroyed human skill, invaded the privacy of the home and disturbed the morals of the family, crippled the creative genius of the craftsman and killed his personality as well as independence. It has introduced international complications by rousing a sense of competition where the spirit of co-operation should have ruled their inter-relations and kindled a spirit of imperialism with its attendant horrors of industrialism and militarism. It has annihilated time and distance and has brought nearer the countries of the world but thrown apart the nations one from the other. It has brought together the bodies but rent asunder the hearts and soul of the people.

Gandhian Economics substitutes contentment in place of craze, because salvation of the world lies in the progress towards a non-violent society, which in its turn would depend on the elimination of violence which generally manifests itself in one of the three forms, *viz*, exploitation of man by man, crime and punishment and war. An effort, therefore, would be made to pattern the life of the society on that of the family so that the motive for exploitation ceases and wrongs are redressed, evil resisted and crimes are considered as maladies to be cured.

THE GANDHIAN WAY

Hence he considered that plain-living was essential to a non-exploitative society and conducive to the fullness of life. For such a life it is necessary that every individual should put in an amount of physical labour in production of basic needs of life. Regions should be increasingly self-sufficient in respect of material wants. Such regional self-sufficiency in Gandhiji's considered opinion promotes fellow-feeling and improves human relationships in ever-widening circles. Man should therefore be trained and equipped more and more to participate in an intelligent and responsible manner in inter-regional, social, moral and cultural efforts. Regional self-sufficiency based on decentralisation of both economic and political power is essential for the development of the whole personality of man. This, in short, is the Gandhian way, which alone can save the world from the present chaos.

Universities in the U.S.A.

Dr. A. S. Schenkman in a BBC talk as published in *Science and Culture* considers that his task is to give some personal impressions of different types of American Universities and

Colleges. He proceeds with his classification of the American Universities :

First in seniority, though not necessarily in rank, as I have just implied, are Harvard and Yale. Age is honoured, in America as in England, and so we can respect the traditions which put Harvard, Yale and Princeton into a class by themselves. Respect, yes, but immediately we admit respect we must show clearly that the respect is neither more nor less than that warranted by the facts. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton fall into a first group on the basis of age and traditional reputation, not necessarily because they differ significantly in other ways from Chicago or Columbia, also great private universities.

Second I shall put the giant State universities, large student bodies, large budgets. I taught for a year at the University of Illinois, 1946-47, and that year the university had in all its divisions 28,000 students. And the budget for a two-year period was \$88,000,000 (£31,000,000). In this group of large State universities we put also the Universities of Minnesota (with its outstanding President Morrill, the equivalent of Illinois outstanding Stoddard) the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, California, and Ohio State. I shall make a third arbitrary group to include the giants of the Columbia, Cornell, Chicago, private-type and the medium State universities. In 1949, Columbia had 21,000 students, Cornell 9,000, Chicago 11,000 and for the same period the average enrolment of some of the more important State universities was about 12,000 students.

In a fourth group I shall put the small State universities such as those of New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, Maine. These often produce teachers and professors who are taken up by institutions higher in the present prestige level of American educational life. I shall make a fifth hybrid group for the world-famous Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology, and several more of the type. And finally, in two last categories we have the smaller American colleges—the well-known institutions such as Oberlin and Swarthmore, Amherst and Williams, Antioch College. And similar, in size at least, the many small colleges whose names are known only to a few. These exist, most of them, without reputation, and play a humble (but a worthwhile) part. So much for the stage. Now to consider their over-all design.

THE 'HIGH-SCHOOL PRODUCT'

It is not easy, in a brief space, to give a picture of something as complicated as American education. Yet actually the main lines are simple to draw. There are the institutions, the teachers, and the students. I have tried roughly to classify the institutions. I think that, with like accuracy and like freedom, I can also describe the students. The average American college student is poorly prepared to face either the realities of life or the academic and artificial rigours of college education. In the majority of cases the "high-school product" is poorly equipped by his school (secondary school). He has had bad teaching. And he enters college (or matriculates as you would say) with, if anything, but vague notions of what he is looking for. Entrance to college is at the average age of seventeen—and so, as you see, he is younger (and for that reason alone less academically advanced) than a student who starts at Oxford or Bristol. I think that there is no question that academically, in book learning, the American student in the late teens is a year or more behind his English age-equivalent, though he may have greater flexibility socially.

I pay my respects to the American high school. It has served a function, but that it has succeeded in bringing real education, few, even in the United States, would claim. The high school is an outfit of mass production, and the product is often criticised by college presidents

as of excellent quality but 'coming apart at the seams'. Hutchins, President Chicago University, spoke recently on education for democracy. 'The foundation of democracy is universal suffrage,' he said. 'Universal suffrage makes every man a ruler; every man needs the education that rulers ought to have.' But, he added, 'in America in the last 150 years the idea of an education appropriate to rulers has got lost somewhere.' We accept the premise that 'everybody has the right to education' yet we believe that 'only a few are qualified for a good education.' Therefore says Hutchins, 'it appears that those who have no qualification for a good education must be given a bad education, because everybody has the right to education.' Hutchins is often only fifty per cent. sense and the other fifty per cent. spice. But he is right about the state of our educational health. Teaching is pretty poor in the American school and we have a cycle—poor teachers, poor students, poor teachers (especially with the low prestige accorded to school teaching), poor students, and so on. The educationist has his cycle just as definitely as the botanist has his carbon cycle, and the astronomer his cycles.

What happens, then, when this high school student gets handed his diploma—many of them do not reach even that stage, having left school out of sheer boredom, and takes himself off to college? He knocks at the door of Harvard, and if Harvard does not take him Columbia may, and if not Columbia the University of Vermont. To complicate the possibilities further, he may even go to one of many 'junior colleges' for two years of college studying. Let us accept him at Vermont, or Columbia. The college (I use the term to include universities here) is also an outfit of mass production. There were about 2,000,000 students in American colleges and universities



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a year or two ago, not counting an additional 600,000 working for advanced degrees. It takes no great powers of prophecy to say that the average American student will read for a B.A. or B.Sc., the American degree which is a year or two—more in extreme cases—behind your English B.A. In other words the student is immediately put into the mould and if nothing untoward happens and he does the minimum amount of work required—the proper number of 'units' or courses—he will at the end of four years be given his degree, and in many cases with much deserved honours.

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But the average student, being average, does not work for or receive honours. What does he get from his college education? In most cases, a good specialist education—not more. He has been lectured at for four years (and with 2,000,000 college students in the country we are told that the lecture system has to stay), he has been treated often as an inanimate 'thing' rather than as a personality. But his B.A. is the key to so many jobs, and he has that key. By the time he gets his diploma in his hand he identifies B.A. with education, is convinced that because he is a specialist in one field, statistics, or Spanish, or agriculture—he is now qualified to make pronouncements on—oh, so many things. He can now differentiate without emotion between Roosevelt and Willkie, between Truman and MacArthur, or that is what he feels. Some of the world's problems are due to the production—in all countries—of too many specialists who think that because they have degrees they are therefore educated and should be listened to.

It is an unfortunate thing. One might say that in America we have devalued the college (or university) degree. But people still go for devalued currency. Not only is a university education in great demand but there is such an emphasis on degrees, that those who do not have them—and there are still many—feel inferior, uneducated, handicapped, and so on. And we have the interesting, and sad, phenomenon of many people who have an education that only life itself and experience can give, feeling sorry for themselves because they never had an opportunity to get a degree; at the opposite extreme college-trained men and women, excellent folks many of them, bolstered by the possession of these diplomas, degrees, prestige symbols, feeling sure of themselves because they have had the essential college education or degree. I need not even point out the obvious—that an uneducated college man, in the wrong place, can do a great deal of harm.

All of this refers to the 'average student.' Our finest products are equal to any in the world. But if our average is low, what is the reason? My own answer is that we must look to the teaching staff. To be sure, the college president claims that most of the fault is in the curriculum, and that we need only give students more 'general education.' General education bids fair to become the fetish of the 'fifties' and America must get both credit for starting the movement and blame for keeping it too much on paper. One does not have general education simply by changing the number of a course and transferring it to the jurisdiction of a committee on general education. I have myself taught as a junior instructor in just such a number-changed course, and so I know. Too often do we in America make glorious curricular changes—and keep the same teachers to administer them. It does not make sense. But what are our teachers like? I am speaking now of university teachers. They are well equipped professionally in their own fields. In many cases they are the world experts in their particular subjects. But more often than not they are specialists and not 'generally educated'.....I shall

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of Shastras—Sarvanandanatha

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vada—Creation—The Indian Magna Mater

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Hindu Ritual—Vedanta & Tantra—The Psycho-
logy of Religious Ritual—Shakti as Mantra—
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make another division here. There is a difference between college teachers and university teachers. In the American university there is usually more emphasis on research, and promotions are given for research accomplishment, and not usually merely for good teaching. Research (or shall we say 'production of papers'?) is what seems to matter, and teaching is all too often ignored. The younger staff members of a university have first to finish their degrees, and then their lives are ruled by the necessity to produce a certain number of papers each year.

Smaller institutions, colleges of the Swarthmore or Amherst type, have developed their reputations more because of their standards of teaching and the atmosphere is far, far healthier. To be sure, even these small residential colleges have an air of artificiality about them, but there is much less separation here between 'education' and 'life.' And, whereas in the Harvard, Columbia type of institution most of the actual teaching of undergraduates is done by younger men, men pressed by their own degree requirements, here at the small colleges teaching can more often be done by those who like it for its own sake. The record is pretty clear on this point. Good average small colleges make a significant contribution out of all proportion to their size. And the larger and 'greater' universities do not contribute so much in undergraduate teaching as might have been imagined. My own belief is that the larger the university the greater the malady of psychological isolation; and curricular changes alone cannot remedy the dangers of the situation, cannot give students a 'feeling of belongingness' to an institution which because of size itself has come to be impersonal.

When it comes right down to it, there is no such thing as a 'best university' in America or anywhere else. Students can still 'belong' to places the size of Antioch, of

Aberdeen, of Reading—or of Reed College. But in a university which runs up in size much above two or three thousand students, the 'loyalty' of individuals seems to be directed more to departments—and to teachers—than to the rather inanimate university body. The true university is a collection of men and women, who work together with a common purpose and a common goal. Because it is so seldom that students are given the right to help determine this common purpose and goal, we have outstanding departments more often than great universities. I could name the Astronomy Department at Harvard, Physics at Bristol, Education at Utrecht, Philosophy at Edinburgh, Physiology at Cambridge or Lund. I could name, too, departments, in all subjects, which do so outstanding a job in post-graduate training in many American institutions. These are the groups which develop group spirit, to such a high degree.

There are, then, great differences between the English and the American educational scenes. If you are shocked by my picture of the average American student, remember please that our average is bound to be lower than yours, in academic attainments and in educational achievements, because we give a college education to so many more people, remember, too, that you are having the same problem of over-large size and consequent impersonality in universities like Liverpool or Leeds, or Glasgow.

But there is no such thing as a best university. There are many which, as Hutchins says, are 'not very good'—but which have outstanding and dedicated men. If only we would learn to make the 'feeling of belongingness' which we see in some departments include even more students and teachers, in even more universities. If we could do this then what would be taking place in Red-bricks, American and European, would truly be significant in the world today.



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Vidisa and Sanchi

In the course of his article on the sixteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Lucknow in the first week of October, 1951, Dr. V. Raghavan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

• • Having finished Agra on the onward journey to Lucknow, the writer came down to the states of Gwalior and Bhopal to see Bhilsa and Sanchi. The antiquity of the Buddhistic monuments of Sanchi go to the time of Asoka, whose pillar edict here, as the one at Saranath, warns the monks against schismatic activities. The Stupa at Sanchi stands on a small hill, very near the present Railway station of the same name, and thanks to the labour and care of successive archaeologists, Cunningham, Maisey, Marshall and others, the Stupa stands now in as good a restoration as possible; the broken fragments have also been gathered in a Museum in situ. The three huge volumes of illustrations reproducing the entire monument in all its parts and commentary thereon by Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar published and presented by the Government of Bhopal to all important libraries bespeak the care that the State has been bestowing on this great site which occupies a leading place in the history of Indian art. The Stupa itself enshrined the relics of the two chief pupils of the Buddha, Sariputta and Moggallana, which have recently been so much in the news, and for which the Maha-Bodhi Society has built on the foreground of the same hill a modern temple which, despite the desire to embody some of the local architectural motifs and designs, fails to harmonise with the Stupa. The structures of the site come up to the Gupta times and the best and oldest part of the work on the main Stupa and its four gateways, embodying carvings on sandstone of scenes from Buddha's life and the Jatakas, was done in the period of the Sungas in the centuries immediately preceding Christ. The fine carvings have reproduced in the smallest compass a whole civilization, and to a student not merely of sculpture, but of social conditions, vehicles, dress, ornaments, music, dance, etc., they afford ample materials. As the writer unwillingly walked down the steps of the hill to hurry to the neighbouring Bhilsa, his feeling was one of exhilaration, like that of one who had realised a great ambition or reached one of the land-marks of his career.

In its great old days, Sanchi was part of the great Vidisa (Bhilsa), a capital of the Sungas, the renowned seat of a king, as Kalidasa says in his *Meghadutam*.

It was here that Kalidasa's hero Agnimitra, and the Sudraka of Bana's *Kadambari* ruled. There is little doubt that Kalidasa sojourned in this region for some time and as the writer wandered over the place and laid himself in the cool dark waters of the Betwa here, his heart, in wistful imagination, like the poet's cloud, travelled over the lines of the *Meghasandesa* on the Dasarna country and the rippled waters of the Vetravati which the poet asks the cloud to drink from, as from the beloved's face with playful brows.

The old Vidisa whose older importance was later eclipsed by Ujjain, must have extended from the Sanchi site to the site of the confluence of the two rivers Betwa (Vetravati) and Bes, the latter of which gives the name Besnagar to the locality. The Vetravati winds its way along Sanchi. Four miles from the present township of Bhilsa is the double hill called

Udayagiri, which, with its twenty caves, carvings and inscriptions, was an important place in the Gupta times; on the rear of the hill, on the topmost platform is found the basement of a Gupta temple, and when one looks down from here towards the Bes skirting the hill, one can very well imagine the picturesque town which once flourished here; and two miles from the same Bhilsa, in the fork of the Bes and Vetravati, stands the famous Heliodorus column, testifying to the existence of a populous Besnagar in 150 B.C. at this sacred sangam.

The Udayagiri hills contain twenty caves, including a couple of Jain and Buddhistic monuments. They belong to the Gupta age and are valuable for history, literature, religion and iconography. According to one of the epigraphs here, King Chandragupta II Vikramaditya himself visited Udayagiri in the company of a poet of Pataliputra, Kausta Saba. The most famous is the Varaha cave (no. 5), where we have the scene of the Lord's Boar incarnation carved in appropriately large dimensions, and represents the most impressive and best preserved work in these hills. Next in importance would come the cave (no. 13) where lies the figure of Vishnu Seshasayi, which is unfortunately cut atwain on the face. The Amrita-mathana scene on the top of the door of cave 19 is a rare and noteworthy piece of work. The repeated representation of Devi Mahishasura-mardani with twelve arms and the buffalo-demon, but standing on foot and not riding a lion as either in Mahabalipuram or Bana's *Chandi Sataka*, and always accompanied by the representation of the Sapta-matrikas is significant for the history of Devi-cult, showing an earlier phase. The rock of Udayagiri comes off in slates and this has unfortunately

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led to the deterioration of all the work here, except that in the Varaha cave.

The Heliodorus column is of greater cultural significance and is a standing monument of the attraction which Hinduism had for the foreign Greeks settled on Indian soil. The monument is a Garuda-stambha, set up in honour of God Vasudeva and bears an interesting Pali inscription which says that 'Heliodora, the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila' came as an ambassador from Maharaja Amtalikita (the Greek Satrap Antialkidas) to the Sunga King Bhagabhadra, son of Kasi in the fourteenth year of the latter's reign; Heridoros calls himself further in this inscription, a Bhagavata and says that three are the steps to immortality. Self-control, Sacrifice, and Vigilance, the passage echoing, (as has been rightly pointed out by H. C. Roychoudhuri in the *Journal of the Asiatic*

Society, Bengal, 1922, p. 260, and the *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 253 and by K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XV., p. 136), one in the Sanatsujatiya of the Mahabharata.

The spell that Hinduism cast on foreigners and its inclusive zeal in times of antiquity were indeed appropriate thoughts with which one could come home. But sometimes there was also the other thought—how desirable and necessary it is for the new national Government of Free India to make special facilities available for scholars and votaries of culture to see the great centres of ancient Indian cultural activity, not only in this far-flung country, but in the neighbouring countries of Greater India where once India reared a magnificent cultural empire!

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Emerson and Eastern Values

Chidambaram Swami writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Man in every age and clime has been aware of ultimates in his own way. Hence the fundamentals of men's faith more or less agree, all the world over and throughout history. The difference, if any, is not in the ultimates, but in man's view of them and in the values that he gives to them, and in this he appears to be very largely influenced by heredity, tradition, environment and history. Views and values, in fact, imply an object or an ultimate. The East, particularly India, has been friendly to the ultimates. Hence the East became the cradle of religion and philosophy.

There seems to be an incompatibility between values of the ultimate, viewed mainly from the superficial or materialistic angle, and from the substantial or spiritual angle. Hence the difference, that has now become popular, between views or values, Oriental and Occidental. The ruthless use of the analytical scalpel is partly responsible for the creation of what seems like a permanent abyss between the two. But in a world of impermanence, how can there be anything like a permanent barrier or abyss? What, then, are the Eastern values, and how does Emerson stand in relation to them? Where do we find him on the Aryan Path?

Emerson's life proves beyond doubt that he was not a slave to convention or tradition, self or self, cult or system.

"He had a passion for the examination of ethical and metaphysical systems which is very like Franklin's zest for peering into the secrets of Nature . . . Everything that the world's philosophy can offer emerges in Emerson's pages."—Harold Laski: *The American Democracy*.

He was influenced, as Swami Nikhilananda pointed out in a recent address, by the philosophy of Greece, the ethics of China, the poetry of the Sufis, and the mystical ideas of India. Consequently he was viewed in different ways: by Oliver Wendell Holmes as "Buddha of the West," by the New Englander as a "New England Brahmin," by Allan Nevins as the "Mahomet of the Mecca of Concord," by Max Muller as "Amarasunu," by Maeterlinck as "the sage of ordinary days," by Frederick Harrison as "the unfathomable prophet of the eternal silences," by Conan Doyle as one as "truly inspired as the ancient prophets," by the most reactionary and powerful of Russian statesmen as "an oracle." Emerson had a great attraction to the Orient. He sings of "Zion or Meru," of "Bethlehem's Heart," of "The Free Arab," of "The Pandit of the East," of "Good Saadi" and "Wise Ali," of "the Brahmin and the Sacred Seven," of "The Worth of Omar's Pearls," of "Alcoran and Its Meanings Sweet," and of "Ali Ben Abu Taleb and Hafiz."

Who know every temple and Kiosk,

Out from Mecca to Ispahan.

"Beggars in Iran and Araby," of the Bible, the sacred writings of the Hindus, the Persians and the Greeks, "the alphabet of the nations," Socrates, Manu, Mencius, Confucius and Zartusht.

Value implies an object and one who evaluates. The essence of value lies perhaps in the experiencing of the object. It depends on the interaction of subjective and objective factors. There are competing values hard to decide between. One feels very often the need for a standard of value and this presupposes a central or supreme value which will harmonize and complete the values of experience. Values can be known only through experience, lower or higher.

"The ideal of value is harmonious living."—George Galloway: *The Philosophy of Religion*.

Harmony itself is life. Life's value is Harmony. It is here that we find the heart of Eastern values. The legacy which the East has bequeathed to the world is the concept that Life is harmony and that harmony can be attained by actually living the Light that streams from the East. This harmony, Concord, *Shanti*, consists in seeing in Matter, Spirit; in Jeevatma, the projection of the Paramatma. This is the Sanatanic harmony. Its substitutes will pass away. It is this harmony that has blossomed in the Eastern culture, described by Pandit Nehru in an address at Nagpur on 1st January, 1950, as "a culture deep, abiding, and subsisting and carrying on in spite of terrible disasters through thousands of years." The same strain is heard from Concord: "The central intention of Nature is harmony and joy." The real value of this highest teaching of the East can be enjoyed and demonstrated only by a man's "becoming the embodiment of what he believes in," as the Prime Minister observed in that speech, and making it as far as practicable the basis of human activity in all departments.

Emerson's attraction to the East, more inherent than induced showed itself even in his teens. He found himself at home with Oriental thought. Born in 1803, as early as 1822 he wrote to his aunt:

"I am curious to read your Hindu Mythologies. One is apt to lament over indolence and ignorance, when he reads some of those sanguine students of the Eastern antiquities, who seem to think that all the books of knowledge and all the wisdom of Europe twice told lie hid in the treasures of the Brahmins and the volumes of Zoroaster."

We shall now deal with certain characteristic parallels between Emerson and the Sages of the East.

"He who works, having given up attachment, resigning his actions to God, is not touched by sin, even as a lotus leaf is untouched by water."—*Gita*, V. 10.

"Teach me your mood, O patient stars! who climb each night the ancient sky, leaving on space no shade, no scars, no trace of age, no fear to die."—EMERSON.

"He who thinks that this slays and he who thinks that this is slain; both of them fail to perceive the truth; this one neither slays nor is slain."—*Gita* II. 19.

If the red slayer think he slays,

Or if the slain think he is slain,

Then know not well the subtle ways

I keep, and pass, and turn again.—EMERSON

Swami Paramananda in *Emerson and Vedanta* draws other illuminating parallels between Emerson and certain scenes familiar to the Pilgrims on the Aryan Path.

"*Ekam evadwityam*. Spirit is one without a second. The Absolute though One is conceived as many; countless luminaries become one in Him; all sacred rites become one in Him. He abides equally in the Soul of all existing things; He is the Inner Self of all creatures, and all beings become one in Him."—*Yajur Veda*.

"There is One Mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same . . . Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent . . . Of the Universal Mind each individual man is one more incarnation."—EMERSON

"In the nature of the soul is the compensation for the inequalities of condition. The radical tragedy

seems to be the distinction of More and Less . . . It seems a great injustice. But see the facts nearly and these inequalities vanish . . . The heart and soul of all being one, this bitterness of His and Mine ceases. His is mine, I am my brother, and my brother is me."

—EMERSON

"The Atman cannot be attained by the mere study of the Scriptures, nor by intellectual perception, nor by frequent hearing of it; he whom the Self chooses, by him alone is It attained. To him the Self reveals Its true nature. But he who has not turned away from evil conduct, whose senses are uncontrolled, who is not tranquil, whose mind is not at rest, he can never attain this Self, even by knowledge.—*Kathopanishad*."

"Every man's word, who speaks from that life must sound vain to those who do not dwell in the same thought on their own part. I dare not speak for It. My words do not carry Its august sense; they fall short and cold. Only Itself can inspire whom It will, and behold! Their speech shall be lyrical and sweet, and universal as the rising of the wind. Before we can define our relation with the world, we must discover our relation with its source. That is, we must project our mind beyond this little span of self-consciousness and learn to know our real Self."—EMERSON

"When the light of the Atman or Self has risen, there is no day, no night, neither existence nor non-existence. For the Sun does not shine there, nor the moon nor the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When He shines, everything shines after Him; by His Light all this is lighted. He makes all. He knows all, the Self-caused, the Knower, the Time of time."—*Svetasvatopanisad*

"The emphasis of facts and persons in my thought has nothing to do with time. And so always the soul's scale is one: the scale of the senses and the understanding is another. Before the revelation of the Soul, Time, Space, and Nature shrink away.—EMERSON

"Truth is not the exclusive property of any one group of people, but is the common property of the whole human race and equally open to all who can claim it. Whoever is open to truth does not care from what source it comes. It is Truth, that is sufficient. lofty spiritual truth exists, irrespective of time or place. When people are ready to receive It, It unfolds itself to them."—*Vedic Teaching*

"The mind is one, and the best minds, who love Truth for its own sake, think much less of property in Truth. They accept it thankfully everywhere and do not label or stamp it with any man's name, for it

is theirs, long beforehand, and from eternity. The learned and the studious of thought have no monopoly of wisdom. Their violence of direction in some degree disqualifies them to think truly. We owe many valuable observations to people who are not very acute or profound, and who say the thing without effort, which we want, and have long been hunting in vain. The action of the soul is oftener in that which is felt and left unsaid, than in that which is said in any conversation."—EMERSON

"The Self-existent created the senses out-going; for this reason man sees the external world, not the inner Atman or Self. Some wise men, however, desiring immortality, with eyes turned away from the external, see the Great Self within."—*Vedic Scriptures*

"The great difference between teachers, sacred or literary, is that one class speak from within or from experience, as parties and possessors of the fact and the other class from without as spectators merely, or perhaps as acquainted with the fact on the evidence of third persons."—EMERSON

"The knower of Brahman (the Supreme) becomes like unto Brahman . . . Rejoices, because he has obtained that which is the cause of all true joy."—*Kathopanishad*.

"Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the Soul. The simplest person, who in his integrity worships God, becomes God: yet for ever and ever the influx of this better and universal Self is new and unscarchable."—EMERSON

Let us see further Emerson's wonderful agreement with other Eastern concepts:

Transmigration:

"It is the secret of the world that all things subsist and do not die, but only retire a little from sight, and afterwards return again."

Fate:

When I was born,

From all the seas of strength fate filled a chalice;

Saying, "This be thy portion, child; this chalice,

Less than a lily's, thou shalt daily draw

From my great arteries,—nor less, nor more."

Maya:

The rushing metamorphosis,

Dissolving all that fixture is,

Melt things that be to things that seem,

And solid Nature to a dream.

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Today the traditional festivals are no longer as numerous as in the days of the Most Serene Republic, but they still derive a potent and incomparable charm both from the poetry of their past and from their own peculiar usages. The unmistakable quality of this charm can be gathered from two of these festivals, both nocturnal: The "Festa del Redentore" in July, and the August "Fresco" on the Grand Canal.

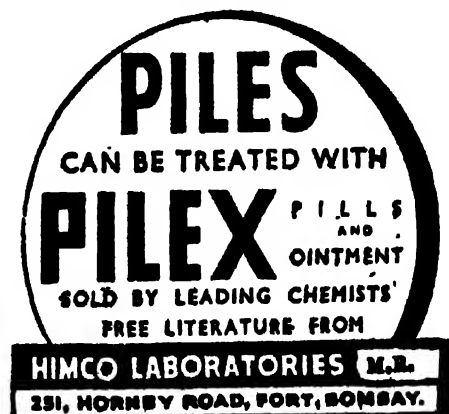
The origin of the "Festa del Redentore" is well-known. It goes back to the first celebration of a vow made by the Senate to go, together with the Doge, to offer prayers in a temple which was to be built on the Giudecca in thanksgiving for the City's deliverance from the plague which scourged it from 1576 to 1578. They were two years of frightful mortality which reduced the population by half, completely wiped out a large number of families, crippling the City governors with its toll, spread death and fear everywhere, and carried off many famous men, first among them Titian, full of years and glory. The building of the temple was entrusted to Palladio, who created in it the most perfect of his masterpieces of sacred architecture. The Doge's first solemn procession to the Giudecca took place as soon as the disappearance of the scourge was proclaimed, on the 21st of July, 1578. At that time, the temple's foundations were still being laid; and upon them, therefore, was erected for the occasion a hall of twining leafy branches hung with the richest of tapestries, with an improvised altar in its centre. Leaving the Basilica, the procession passed across the Basin of St. Mark along a bridge of boats stretching from the Palazzo Ducale shore to the island: the procession consisted of the Patriarch, the clergy, the religious guilds and those of the arts and crafts, the militia, the Chief Council, the Senate, the Doge with his court, and, immediately following, the surviving population chanting psalms.

In those days, the Giudecca was a place of grassy meadows and gardens, of fertile orchards, of a few but splendid patrician villas, of taverns and inns. When the religious ceremonies were over, the people scattered among these places of delight, lingering there, providing dinners and suppers in the open air, enjoying the peace of sea and meadow, happy in their escape from the nightmare of death. But since it was not easy for all to cross to the Giudecca by the bridge, many Venetians made their way, especially in the evening, in boats of very kind, pleasantly decorated and illuminated. And, in order to avoid the crowded landing-stages, they, from the mortal fear of unclean contacts, remained to banquet on board. The confused and improvised rejoicings of the early years gave place in later ones to carefully ordered festivities; instead of the bridge across the Basin, two were built; one spanning the Grand Canal, the other the Giudecca canal, and over them passed and repassed the daylight processions for the religious ceremony. When

evening fell, however, the boats arrived for the night's festivities which rapidly increased in splendour; public illuminations were added to the private ones; the little individual boats were joined by the huge barges of companies and guilds, transformed into floating banqueting-halls a-glitter with lights. In the midst were ampler pagodas formed by thousands upon thousands of lights within gaily-painted swaying Murano vases, with companies of singers and musicians; myriads of trembling Chinese lanterns lined the quays, throwing into relief the lines of the architecture, dotting the altars; fireworks blossomed into arabesques of flame, lighting the sky with their thunderous flashes and filling the waters with their reflections; everything was caught up in a whirl, an orgy, a rhythm of colour and sound, and the festival took on that character of a Bacchanalian night which has never since left it, and which is interrupted only by the dawn rising above the smoky Adriatic horizon.

The Night of the Redeemer, however, although it has its panoramic aspect on the Giudecca canal, splits itself into a thousand-and-one impulses which range the streets. Beneath pergolas of entwined mulberry branches, and lighted in Venetian style, the people dance, sing and drink, enlivening the City's remotest corners with scenes which offer a varied and impressive experience to him who knows where to find them among the maze of twisting alleys. The festival of the Night of the Redeemer, like the Naples Piedigrotta was for long a source of musical inspiration; from it sprang the "boat-songs" which became famous and which now form the repertoire of the gondola-serenade. One of these songs refers to the Night of the Redeemer as "most celebrated"; most celebrated it is indeed, and inimitable, and no one can claim to know Venetian life from the inside who has not enjoyed it at least once.

If the Night of the Redeemer is a people's festival, when they lightheartedly let themselves go, the Fresco Notturo in Canalgrande is aristocratic and rich in aesthetic emotions. Strictly speaking it may be held to derive from the famous freschi or evening races which followed the solemn regattas of large and small gondolas watched by the whole population from the banks; those re-



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gattas which, usually taking place in September in a magnificent setting of historical pomp with processions of sumptuous allegorical boats rowed by crews in gorgeous costumes, provide another of the typical spectacles of Venice. The "freschi" were the gay wanderings and swarmings of boats loaded with clusters of human beings. As night advanced, this festival took on a quality of fantasy in which light dominated and held sway. For, every one of the hundreds of palaces lining the Canal-azzo is lighted up in the way best suited to set off its particular beauties, while their several effects are joined in a general plan of progressive harmony. Reflected lights, coloured shades, diffused and delicate tints, now deepening, now unveiling the mystery of ark portals, elegant arches, alleys which, escaping from the gaze, plunge into the gloom beyond, and revealing monuments of every epoch enhanced by their frame of shadows; they follow each other from one end to the other of the world's most celebrated waterway, twisting with it on this side and that of the Rialto bridge. Through the wide-open windows splendid interiors are seen, glowing with the light of huge crystal chandeliers from Murano, while along the balconies flutter the flames of candles. Into this magic setting as evening darkens, slide the processions of illuminated gondolas, the boats prepared for the occasion glittering barges from which a programme of rare music will be wafted into the air; the pagodas all outlined with Chinese lanterns; and, finally the humble, unpretentious, but none the less necessary, boats of the people. Soon they are crowded together so close that one could, if one wished, pass on foot across them from bank to bank: a slowly moving throng, both audience and actors at the same time, in the spectacle of which they make part; they add to the solemn marble stillness of the background the disordered brush-strokes in a picture which is continually renewed with each changing vantage-point.

Truly Venice triumphs in this art of turning herself into a stage setting, in which she, a protagonist of unrivalled loveliness, exalts and displays that beauty at once incomparable and unforgettable.—*Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information*.

Andre Gide 1869-1951

The death of Andre Gide on February 19, at the age of 82, has robbed world literature of one of its most distinguished contemporary contributors.

World-wide recognition of his works was expressed not long ago through the award of the Nobel prize. More recently, Paris paid tribute to the great writer when the presentation of his *Caves du Vatican* was given at the Comedie-Francaise.

Sixty years ago, Gide's first books revealed to a discerning few, the restless searching of a mind that was to travel along many roads and absorb the most varied experiences.

From his stimulating travels in North Africa he drew inspiration for his *Nouritures Terrestres* (1897) followed by *L'Immoraliste* (1902) and *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue* (1903). His unorthodox ideas stimulated many young artists at the beginning of the century and two movements in particular which were to bring new life both to literature and the theatre; the "Nouvelle Revue Francaise," launched in 1909, and Jacques Copeau's *Vieux-Colombier*.

After the first world war, Gide began to study social problems. The travel diaries written in 1927 from materials gathered during his travels in the Congo and Chad, created a stir because of his outspoken condemnation of certain abuses of that period. In 1936, he published

two books on his experiences in Soviet Russia—*Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* and *Retouches a Mon Retour*—both of which inspired widespread controversy.

Gide strove endlessly to preserve the purity of the French language, but his ideas and philosophy were constantly enriched by contact with the works of foreign authors. He was proud to have introduced Kierkegaard to French readers. In addition to a voluminous output of creative writing, he wrote commentaries on Dostoevsky and Oscar Wilde, and translated Rilke, Shakespeare, Conrad, Blake, Whitman, Tagore and Kafka.

From the *Journal* begun in 1889 to his latest works, the writings of Andre Gide were a mirror of the constantly changing values of man's social and moral evolution during these sixty odd years.

At the Nobel prize-giving ceremony on December 10, 1947, M. Osterling, permanent secretary to the Swedish Academy of Literature, described the personality of this "much discussed writer" in these words:

"A very significant period in Europe's spiritual history is reflected in his works. More than any of his contemporaries, he was a man of contrasts, a Proteus whose ideas and opinions were in a continual state of flux. Hence, his writings are like an uninterrupted dialogue in which faith wages a ceaseless war against doubt, asceticism against an abundant love of life, discipline against a deep urge for liberty...."

"....Gide comes from a Protestant family, and although he revolted against his Puritan upbringing, he has remained all his life in contact with the fundamental problems of religion and at times, he has been able to express with a rare purity the message of Christian love."

"His 'immoralism,' so frequently misunderstood by..."

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his critics is in reality no more than the expression of his fervent desire for freedom from any restraint of conscience...

"His philosophy is a ceaseless search for 'the new.' He wants to awaken and instil new ideas, to set new problems. Above all, the effect is to challenge his readers to be wholehearted supporters or opponents of his ideas. This is the secret of his greatness."—Unesco

Fifty Thousand Americanisms

Bergen Evans writes about the not inconsiderable influence of Americanisms in an article on the history of the dictionary of the English language in the Newsfeature of *USIS*:

Americans have created or given new meanings to about 50,000 words in the past 300 years. These are now collected and comprehensively surveyed for the first time in the new *Dictionary of Americanisms*, edited by Dr. Mitford M. Mathews, of the University of Chicago Press. It is a valuable supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the two, together, with the *English Dialect Dictionary*, constitute a complete survey of the English language as spoken in the past and at present.

Americanisms are not confined to any particular region or class and do not for the most part represent older forms abandoned by standard speech. They fall into two classes: words which first came into the English language in the United States and English words which have acquired a special meaning in American usage.

Of words first used by Americans many are thought to be American Indian names for native growths—such as tobacco, persimmon, opossum. New devices needed new names—bifocals, harmonica, mimeograph; and contributions to science—appendicitis, tularemia, moron. Words such as nerds, phooey, and bunk, expressing various degrees of disdain, are original Americanisms. New meanings for older English words have resulted in the American robin and polecat, for example, being not the same animals as the European robin and polecat, but one looked and the other smelled sufficiently like their old-world counterparts to justify transferring the names. In like manner, new objects, new circumstances, and new customs gradually forced new meanings into old words until they were wholly changed.

Of the 50,000 terms which the *Dictionary of Americanisms* lists as peculiarly American only about 600 are borrowings from other languages. This seems very few, but it may be attributed in part to a lag between the adoption of a word and its appearance in a dictionary such as this, where each entry must have passed into printed use before it is included. The greatest number of additions were borrowed from the Spanish—then, in descending order of their frequency, from the American Indians, the French, the Dutch and the German. The large number of Spanish words is due to the United States having incorporated a number of areas in which Spanish was the established language. Thus there are words such as adobe, which is the name for clay of mud bricks dried by the sun and used in building adobe houses; arroyo, meaning the dry bed of a stream; mesa, a small, high plateau with steep sides; lariat, a long rope with a running noose at one end, used for lassoing or herding animals, and buckaroo, another name for the ranch worker, or cowboy, of the American South-west.

Most of the French borrowings came from frontier contacts early in United States development and account for such words as detour, prairie, mackinaw, portage and

toboggan. The mackinaw, for example, is a heavy coat, named for Mackinac, in the state of Michigan, where the French at one time distributed supplies to the American Indians. The Dutch borrowings in contrast are domestic, suggestive of well-fed warmth and snugness—waffle, cookie, cruller. The American Santa Claus is taken from the Dutch Saint Nicholas. The German additions are also homely and everyday—wiener, pretzel, hunk and dunk. The wiener, or frankfurter is the main ingredient in the American "hot dog." Hunk means a large piece, as of bread, and dunk means to dip the bread into a liquid when eating. The American hamburger, a round, fried cake made of ground beef, originally was named for the city of Hamburg, Germany, but Americans now have cheeseburgers, beefburgers, nutburgers, turtleburgers and more of the same.

The origin of many Americanisms is unknown. These include words such as gimmick, meaning a secret or a tricky device; grouchy, which means to be sulky or ill-tempered; dogie, the name given to a motherless calf in the American West; shindig, American slang for a merry party or dance; bull-doze, meaning to frighten by violence or threats; charley horse, meaning a stiffness caused by straining a muscle; and hundreds more. Even the midwestern State of Wisconsin is not certain what its name means. And an old automobile is known to Americans as a jalopy, but they do not know why.

Many of the 50,000 words in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* eventually may gain international usage, but at the present, only one can establish such claim. It is the American O.K., recognized as "all right; correct; approved" wherever language is spoken.



Giving Science A Voice

There was launched recently in Paris a French Association of Science Writers—the fifth such national group of special writers in this field. The oldest is the National Association of Science Writers in the U.S.A.; the second is the British; and then follow the Danish and Austrian.

In welcoming the French Association to Unesco House, where it held its first public meeting, Unesco's Director-General, M. Torres Bodet, reminded the writers that the scientist, whatever his discipline, is today at the heart of all progress. There is hardly a field of human activity unaffected by scientific advance. During the last few decades, the consequences of this scientific movement have not only remodelled our whole lives, but have also obliged us to restate and to reconsider all our problems. Religion, morals, our conceptions of the world have been largely reshaped.

Scientific knowledge, continued M. Torres Bodet, has therefore a key part to play in the formation of modern man and in the most urgent problem of our day: the reconciliation of men and the protection of peace. Science, through the riches it creates, can contribute in a fundamental manner to satisfy the basic needs of mankind and, in so doing, it works for peace. Further, the universality of the scientific mind, the generality of its methods, and the unbiased enthusiasm that research work engenders, all these help to build a common bridge between men.

EYES FOR THE PEOPLE

Science writers therefore have a key task to perform in society. It is not an easy one, for there is much ill-will, mistrust and fear of science to overcome. This fear is a symptom of the malaise of our age. The reason for it is obvious. People no longer believe in the inevitability of progress through scientific achievement.

The science writer has the difficult task of pointing out that science is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. It is a search for truth. The final decision about what is to be done with the practical application of scientific research rests with society. Therefore, a democratic society requires an informed public: not the least part of which information must be an adequate knowledge of progress and achievement in the field of the Sciences. The limitations as well as the possibilities of science must be understood. In all countries, whatever their state of economic development, the importance of the role of science is recognized. The Technical Assistance programme would be meaningless without this.

The science writer is the link between the scientists and the people. This is no mere mechanical role: he has a living function to perform. He makes clear to the

people the significance of the seemingly esoteric work in the laboratory: he penetrates into the secrets of the test-tube, he examines the radio-active wonders of the atomic pile, and he watches the surgeon with pioneer hands at his pre-frontal leucotomy. Science writers are eyes for the people.

In 1934, at the Pittsburg meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Einstein was to give his first lecture in English discussing his mathematical proof that mass and energy are equivalent and interchangeable. Mr. Herbert B. Nichols, natural sciences editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, tells how the newly-formed National Association of Science Writers tackled the problem of interpreting this important communication to the public: *Professor Einstein's single paragraph abstract was absolutely hopeless so far as getting any quotable quotes was concerned. His address was scheduled for a most inopportune time for the majority of our deadlines. He was held incommunicado by well-meaning friends. He could not see reporters. So we drafted a request that he meet with us all at a time convenient to him, but in advance of his scheduled lecture.*

Professor Einstein agreed: *That day we all had good, front-page stories in which we were able to interpret for the public what Einstein's theories actually meant, why the theory of relativity is important to almost every branch of science, and a forecast on the possibility of some day harnessing energy within the nuclei of atoms as a useful source of power.*

STIMULATION FOR SCIENTISTS

No science can flourish as an isolate: and the science writer helps to make apparent to the scientists some of the problems that need expert investigation. It is an aid to the vision of the scientist. *I rather think, comments Mr. Nichols, that our activities in playing up certain stories like Urey's work with heavy water, Meitner's discovery of the meaning of fissionable uranium, Anderson and the cyclotron, Van de Graaff and the electrostatic generator, early work with projected X-rays, and many others, actually stimulated other scientists reading of accounts to further thought and action, and actually hastened both scientific progress and personal recognition for the pioneer scientists themselves.*

This is certainly true of the writings of British science writers like J. G. Crowther and Ritchie Calder, who have pinpointed current research and its social implications so ably that new lines of development have been opened up.

Unesco wishes to help the formation of associations of science writers throughout the world. When there are sufficient groups, the plan is to consider the establishment of an international federation of associations of science writers.—*Unesco Courier*.

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The Modern Review—August 1951

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
Agricultural Finance in India		India's National Income	
P. K. Ghose	376	Gian Parkash Kapur	
Appeasement Birds Coming Home to Roost		India's National Income	
C. L. R. Sastri	282	R. M. Agarwal	145
Baltimore: American Seaboard City (<i>illust.</i>)		"I Decline to Accept the End of Man"	
Harold A. Williams	37	William Faulkner	
Book Reviews	64, 155, 238, 322, 407, 491	Individualism of John Stuart Mill, The	
Ceylon, A Visit to (<i>illust.</i>)		Raghuveer Singh	
K. S. Bhatnagar	42	Irrigation in India	
Churchill's Victory in 1951 British Election		C. B. Mamoria	448
Taraknath Das	445	Kodaikanal (<i>illust.</i>)	
Coconut-The Kalpabriksha (<i>illust.</i>)		L. N. Gubil	306
Murari Prasad Guha	131	Lake George—Queen of American Lakes (<i>illust.</i>)	
Constitution of Israel, The		Paul Levitt	392
Harnam Singh	29	Land Revolution in China	
Crisis in School Education, The		Sudhansu Bimal Mukherji	33
Sudhirkumar Ghosh	61	Liaquat Ali Khan	
Cultural Expansion of India in Africa (<i>illust.</i>)		M. Hafiz Syed	461
Tamonash Ch. Das Gupta	385	London Letter	
(The) English Judiciary and the Trial of		D. Graham Pole	116 364
Nanda Kumar (<i>illust.</i>)		Midnight (<i>poem</i>)	
Sanat Kumar Sarkar	473	Cyril Modak	15
English Poets and the Nightingale		Minerals and World Wars	
Amarendra Datta	46	Sukumar Merh	292
Eve of the General Elections		Norway (<i>illust.</i>)	
C. L. R. Sastri	463	Adinath Sen	125
Five-Year Plan, The		Notes	1 85, 173, 257 341, 421
S. N. Agarwal	196	Old Man's Last Hope, An	
(A) Five-Year Plan for India		Jadunath Sarkar	1 2
B. K. Goswami	361	Olympic Peninsula, The (<i>illust.</i>)	
Famous English Houses (<i>illust.</i>)		Mabel Otis Robinson	17
D. Graham Pole	301	Origin of Family Names or Surnames, The	
Foreign Periodicals	77, 167, 249 335, 419, 505	Lalit Mohan Roy	402
Gems from Guru Nanak's Song Divine, "Japji"		Party, Government and State	
Balwant Singh	487	A. K. Ghosal	159
Genesis of Hindi		Pineapple-Nature's Crowned King (<i>illust.</i>)	
Chandra Bhan Gupta	317	Murari Prasad Guha	394
(A) Ghazal of the Dark Continent of		Planning Education at the Post-Matriculation	
Africa (<i>illust.</i>)		Stage	
Tamonash Ch. Das Gupta	221	R. C. Ray	210
Gospel of Krishna, The		'President of India, The'	
Sudhir Chandra Majumdar	150	K. K. Basu	206
Growth of Political Parties in Modern China, The		President of India, The	
Chou Hsiang-Kuang	367	S. P. Sen-Varma	25
Hawaii: Paradise of the Pacific (<i>illust.</i>)		Prevailing Misconceptions about Bharata	
Maude Jones	308	Natya (<i>illust.</i>)	
He Chose to Be an Artist		E. Krishna Iyer	469
D. P. Roy Chowdhury	484	Prospects of Democracy in Free India	
Herbert Spencer and the Problem of Private		Nandlal Chatterji	288
Property in Land		Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sri	
Rani Mukhopadhyaya	51	C. L. R. Sastri	21
How the British Lost India		Religion of Guru Nanak	
Jadunath Sarkar	277	Sudul Singh Caveeshar	488
Humayun in Iran		Reminiscences of Prof. Carlo Formichi	
N. B. Roy	383	Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya	144
Ibsen, Henrik—The Poet		Republic of India—Promise and Performance, The	
V. Puftamadappa	227	Haridas T. Mazumdar	198
Inaccuracies in Official Statistics in West Bengal		Role of Village Panchayats in Indian Economy	
Jatindra Mohan Datta	147	C. B. Mamoria	169 1
Indian National Congress: Its Past, Present		Self-Introduction (<i>illust.</i>)	
and Future, The		Sudhir Khastgir	257
Gur Prasad Srivastava	214	Simplification of Sanskrit Grammar, The	
Indian Periodicals	71, 161, 243, 329, 413, 497	Suhas Chandra Ray	49

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		
Song in Kheyal (poem)		Indonesian Language, The	
Cyril Modak	281	Matisse, Henri	
Strange Case of Baudelaire, The		(A) New Library for New Readers in India	
B. N. Chaturvedi	315	New York Times on 100th Anniversary	
Tensions in the Middle East		Paris, The Bimillenary of	
Taraknath Das	193	Policy for Preventing War and Preserving	
Three Pioneer Free Institutions in		the Peace	
Calcutta (illustr.)		Principle of Indeterminacy, The	
Jogesh C. Bagal	229	Royal Society Plans for Memorial Scholarships	
Time is Fleeting (poem)		for Lord Rutherford	
Cyril Modak	366	Screen, The--A New "Blackboard" in British	
Udaipur--The Venice of India (illustr.)		Schools	
Lehar Singh Mehta	40	Soviet Kazakhstan	
Unesco and Its Educational Ideals		Sweeping the Cobwebs out of Our Museums	
Narayan C. Chanda	521	Unesco's 6th General Conference	
Vinobaji in Telangana		Venice--The World's Theatre	
Suresh Ramabhai	151	World's Tiniest Plant is Leafless Parasite	
Wales, A Corner of (illustr.)			
Adinath Sen	479	NOTES	
Wall's Barrier, The (short story)			
Santa Devi	311	(Shree) Achharam's Resignation	
Way to Self-Sufficiency, The		A I N. E. C.	
Amrit Lal	63	American Note on India's Decision	
Way to the Prosperity of Indians, The		Anglo-Egyptian Tension	
Khetramohan Patnaik	54	Animal Husbandry--Its Rationalisation	
When Constitutions Become Flexible and		Anti-Indianism in Pondicherry	
Curvaceous		Anti-Social Activities	
C. L. R. Sastri	119	Asian Solidarity	
Welfare State		Assassination of King Abdulla	
K. P. Khumani	297	Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan	
William Hazlitt		Auhmbeck's Activities in Pakistan	
C. L. R. Sastri	369	Bank Rate, The	
INDIAN PERIODICALS		Bengal South-Eastern Border	
Andre Gide's Place in Our Memories	162	Bethune School and College Centenary	
Burma in Myval	331	Bhakra-Nangal Project and Damodar Valley	
Deep Sea Fishing in India	74	"Birth of a Nation Suspended"	
Emerson and Eastern Values	503	Bombay's Milk Plan	
First Opposition to the Congress, The	71	Brahmo Samaj Gram Seva Sangha	
Freedom and Culture	242	Britain and Indian States Air Bases	
Gandhi the Economist	497	"Bull-Dog Politics"	
Buddhism Today--An Analysis	411	Burma's Demand for the Andamans	
Ideal of Liberty, The	245	Calcutta Dockers--Their Noble Deed	
Ideal of Social Reconstruction, The	165	Canada's Culture	
London Voyage to Reality	329	Central Aid to Part B States	
Men and Machines	247	Central Food Technological Research	
My First Interview with Gandhi	413	Institute, Mysore	
Naming the Country	161	Change in Congress Policy	
Oil Dilemma--Iranian Crisis	245	Chinese Cultural Mission	
Rajiv, Jain Antiquities of	332	(Mr.) Churchill's Problems	
Sommerfeld, Arnold	416	Commemorating Sister Nivedita	
Somnath, The Resurrection of	163	Conditions in India and Pakistan	
Towards a United World	73	Congress Crisis, The	
Universities in the U.S.A.	497	Congress Election Campaign, The	
Vidisa and Sanchi	501	Constitution Bill Passed	
FOREIGN PERIODICALS		Corruption in India	
Affandi--The People's Artist of Indonesia	336	Corruption in Office and in Industry	
American Literature	248	"Cracks in the Kremlin Wall"	
Americanisms, Fifty Thousand	507	Crown Prince William and Marshal Petain	
Andre Gide	506	Deadlock in Korea	
Balzac	420	Denmark's Fisheries	
Cultural Relations between Italy and India	78	(Lala) Deshbandhu Gupta, Lajpat Rai,	
Early Travellers in India	167	O. P. Samuel	
Fourscore and Seven Years Ago	169	"Dividing Britisher, The"	
Living Science a Voice	508	"Doubling the World's Food-crops"	
Heavyweight Champion Calls on President		East African Prospects	
Truman	340	Education in India	
Highlights of the Indonesian Struggle for		Education of "Our Masters"	
Freedom and Unity	77	Egypt and Britain	
		Egyptian Tangle, The	
		Elections and Pandit Nehru, The	

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
Armaments Committee Recommendations	265	Nuffield Foundation	191
Atomic and the Cold War	259	"On Addressing Australia"	20
Europe's Encroachments into Middle East	108	Orissa's Financial Crisis	100
Federal Plans for Africa	274	Pakistan's New Rulers	353
"For the Enemy No Compromise"	12	Pandit Nehru's Electioneering	426
German Interest in India	15	Patna Convocation and the New Party	3
"Great Mistakes of the War"	356	Paul, Hari Sankar	20
Hindi "Sammelan Politics"	?	"Peasants the Living Stream of Life"	20
Hindu Code Bill	263	Prospects for the Coming Election	85
Hinduism and the State	430	Plantation Labour in Assam	102
"Hindustan Hamara"	9	Plight of the Bengalis, The	431
History of Indian Railways	438	(A) Politician's Plight	265
How History is Written!	440	Press Laws Bill	261
"Independent Naga State"	13	Press Bill in Select Committee	261
India and Churchill's Government	347	"Problem" Province of Assam	273
India and Japan	264	Problems of a Sub-Continent	355
India Government Plane Misused	273	"Punjab on the March"	18
"Indian, The"	14	Racial Conflicts	354
Indian Coal	185	Rajagopalachari, Shree Chakravarty	441
Indian Interests in Burma	187	Rajasthan's Water Resources	182
"Indian Problem" in Fiji	274	Recalling the Forgotten	360
Indians in Ceylon	189	Recognition of Labour's Dignity	102
India's Food "Bill"	182	Register of India's Scientific Personnel	358
India's Food Problem	100	Relations between Israel and Egypt	275
India's Foreign Policy	427	Research into Social Tension	17
India's Note to Pakistan	266	Roy, Dev-Raj	276
India's Reply to America's Note	178	Roy, Sadhan Chandra	443
In Malan's Realm	274	Rudra, S. K.	20
Inter-Racial Relations	435	"Santiniketan Revisited"	437
Iran's Oil and Iran's Islam	11	Savaji Rao's Oriental Institute	359
"Island of Sanity"	13	Security Pact for the Pacific Area	190
Iyengar, V. Ramaswamy	276	Select Committee Report on Constitution Bill	5
Japanese Treaty and India, The	175	Shamshere, Rama Hiranya	192
J. M. Rakshi, Rustomji Patel	443	Shoorji Vallabhdas, Shri	444
Kalappa, V. R.	276	"Sindhi Going into Action"	16
Kashmir Consenbly	259	Sino-Tibetan Agreement	10
(Dr.) Katju as Central Minister	351	Society and State	431
K.M.P. Manifesto, The	91	Soviet Post-War Reconstruction	107
Korea	179, 260	Socialist Party Manifesto, The	93
Korea War's Cost to U.S.A.	108	Somnath's Revival	104
Lakshmiapati, Rukmini	192	Soviet's Economic Reports	436
Leprosy Relief at Gorakhpur	273	Sramika Dharma Rajya	16
Liaquat Ali Khan's Invitation	98	Srinivasachari, C. S.	276
"Libertarian"	14	"Students to Grow Their Own Food"	19
Linguistic Provinces	180	Suez Canal, The	190
MacArthur Affair, The	357	Supersession of the Punjab Government	4
Malan Vs. Malan	11	Tapti Valley Project	15
Malaya Independence	188	Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund	17
Malayan Federal Citizenship Bill	188	This is Politics	432
Manbhumi Satyagraha	2	Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh	441
Manbhumi Satyagrahi's Statement in Court	95	Trickery in Jute Trade	186
Massacre of the Innocents in Bengal	106	Tube Wells	182
(A) Memorandum	268	Unity of Leftism in India, The	100
Mineral Resources of the D.V.C. Area	184	U.S.A. and Kashmir	9
Minorities in Pakistan	267	Veneral Disease	192
"Mission with Mountbatten"	271	Vinoba Bhave's Tour	348
Mixed Farming in Uttar Pradesh	183	Virajananda, Swami	20
Modern Amenities in Rural Ceylon	189	Voronoff, Surgeon	276
National Library at Calcutta	104	Weather's Vagaries in India	18
Nehru's Speech on the Amended Bill	7	West Bengal's Governors	351
Nehru-Tandon Correspondence	342	West Bengal's Khadi Board	359
Nehru's Telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan	97	"Whither Prabasi Bengalees"	16
A Noble Historic Family	16	"Widows of Partition"	440
Non-cereal Foods	357	Women's Co-operative Industrial Home	441
North Atlantic Pact Signatories	434	Working of Indo-Pak Trade Pact	272
North-East Frontier Problem, The	13	World Health Organization and South-East Asia	439
		Zemindary Abolition in Madhya Bharat	100

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Agarwal, R. M.	145	Jones, Maude	308
India's National Income		Hawaii—Paradise of the Pacific (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Agarwal, S. N.	196	Kapur, Gnan Parkash	236
The Five-Year Plan		India's National Income	
Ambedkar, J. B.	63	Khastgir, Sudhir	217
The Way to Self-Sufficiency		Self-Introduction (<i>illustr.</i>)	
And Jyoti, C.	229	Khanna, K. P.	297
Three Pioneer Free Institutions in		Welfare State	
Calcutta (<i>illustr.</i>)		Levitt, Paul	392
Arora, K. K.	206	Lake George—Queen of American Lakes	
"The President of India"		(<i>illustr.</i>)	
Bhattacharya, K. S.	42	Manoria, C. B.	448
A Visit to Ceylon (<i>illustr.</i>)		Irrigation in India	
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar	114	Role of Village Panchayats in Indian	
Reminiscences of Prof. Carlo Fomella		Economy	109
Bhattacharya, Nityanand C.	321	Manohar, Sudhir Chandra	150
U.S. and Its Educational Ideals		The Gospel of Krishna	
Bhattacharya, Nandini	288	Mazumdar, Haridas T.	196
Aspects of Democracy in Free India		The Republic of India—Promise and	
Bhattacharya, B. N.	315	Performance	
The Strange Case of Baudelaire		Mehta, Lehar Singh	40
Chen, Hsiang-Kuang	367	Udaipur—The Venice of India (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Growth of Political Parties in China		Merk, Sukumar	292
Cheng, Modak	45	Minerals and World Wars	
Midnight (<i>poem</i>)		Mookherji, Sudhansu Bimal	33
Song in Khajuraho (<i>poem</i>)	281	Land Revolution in China	
Monks are Flooding (<i>poem</i>)	366	Mukhopadhyaya, Rani	51
as Tarakanath		Herbert Spencer and the Problem of Private	
Churchill's Victory in 1951 British Election	193	Property in Land	
Tensions in the Middle East		Patnaik, Khetramohan	54
Chopra, Ramonish Ch.	221	The Way to the Prosperity of Indians	
A Glimpse of the Dark Continent of		Pattabhiram, V.	227
Africa (<i>illustr.</i>)		Henrik Ibsen—The Poet	
Colonial Expansion of India in Africa (<i>illustr.</i>)	385	Ramabhai, Suresh	161
Chopra, Anand	46	Vinobaji in Telangana	
English Poets and the Nightingale		Ray, R. C.	210
Chopra, Jyoti Mohan	147	Planning Education at the Post-	
The Poets in Official Statistics in West		Matriculation Stage	
Europe		Robinson, Mabel Ous	471
Chopra, Santa	311	The Olympic Peninsula (<i>illustr.</i>)	
The Wolf, Bunter (<i>short story</i>)		Rao, Lohit Mohan	402
Chopra, William	59	The Origin of Family-names or Surnames	
"O'Donoghue to Accept the End of Man"		Roy, N. B.	383
Chopra, A. K.	459	Iran	
Policy, Government and State		Roy Chowdhury, D. P.	484
Chopra, Sudhakar	61	He Chose to Be an Artist	
The Crisis in School Education		Sardul Singh Chaveshar, Sardar	488
Chopra, P. K.	376	Religion of Guru Nanak	
Agricultural Finance in India		Sarkar, Jidumath	142
Chopra, B. K.	361	An Old Man's Last Hope	
A Five-Year Plan for India		How the British Lost India	277
Chopra, P. K. Major D.	301	Sarkar, Sanat Kumar	473
Famous English Houses (<i>illustr.</i>)		The English Judiciary and the Trial of	
London Letter	116	Nandakumar (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Chopra, L. N.	306	Sarkar, Balwant	487
Kodakunil (<i>illustr.</i>)		Gems from Guru Nanak's Song Deyare,	
Chopra, Murali Prasad	131	"Japp"	
Cocoon The Kalpalaksha (<i>illustr.</i>)	394	Sastri, C. L. R.	282
Pineapple—Nature's Crowned King (<i>illustr.</i>)		Amusement Birds Coming Home to Roost	
Chopra, Chandra Bhan	317	Eye of the General Elections	463
The Genesis of Hindi		Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa	21
Chopra, E. Krishna	409	When Constitutions Become Flexible	
Prevailing Misconceptions about Bharata		and Curvaceous	110
Chopra, Natya (<i>illustr.</i>)			

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

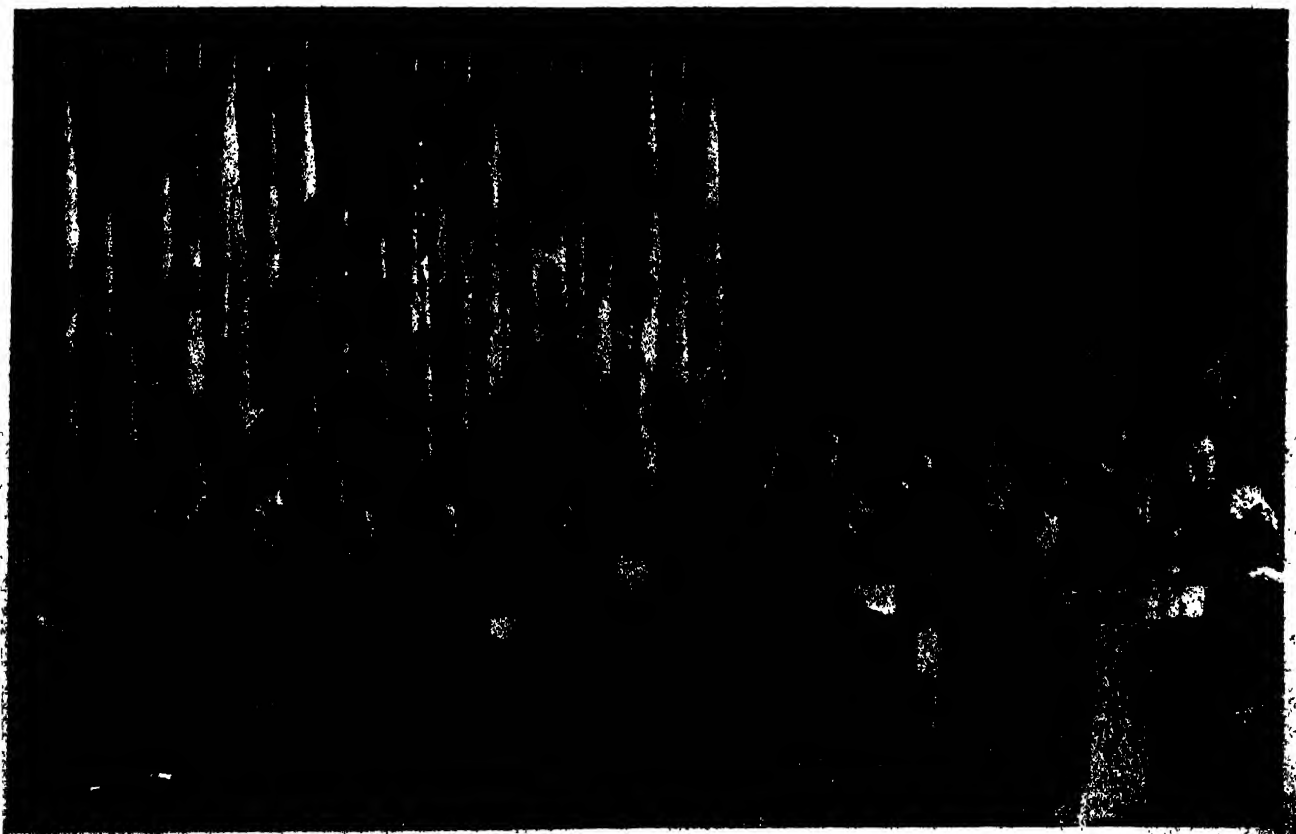
	Page	
William Hazlitt	369	Singh, Raghuveer
Sen, Admath		The Individualism of John Stuart Mill
A Corner of Wales (<i>illustr.</i>)	479	Srivastava, Gur Parsad
Norway (<i>illustr.</i>)	125	The Indian National Congress: Its Past
Sen-Varma		Present and Future
The President of India	25	Syed, M. Hafiz
		Liaquat Ali Khan
Singh, Harnam		Williams, Harold A.
The Constitution of Israel	29	Baltimore: American Seaboard City (<i>illustr.</i>)
	—:O:—	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page	
<i>Africa, A Glimpse of the Dark Continent of</i>		John Chester Kendall with the first shipment of
(7 illustrations)	222-23	food-grains for India, The
(Dr) Anup Singh, a member of the U.N. Com-		Kodakkanal
mission in Korea, receives a bouquet from a		(9 illustrations)
Korean girl	376	Lake George—Queen of American Lakes
Baltimore: American Seaboard City		(3 illustrations)
(3 illustrations)	37-39	Mist (in colours)
(2 half-plates)	52	Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury
<i>Bharata Natya, Prevailing Misconceptions About</i>		Nasrollah Entezam of Iran presides over the
Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury	469	opening session of the United Nations Gene-
Ramgopal and author E. Krishna Iyer	470	ral Assembly
British twin-jet Canberra light bomber flying		Norway
over Baltimore, The	377	(26 illustrations)
Ceylon, A Visit to		(2 half-plates)
(13 illustrations)	42-45	Olympic Peninsula, The
(2 half-plates)	53	(3 illustrations)
Children celebrating the fifth anniversary of the		Pineapple—Nature's Crowned King
founding of the United Nations in the city of	1	(8 illustrations)
San Francisco		President Truman opening the fourth meet-
Chinese Cultural Delegation in Delhi, The	425	ing of the consultation of Ministers of Foreign
Coconut—The Kalpabruksha		Affairs of American Republics
(11 illustrations)	131-40	(The) Rocks and the Waves (in colours)
Cultural Expansion of India in Africa		Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury
(6 illustrations)	386-90	San Francisco, California, is the scene of
(A) doll depicting Indian costumes is presented		signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty
by Mrs B. K. Nehru to the wife of an		Self-Introduction
American lawyer	3	(10 illustrations by S. Khastgir)
Domestic Members (in colours)		(2 half-plates by S. Khastgir)
Birendranath Chakravarty	85	Ships are rapidly reactivated at an American
(The) English Judiciary and the Trial of		dock for speeding delivery of food-grains
Nandakumar		India
(5 illustrations)	474-77	Sri Krishna (in colours)
Famous English Houses—Knole		Gouranga Charan Shome
(9 illustrations)	301-05	S.S. Constitution, the new U.S. luxury liner
Festival (in colours)		(A) Temple at Bhadgaon, 8 miles south of
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	257	Kathmandu
First United Nations meeting in San Francisco		Three Pioneer Free Institutions in Calcutta
in 1945, The	341	David Hare
General Matthew B. Ridgway with U.N. repre-		Raminohun Roy
sentatives to the meetings in Kaesong, at		Udaipur—The Venice of India
which a Korean armistice is being discussed	293	(4 illustrations)
Guliyewari Temple, 2 miles north-east of Kath-		U. S. Air Force Sikorsky H-19 helicop-
mandu, The	85	equipped with amphibious landing gear
Hailing the Clouds (in colours)		(Mrs.) Vijayalakshmi Pandit at the Philadel-
Surendranath Kar	1	phia docks ceremony of shipment of American
Hawaii—Paradise of the Pacific		grains to India
(2 illustrations)	309	(Mrs.) Vijayalakshmi Pandit signs a contract
(2 half-plates)	292	to buy grains at the White House in Washing-
Indian students sailing from Bombay for higher		ton before President Truman
studies in American Universities	209	Wales, A Corner of
		(18 illustrations)
		(2 half-plates)



Children dressed in the native costumes of their forbears attend the Municipal celebration marking the fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in the city of San Francisco



President Truman makes the opening speech at the fourth meeting of the Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics at Constitution Hall in Washington



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